

PICTORIAL HISTORY
OF
THE
UNITED STATES

BY
JOHN FROST, L.L.D.

ILLUSTRATIONS
BY
W. CROOME

Vol. I.



THE
PICTORIAL HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA,
FROM THE
DISCOVERY BY THE NORTHMEN
IN THE
TENTH CENTURY
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

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EMBELLISHED WITH
FOUR HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS, FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, BY W. CROOME.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE. VOL. I.

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O furnish, within a reasonable compass, a complete history of the United States, suited to the purposes of the general reader, has been my object in preparing the work which is now offered to the public. In pursuing this design, the difficulties have been by no means inconsiderable. From the great mass of materials furnished by previous writers, to select what was essential in order to form a continuous and clear narrative of the leading events, was not an easy task. The large number of distinct communities of which the republic is composed; the different views which actuated their founders; and the extent of territory over which they were originally spread, render it difficult to combine their annals into a single work. Yet that there is a proper unity in the history of our country, no one can doubt, who has paid much attention to the subject. Although the nation derives its origin from so many isolated colonies, composed of diverse materials, still it is evident that there was a period when it arrived at what may be termed a national consciousness; and that from that period it has been actuated by a national purpose

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which gives singleness and distinct effect to its history. This fact renders it possible to make the narrative compact and clear; and to accomplish this object has been my purpose; how far I have been successful, it remains with the reader to decide.

It may be thought that, considering the limited space which is assigned to the whole work, too much attention has been devoted to the early history of the colonies; but it should be remembered that the character of the republic was determined by its founders; that the spirit of our institutions had its origin in their peculiar views; and that what may seem trivial in the records of these early days nevertheless exerted an important influence on the subsequent course of events.

The plan originally prescribed for the work has rendered it inexpedient to dwell upon disputed points, or to enter into extended disquisitions. The known and established facts of our national history have afforded abundant materials for my purpose; and the principal difficulty has been to select what was important and influential, and to present it in such a light as should render it striking and effective.

If particular characters have been made conspicuous, and single events have been dwelt upon with emphasis, it was because they were considered more influential than others, that have been passed over or comparatively thrown into the shade. To carry forward the narrative in such a manner that the mind of the reader might not be distracted with too great a variety of details, it was necessary to bestow but slight attention on many transactions which could be dwelt upon with propriety in a more minute and extensive work; yet it is believed that no topic of real importance has been neglected.

In the process of selecting and condensing the accounts of various writers, I have sometimes quoted their language, varying it where the style was too diffuse, and giving credit at the bottom of the page, that the reader might be enabled to refer to the original authority.

In every part of the work, I have considered it a paramount duty to respect the claims of truth and justice; and if in recording questionable actions which find their apology in the spirit of the age when they were performed, I have sometimes omitted to explain their probable motives, it has been because I deemed it proper to trust to the intelligence of the reader for a suitable commentary. I am conscious of no undue bias towards any sect or party; and I have adopted no theory respecting government or policy, which could influence my selection or representation of facts. What I have recorded of past transactions, has been drawn from authorities which are universally respected; and my general design did not permit me to turn aside for lengthened explanations or even for the introduction of such philosophical reflections as the subjects presented frequently suggest. To tell a plain and intelligible story, and to render my countrymen familiar with the leading facts of our history, has been my main object.

If I have had any considerable success in the pursuit of this object, I am by no means insensible of the great assistance for which I am indebted to the accomplished artist who has furnished the pictorial embellishments of the work. The effect which pictures, well conceived and ably executed, have in impressing historical events upon the mind, must be apparent to every attentive reader. Such delineations furnish luminous points, around which are clustered a host of agreeable and lasting associations. The portrait of a distinguished man gives additional force and distinctness to our recollection of his character; the picture of a battle, although it is necessarily incomplete and imperfect, takes a stronger hold of the imagination than any effort of descriptive power; and even the sketch of a remarkable place will give it a local habitation in the mind, which will remain longer and produce a livelier satisfaction than any mere record of language.

In selecting the subjects for his designs, Mr. Ctoome has taken those which it was deemed important to impress upon the mind of the reader,—those prominent incidents and characters which deserve

to be cherished in the memory of every American. In order to give his delineations as much of the authenticity of history as it is competent for the pictorial art to attain, he has had recourse to original portraits and approved engraved likenesses; and he has made the costumes of the different periods comprised in the history, the subject of careful and attentive study. If in these respects there is any error, he has erred with the countenance of learned and respected authorities.

It would be ungrateful in me not to avail myself of the present opportunity of acknowledging the aid which I have derived from my literary friends in preparing this work. Every library to which I have desired access has been freely thrown open to me; and from the invaluable collection of original historical portraits in the Philadelphia Museum, Mr. Croome has been permitted, by a vote of the directors, to take such copies as were thought appropriate to the design of the work. From the families of some of the illustrious men whose names adorn the annals of the revolutionary war, I have received original documents, which throw considerable light on the events of that momentous struggle; and from some of the surviving officers who were distinguished by their services in the more recent contest with Great Britain, I have drawn information which could have been obtained in so authentic a form from no other source. To these friends I render my heartiest thanks: and I trust that the assistance which they have so kindly rendered me, will not be without its use to our common country.



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CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORTHMEN.



O historical question is more interesting to the American than that which relates to the original discovery of the Western Continent. The honour of making it effectively known to the inhabitants of the Old World unquestionably belongs to Columbus. From his glory as the great discoverer, it would be unjust in the slightest degree to detract. But the claim to a prior discovery, urged in favour of the Northmen, and never relinquished by the Icelandic scholars, has recently been revived by the Royal Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen, and sup-

ported by such weighty testimony that it is now treated with respect by most historical writers. The facts, as recorded by the Icelandic authorities, cited by the Danish antiquaries, in their recently published volume* are briefly these:†

“In the spring of the year 986, Eric Rauda, that is Eric the Red, emigrated from Iceland to Greenland, and formed a settlement there called Brattalid, at a place named from himself Ericsfiord. Among those who accompanied him was Heriulf Bardson, who established himself at a place which still bears the name of Heriulfsness. Heriulf had a son named Biarne, Biorne, or (in some modern writers) Biron. Biarne was absent on a trading voyage in Norway, when his father accompanied Eric to Greenland. Returning to Iceland in the course of the summer, and finding his father gone, he sailed in pursuit of him, though wholly ignorant of the navigation between Greenland and Iceland. His vessel was soon enveloped in fogs; and after many days’ sailing, he knew not whither he had been carried. When the fog cleared up, the voyagers found themselves sailing with a south-west wind, and saw land to the left. It was without mountains, overgrown with woods, and rose in several gentle elevations. As it did not correspond with the descriptions of Greenland, the country of which they were in search, they left it to larboard, and continued sailing for two days, when they saw another land, which was flat and overgrown with wood. From thence they stood out to sea, and sailed three days with a south-west wind, when they saw a third land, which was high and mountainous, and covered with glaciers. Coasting along its shore, they discovered that it was an island. They bore away from it without landing, and after four days’ sailing with fresh gales, reached Heriulfsness in Greenland. Such is the tradition of Biarne’s voyage in 986. He appears to have been carried by a north-east wind and currents far to the south till he struck the coast of America; and thence, with an opposite wind, stretched along the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, till he reached his destination in Greenland. Biarne is stated not to have landed on the continent of America.

* *Antiquitates Americanæ.*

† *North American Review*, Jan. 1838.

Some time after this, probably in 994, Biarne made a visit to Eric, Earl of Norway; and gave him an account of his voyage, and of the unknown land he had seen. He was censured by the earl, for not having explored the region. On his return to Greenland, a voyage of exploration was determined upon. Leif, a son of Eric the Red, for this purpose bought Biarne's ship, and put on board a crew of twenty-five men, among whom was a German, named Tyrker, who had been long attached to the family of Eric. They sailed in the year 1000, and came first to the land which had been last discovered by Biarne. Here they landed. No grass was visible; the shore was lined with icebergs, and the intermediate space between them and the water was one continuous stratum of slate. This substance is called *Hella*, in the Icelandic tongue, and hence the region was named HELLULAND. This must have been Newfoundland or Labrador.*

The voyagers now put out to sea from Helluland, and descried another land, where they also went on shore. It was level, covered with wood, and presented a front of white sand bluffs. This they called MARKLAND or WOODLAND. It is supposed to have been the coast of Nova Scotia. Again, standing out to sea, they sailed for two days, with a north-east wind, before they saw land again. They then came to an island, east of the main, and entered a channel between this island and a promontory projecting in an easterly (or northerly) direction from the main land. They sailed westward; there was much land left dry at ebb tide. Afterwards, they went on shore at a place, where a river, issuing from a lake, fell into the sea. They brought their ship into the river, thence into the lake, and there anchored. Here they first constructed temporary huts; but having determined to pass the winter, they erected more permanent buildings, which they called LEIFSBUTHIR, Leif's booths or huts.

Thus established, Leif divided his company into two parties, whose business it was alternately to watch the settlements

* Dunham's History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. North American Review.

and to explore the country.* It happened one day that Tyrker, the German, was missing, and as Leif set a great value upon the youth, on account of his skill in various arts, he sent his followers in search of him in every direction. When they at last found him, he began to speak to them in the Teutonic language, with many extravagant signs of joy. They at last made out to understand him in the North tongue, that he had found in the vicinity vines bearing wild grapes. He led them to the spot, and they brought to their chief a quantity of the grapes which they had gathered. At first, Leif doubted whether they were really that fruit; but the German assured him that he was well acquainted with it, being a native of the southern wine countries. Leif, thereupon, named the country VINLAND or Wineland.



The Northmen discovering Grapes in Vinland.

After passing the winter at this spot, Leif and his party returned to Greenland, in the spring. The island above-mentioned is supposed by the editor of the *Antiquitates Americanæ* to have been Nantucket; and the region called Vinland, the

* Wheaton's History of the Northmen.

states of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.* The length of the shortest day here, so far as it can be made out from the obscure passage of the narrative in which it is recorded, confirms this opinion.

On his return to Greenland, Leif's discovery was the object of much inquiry; and Thorwald, his brother, borrowing Leif's vessel, undertook another voyage in the same direction, in the year 1002, determined to explore the country further in a southern direction. They reached Vinland before winter, which they passed at Leif's booths, employing themselves in fishing. In the spring of 1003, a party was sent by Thorwald, in the ship's long-boat, to explore the country to the south. They passed the summer in this employment, and found the country beautiful and well wooded, with a narrow belt of sand between the forest and the sea. They also encountered many shallows and islands. They found no traces of men, except a shed upon an island lying to the westward.

In the spring of 1004, Thorwald sailed out to the eastward, in the large ship, and then northward, past a remarkable headland, enclosing a bay and which was opposite to another headland. They called this Cape Kiarlaness or the keel-cape.

Doubling this cape they skirted the shores and crossed the inlets till they came to a projecting promontory covered with wood. This spot charmed Thorwald; he exclaimed, 'This is a beautiful spot, and here I should like to fix my dwelling.' As they were preparing to go on board they noticed three canoes on the beach, and under each canoe three Skrœllings or dwarfs, which is the name given by the Northmen to the Esquimaux. A contest ensued, and eight of the nine Skrœllings were killed. The ninth fled into the interior of the bay, from whence he soon returned with a vast number of his countrymen. The party of Thorwald retreated to their vessel and sheltered themselves behind its bulwarks; but Thorwald himself was mortally wounded by an arrow under his arm. Perceiving the wound to be fatal, he said to his com-

* New York Review. North American Review. Antiquitates Americanæ.

panions, "I now advise you to prepare for your departure as soon as possible ; but me ye shall bring to the promontory where I thought it good to dwell. It may be that it was a prophetic word which fell from my mouth, about abiding there for a season. There shall ye bury me, and plant a cross at my head and another at my feet, and call the place Krossaness in all coming time."

They obeyed this command. Returning to Leif's booths, they passed the winter there, and the following spring went back to Greenland. The keel-cape, in the opinion of the editor of the *Antiquitates Americanae*, is Cape Cod ; and the promontory called Krossaness, from the fate of Thorwald, is either the Gurnet opposite Plymouth, or Point Alderton, in Boston harbour. In the season following these events, Thornstein, the third son of Eric, embarked with his wife Gudrida, in search of the body of Thorwald, which they wished to bring back to Greenland. The voyage was unsuccessful. They were tossed about all summer, and knew not whither they were driven. It was winter before they made the western coast of Greenland, where Thornstein died. In the spring, Gudrida, his wife, returned to the family seat at Ericsfiord.

The following year, 1006, is of importance in the history of these expeditions. In the summer of this year, there arrived in Greenland two ships from Iceland. The one was commanded by Thorfinn, surnamed Karlsefne, that is, the Hopeful, a wealthy and powerful personage, of illustrious lineage, descended from Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, and Scottish ancestors, some of whom were of royal rank. The other ship was commanded by Biarne Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason. They kept the festival of Yule (Christmas) at Ericsfiord. Here Thorfinn became enamoured of Gudrida, and espoused her in the course of the winter.

The discoveries in Vinland were the subject of great interest in the family of Eric. Thorfinn was urged by his wife and the other members of the family to undertake a voyage to the newly-discovered country. Accordingly, in the spring of 1007, he and his associates embarked in their two vessels ;

and a third ship, commanded by Thorwald (who had married Freydisa, a natural daughter of Eric), was joined to the expedition. The party consisted, in the whole, of one hundred and forty men. They took with them all kinds of live stock, intending, if possible, to colonize the country. They touched at Helluland, on their way southward, and found many foxes there. Markland also they found stocked with wild animals.

Proceeding southward, the voyagers made Kiarlaness (Cape Cod), and passed trackless deserts and long tracts of sandy beach, which they called FURDUSTRANDIR. They continued their course until they came to a place, where a frith penetrated far into the country. Off the mouth of it, was an island, past which there ran strong currents, which was also the case farther up the frith. On the island there were an immense number of eyder-ducks, so that it was scarcely possible to walk without treading upon their eggs. They called the island STRAUMEY or Stream Isle (Martha's Vineyard), and the frith, Sraum Fiords or Stream Frith (Buzzard's Bay);* and on its shores they landed and made preparations for a winter's residence. They found the country extremely beautiful, and set themselves to explore it in all directions.

Thorhall, with a party of eight men, took a course northward, in search of the settlements of Leif, at Vinland; but they were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, and there made slaves. Thorfinn, with the rest of the company, in all one hundred and thirty-one men, sailed southward, and arrived at a place where a river falls into the sea from a lake. Opposite to the mouth of the river were large islands. They steered into the lake and called the place Hop (Mount Hope Bay). On the low grounds they found fields covered with wheat growing wild, and on the rising grounds, vines. Here they were visited by great numbers of the natives in canoes. These people are described as sallow-coloured, ill-looking, with unsightly heads of hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks. Thorfinn and his company erected their houses a

* *Antiquitates Americanæ.*

little above the bay and passed the winter there. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open field.



The Northmen trading with the Indians.

In the following spring, 1008, the natives began to assemble in numbers, and open a trade with the strangers. The articles exchanged were furs on the one side, and strips of cloth on the other. In the course of the season, Gudrida, the wife of Thorfinn, gave birth to a son, who was called Snorre, and who was the first child, of European descent, born in America, and the ancestor of many distinguished personages at the present day, whose descent is lineally traced to Thorfinn and Gudrida, in the Icelandic genealogical tables. Among these are Professor Finn Magnussen, a native Iclander, now resident at Copenhagen, one of the most distinguished Icelandic scholars of the day, and Thorwaldsen, the great sculptor.

After other adventures and contests with the natives, Thorfinn returned to Greenland, leaving a part of his company established in the new country. After a few years spent in Greenland, Thorfinn purchased an estate in Iceland, in 1015, where he passed the rest of his life, as did Snorre, his American son. After the death of Thorfinn, and the marriage of her

son, Gudrida made a pilgrimage to Rome. The family remained distinguished for wealth, influence, and intelligence. Thorlak, the grandson of Snorre, was raised to the episcopal rank, and was of great repute for his learning. He compiled a code of the ecclesiastical law of Iceland, which is still extant; and he is very likely to have been the person who committed to writing the *Sagas*, or traditions of the voyages and adventures of which the foregoing narrative is an abstract.*

In the year 1011, the colony in Vinland left by Thorfinn, was joined by Helge and Finnboge, two brothers from Iceland, who were accompanied in their voyage by Thorwald, and his wife Freydisa, a daughter of Eric the Red. This woman excited a quarrel, which proved fatal to about thirty of the colonists. Detested for her vices, she was constrained to return to Greenland, where she lived despised and died unlamented.†

Towards the end of the reign of Olaf the Saint (1026), an Icelander, named Gudleif, embarked for Dublin. The vessel being driven by boisterous winds far from its direct course, towards the south-west, approached an unknown shore. He and the crew were soon seized by the natives, and carried into the interior. Here, however, to their great surprise, they were accosted by a venerable chief in their own language, who inquired after some individuals in Iceland. He refused to tell his name; but as he sent a present of a gold ring to Thurida, the sister of Snorre Gode, and a sword for her son, no doubt was entertained that he was the Scald (Bard) Biorn, who had been her lover, and who had left Iceland nearly thirty years before that time (998). The natives were described as of a red colour and cruel to strangers; indeed, it required all the influence of the friendly chief to rescue Gudleif and his companions from destruction.‡

From this period, we hear no more of the northern colony in America till the year 1059, when an Irish or Saxon priest, named Jon or John, who had preached some time as a mis-

* North American Review. † Dunham's Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

‡ Wheaton's Northmen.

sionary in Iceland, went to Vinland for the purpose of converting the colonists to Christianity, where he was murdered by the heathens.

A bishop of Greenland, Eric, afterwards (1121) undertook the same voyage, for the same purpose, but his success is uncertain. The authenticity of the Icelandic accounts of the discovery and settlement of Vinland, were recognised in Denmark, shortly after this period, by King Svend Estrithson, Sweno II., in a conversation which Adam of Bremen had with this monarch.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century, two Venetian navigators, sailing in the service of a Norman prince of the Orcades, are said to have visited Vinland, and to have found traces of the colony left by the Northmen. From that time to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, there was no communication—none at least that is known—between it and the north of Europe.

This circumstance, says Dunham, has induced many to doubt of facts which have already been related. If, they contend, North America were really discovered and repeatedly visited by the Icelanders, how came a country so fertile in comparison with that island or with Greenland, or even Norway, to be so suddenly abandoned? This is certainly a difficulty, but a greater one in our opinion is involved in the rejection of all the evidence that has been adduced. The history is not founded upon one tradition or record, but upon many; and it is confirmed by a variety of collateral and incidental facts, as well established as any of the contemporary relations upon which historical inquirers are accustomed to rely.

For relations so numerous and so uniform, for circumstances so naturally and so graphically described, there must have been some foundation. Even fiction does not invent, it only exaggerates. There is nothing improbable in the alleged voyages. The Scandinavians were the best navigators in the world. From authentic and indubitable testimony, we know that their ships visited every sea, from the Mediterranean to

the Baltic, from the extremity of the Finland Gulf to the entrance of Davis's Straits.

Men thus familiar with distant seas must have made a greater progress in the science of navigation than we generally allow. The voyage from Reykiavik, in Iceland, to Cape Farewell, is not longer than that from the south-western extremity of Greenland, once well colonized, to the eastern coast of Labrador.

But does the latter country itself exhibit in modern times any vestiges of a higher civilization than we should expect to find if no Europeans had ever visited it? So at least the Jesuit missionaries inform us. They found the cross, a knowledge of the stars, a superior kind of worship, a more ingenious mind, among the inhabitants of the coast which is thought to have been colonized from Greenland. They even assure us that many Norwegian words are to be found in the dialect of the people. The causes which led to the destruction of the settlement were probably similar to those which produced the same effect in Greenland.

A handful of colonists, cut off from all communication with the mother country, and consequently deprived of the means for repressing their savage neighbours, could not be expected to preserve always their original characteristics. They would either be exterminated by hostilities or driven to amalgamate with the natives : probably both causes led to the unfortunate result.

The only difficulty in this subject is that which we have before mentioned, viz. : the sudden and total cessation of all intercourse with Iceland or Greenland ; and even this must diminish when we remember that in the fourteenth century the Norwegian colony in Greenland disappeared in the same manner, after a residence in the country of more than three hundred years.

On weighing the preceding circumstances and the simple and natural language in which they are recorded, few men not born in Italy or Spain will deny to the Scandinavians the claim of having been the original discoverers of the New

World. Even Robertson, imperfectly acquainted as he was with the links in this chain of evidence, dared not wholly to reject it. Since his day, the researches of the northern antiquaries, and a more attentive consideration of the subject, have caused most writers to mention it with respect.*

* Although the discovery above narrated is doubted by some respectable writers, the weight of American authority at present is decidedly in favour of the Northmen. Mr. Wheaton, in his "History of the Northmen" and his "Scandinavia," Dr. Belknap in his "American Biography," the New York Review, and the North American Review, (in an article attributed to Governor Everett,) all favour their claims. J. Reinhold Forster, in his "History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North," S. A. Dunham, in his "History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway," and the leading British Reviews, concur in the same opinion. Our narrative is derived from Governor Everett's article, and the histories of Wheaton and Dunham. Messrs. Leslie, Jameson, and Murray, in the "Discovery and Adventures in the Polar Seas and Regions," reject the opinion of a visit to any part of our coast by the Northmen. They explain the Icelandic traditions on the supposition adopted by Mr. Bancroft, that the first discoveries of Greenland, made by the Northmen, were in a high northern latitude, and that Vinland was another and a more southern portion of the same territory. M. de Humboldt rejects this opinion, which appears to have originated with Zurla, and adds that "the colonization of this peninsula did not proceed from north to south." In my school History of the United States, published before the appearance of the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, I followed the authority of Messrs. Leslie, Jameson, and Murray, and Mr. Bancroft.



Biorn sending presents to Thurida and her son. ●



CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS' DISCOVERY.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS stands in the highest rank among those illustrious men who have raised themselves to renown by their character and achievements. The honour of having conceived

and executed an enterprise, the most important in its results, of any in the whole history of civilization, belongs exclusively to him. The discovery of the Northmen was an accident ; that of Columbus was "with counsel aforethought, on well-weighed grounds, deliberately reasoned out and carried into execution, not under the smiles of patronizing greatness, and with the aid of power, but buffeting, toiling, begging his way to success and glory unmatched. The formation of

such a character, and the march of such an understanding, in the conception and accomplishment of its great undertaking, are worthy subjects of inquiry. No tale of fiction equals in interest the simple narrative of the adventures of Columbus; and if one wishes to go farther, and retrace the steps by which he was led to the illustrious vision of a voyage to the East Indies by a western route—the vision which resulted in the discovery of a new world,—he will find himself engaged in researches of the most curious and instructive character.”*

Of the early life of Columbus† little is known. He was born in Genoa, in 1435 or 1436. He was sent by his father, Dominico Colombo, to Pavia, the chief seat of learning in Italy, to prosecute his studies; but these he soon broke off, to commence his naval career; not, however, before he had made extraordinary progress and imbibed a taste for literary cultivation which he preserved during his life. He surpassed his contemporaries in geometry, astronomy, and cosmography, studies which appear to have been peculiarly congenial to his enterprising character. He took part in a naval expedition, fitted out at Genoa, by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, in 1459, against Naples; and in 1474, was captain of several Genoese ships, in the service of Louis XI. of France. He subsequently went to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew found a profitable occupation in constructing sailing-charts for navigators. Portugal was at that time engaged in promoting geographical discovery; and Columbus soon embarked in an arduous voyage to the North, in which he reached the 73d degree of north latitude, or, as he expresses it, 100 degrees beyond the Thule of Ptolemy. He made several other voyages to England, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the Western Ocean; he soon became, in consequence, the most experienced navigator of his time. By taking notes of everything he saw, comparing them with the

* Everett.

† The family name in Italian is Colombo; it was Latinized into Columbus by himself, in his earlier letters. He is better known, in Spanish history, as Christoval Colon, having altered his name when he removed to Spain.—*Irving's Life of Columbus.*

existing systems of cosmography, and by drawing maps and constructing globes, he kept his mind intently fixed on the studies in which he was destined to effect so great a revolution.

While a resident in Lisbon, he married Donna Felipa, the daughter of Bartolomeo Monis de Palestrello, an Italian cavalier, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry of Portugal, and had colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo. By this marriage Columbus procured access to the charts and papers of Palestrello, and of other experienced navigators connected with his wife's family. In his conversations with the able geographers and pilots whom he found in Lisbon, he consulted them on the possibility of discovering a western passage to the countries of Cathay and Zipangu, described by Marco Polo. The theory which he had already formed on this subject received confirmation by certain facts which came to his knowledge. "Pedro Torrea, his wife's relation, had found, on the coast of Porto Santo, pieces of carved wood, evidently not cut with a knife, and which had been carried thither by strong westerly winds; other navigators had picked up in the Atlantic, canes of an extraordinary size, and many plants not apparently belonging to the Old World. The bodies of men were found, thrown by the waves on the shore of one of the Azores, who had features differing essentially from those of Africans or Europeans, and who had evidently come from the West."

Facts, such as these, gave additional force to the reasonings which Columbus founded on his thorough knowledge of the existing cosmographical science of his time; and he was finally led to attempt the discovery. Not having the means of fitting out a suitable expedition at his own expense, he obtained an audience of John II., King of Portugal,* and fully unfolded to that monarch his plan. He proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to undertake a shorter and more direct route to India than any which had

* Mr. Irving discredits the assertion that Columbus first applied to the Government of Genoa.

been attempted, by sailing directly to the west, across the Atlantic. The king directed his councillors and men of learning to examine the project, and by the advice of some of their number, was induced in an evil hour to depart from his usual justice and generosity, and to sanction the project of secretly fitting out an expedition to undertake the discovery, without the knowledge of its projector. "A caravel was despatched, with the ostensible purpose of carrying provisions to the Cape de Verd Islands, but with private instructions to pursue the route designated in the papers of Columbus. Departing from those islands, the caravel stood westward for several days. The weather grew stormy, and the pilots having no zeal to stimulate them, and seeing nothing but an immeasurable waste of wild trembling waves, still extending before them, lost all courage to proceed. They put back to the Cape de Verd Islands, and thence to Lisbon, excusing their own want of resolution, by ridiculing the project of Columbus as extravagant and irrational."*

Indignant at such an attempt to defraud him of his enterprise, Columbus determined to abandon a country where he had met with such treacherous and unworthy treatment, and to seek for patronage elsewhere. His domestic ties being dissolved by the death of his wife, there remained nothing to detain him; and he secretly departed from Lisbon, towards the end of the year 1484, and arrived at the port of Palos, in Spain. In this country he experienced the fate of all who are superior to their age, and failed to make himself understood by his contemporaries. The sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, being at that time engaged in the wars with the Moors, which terminated in the conquest of Granada, although they listened to Columbus's proposals, and encouraged him to a certain extent, were still too much occupied with more urgent affairs to accord him the assistance which he required for effecting his enterprise; and it was not until after the final expulsion of the Moors, that he was enabled to engage them cordially in his support. Wearied out by years of fruitless

* Irving,

solicitation, he had determined to abandon the country, and had actually left the court at Santa Fé, (Feb. 1492,) and was on his way towards France, when his friends, St. Angel and Quintanilla, by their earnest and powerful intercessions with Queen Isabella, induced her to despatch a messenger for his recall. The queen, moved by the eloquence of St. Angel, adopted the scheme with enthusiasm, and even offered to pledge her jewels to raise the necessary funds. It was an act every way worthy of her noble character. But the funds were raised without having recourse to Isabella's generosity; and arrangements were speedily entered into for fitting out the expedition.

On the 17th of April, 1492, were signed the articles of agreement, by which Columbus received from the sovereigns, the hereditary titles of admiral and viceroy, in all the seas, lands, and islands which he should discover. He was entitled also to reserve for himself, one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other articles and merchandises, in whatever manner found, bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted; and he was permitted to contribute an eighth part of the expense of the expedition, and to receive an eighth part of the profits.

On the 12th of May, he proceeded to the port of Palos, to fit out the armament. Three vessels were prepared for the voyage. The largest, which was decked, was called the Santa Maria, and on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third, called the Nina, had latine sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yanes Pinzon. There were three other pilots, an inspector-general of the armament, a chief alguazil, and a royal notary. The expedition was also provided with a physician and a surgeon, and was accompanied by various private adventurers, together with several servants, and ninety mariners,—making, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

On Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, the expedition sailed.

They directed their course to the Canary Islands, where they were delayed for some time in consequence of an injury done to the rudder of the *Pinta*. On the 6th of September, they left the Canaries; and that may be regarded as the first day of the most memorable voyage which has ever been undertaken. The winds were at first light, and little way was made; the second day, the fleet lost sight of land. The companions of Columbus, who were now advancing over the ocean, unable to conjecture the termination of their voyage, began to feel astonished at the boldness of the enterprise. Many of them shed tears and broke into loud lamentations, believing that they should never return. Columbus endeavoured to console them and inspire them with new courage.

On the 11th of September, when they were a hundred and fifty leagues from the island of Ferro, they found the mast of a ship, which seemed to have been brought there by the current. Columbus made daily observations on the meridian altitude of the sun, and he was the first to observe the variation of the magnetic needle, a phenomenon which occasioned considerable alarm among his people, and which he found himself under the necessity of explaining by a plausible theory of his own, in order to calm their apprehensions. On the 15th, three hundred leagues from the island of Ferro, during a dead calm, they saw a fire-ball strike the sea, about five leagues ahead of the fleet, one of the meteors of very common occurrence in the tropical regions.

Hitherto the wind had blown constantly from the east; the seamen, observing this fact, thought that it would be impossible for them ever to return to Spain. On the following day they saw some birds, which revived their hopes, as they were supposed to be of a species that never went more than twenty leagues from the land. The sea soon after seemed covered with marine plants, which had the appearance of having been recently detached from the rocks on which they had grown; and the men were convinced that land could not be far distant. On the 18th, Alonzo Pinzon, who sailed ahead, told Columbus that he had seen a multitude of birds in the west, and that he

thought he had discerned land towards the north. As his vessel was a fast sailer, he crowded canvas and kept in the advance.

Columbus had taken the precaution of keeping secret the true reckoning of the distance passed over, while he kept a false reckoning for the inspection of his companions, which made the distance considerably less ; but, notwithstanding this deception, the people were now growing extremely uneasy at the length of the voyage. The admiral endeavoured in every way to soothe their rising fears, sometimes by arguments and expostulations, sometimes by awakening fresh hopes, and pointing out new signs of land. Light breezes from the south-west springing up on the 20th of September, had a cheering effect on the people, as they proved that the wind did not always prevail in the same direction. Three days later a whale was observed, heaving up his huge form at a distance, which Columbus pointed out as an indication of the proximity of land. The prevalence of calms, however, and the great quantities of sea-weed which they encountered, retarding the course of the ships, occasioned fresh alarm. Columbus reasoned, expostulated, and promised in vain. The men were too much under the influence of terror to listen to reason. The more Columbus argued the more boisterous became their murmurs, until there came a heavy swell of the sea unaccompanied by wind. This, fortunately, dispelled the terrors occasioned by the previous dead calm.

On the 25th of September, while Columbus, with his officers, were studying a map and endeavouring to make out from it their position, they were aroused by a shout from the Pinta, and looking up, beheld Martin Alonzo Pinzon, mounted on the stern of his vessel, who cried with a loud voice, "Land ! land ! Senor, I claim my reward !"* pointing at the same time to the south-west, where there was indeed an appearance of land, at about twenty-five leagues distance. Columbus threw himself upon his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonzo repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in which he was

* A pension of 30 crowns had been promised by the sovereigns to the first man who should discover land.

loudly joined by the crews of the ships. They changed their course, and sailed all night in the same direction. At daylight all eyes were turned in that quarter; but the supposed land, which had caused so much joy, had disappeared, and they found that they had been deceived by the appearance of clouds in the horizon. The direct course to the west was again resumed.

The crews soon relapsed into their former despondency. Nevertheless, the multitude of birds which they saw continually flying about the ships, the pieces of wood which they picked up, and many other symptoms of land, prevented them from giving themselves wholly up to despair. Columbus, in the midst of so much uneasiness and dejection, remained calm and self-possessed.

After the 1st of October, the birds having been observed to fly directly across their course, the sailors supposed them to have been passing from one island to another, and they wished to turn to the right or the left, to find the shores which they supposed to lie in those directions; but Columbus refused to abandon his theory, and held on his western course. His firmness excited among the men a spirit of revolt more formidable than ever; but on the 4th of October, the symptoms of land increased, the birds flew so near the ships that a seaman killed one with a stone, and their hopes again revived.

On the 7th, they thought that land was visible on board the Santa Maria, and the Nina, which was ahead, fired her guns and hoisted her flags. The joy and excitement were extreme in the whole fleet; but as they advanced the supposed land gradually grew less, and at last entirely disappeared, leaving them again to despondency. Still the appearances were all indicative of their approach to land. Increased numbers of birds, some with variegated plumage, and a cooler air wafting the peculiar vegetable smell by which seamen distinguish land at a considerable distance, served to keep alive their hopes. Columbus, by his firmness and address, had suppressed their revolts; but he had never been able to silence their murmurs, and was still apprehensive of some new outbreak.

On the 11th of October, the indications of land became more and more certain. A reed quite green floated by, fish, such as abound near rocks, were seen, the trunk of a bamboo, and a plank, rudely carved, were picked up by the people of the *Nina*, and those in the *Pinta* saw a branch of a tree with berries on it. They sounded at sunset and found bottom. The wind was now unequal; and this last circumstance completely satisfied the mind of Columbus that land was not far off. The crew assembled, as usual, for evening prayer. As soon as the service was over, Columbus desired the people to return thanks to God for having preserved them in so long and dangerous a voyage, and assured them that the indications of land were now too certain to be doubted. He recommended them to look out carefully during the night, for that they should surely discover land before the morning; and he promised a doublet of velvet to whomsoever should first descry it, in addition to the pension to be given by the sovereigns. About ten o'clock at night, while Columbus was sitting on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, he thought he beheld a glimmering light at a distance. Fearing that his hopes might deceive him, he called Pedro Gutierrez, and inquired whether he saw a light in that direction; the latter replied in the affirmative. He then called Roderigo Sanchez, of Segovia; but before he came, it had disappeared; they saw it, nevertheless, twice afterwards, in sudden gleams, as if it were a torch in the bark of a fisherman, rising and sinking with the waves, or in the hands of some person on shore, borne up and down as he walked. Columbus considered this appearance as a certain sign of land, and, moreover, that the land was inhabited.

At two in the morning, a gun from the *Pinta*, which was ahead, gave the joyful signal of land. It was in the night of the 11th of October, 1492, after a voyage of thirty-five days, that the New World was discovered. The crews longed for the return of day, that they might feast their eyes with the long-desired sight. At length day broke, and they enjoyed the prospect of hills and valleys, clothed in delicious verdure.



Land discovered.

The three vessels steered towards it at sunrise. The crew of the *Pinta*, which, as usual, was in advance, commenced chanting the *Te Deum*; and all sincerely thanked Heaven for the success of their voyage. They saw, as they approached, the inhabitants issuing from the woods and running from all parts to the shore, where they stood gazing at the ships. They were all quite naked, and from their attitudes and gestures appeared to be lost in astonishment. Columbus gave the signal to anchor, and ordered the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard; whilst Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vicente Yanez his brother, put off in company, in their boats. As they approached the shore they were delighted with the luxuriance of the tropical vegetation, with which it was adorned, with the pure, fresh atmosphere, and the crystal transparency of the sea. No sooner did Columbus land than he threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed

by the rest, who were penetrated with the same sentiments of gratitude. Columbus then rising, drew his sword, displayed the royal standard, and took solemn possession on behalf of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. He then exacted from his followers the oath of obedience to him as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.



The Landing of Columbus.

The joy and exultation of the crews were now unbounded. They thronged around the admiral, embraced him, and kissed his hands. Those who had been most mutinous were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favours of him as one who had wealth and honours in his gift, and many who had outraged him by their insolence, offered the most implicit obedience to his commands.

The natives, who, at their first landing, had fled to the woods, finding that there was no attempt to pursue or molest

them, gradually recovered from their terror, and approached their new visitors with great awe, frequently prostrating themselves and making signs of adoration. When they had still further recovered from their fear, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus treated them with kindness; they supposed that the ships had sailed out of the firmament which bounded their horizon, or that they had descended from above, and that these strange beings were inhabitants of the skies.

The island which the Spaniards had discovered was called by the natives Guanahane; but it has since retained the name of San Salvador; the English call it Cat Island. It is one of the Bahama group, between Florida and Hispaniola.

When the admiral returned to his vessel, some of the natives swam after him, others paddled in their canoes, and the caravel was quite surrounded with them. They were ignorant of the use of iron, and some of them, catching hold of the Spanish swords by the blades, received slight wounds. On the morrow, they came off to the fleet to exchange balls of cotton for beads, hawks' bells, and other trinkets. They had appended to their ears little plates of gold, which soon caught the attention of the Spaniards. On being asked where they had obtained them, they always pointed towards the south. Columbus determined to go in search of the country thus indicated, always hoping speedily to arrive at Cathay and Zipangu. In pursuit of these countries, he prosecuted his researches until he discovered Cuba. The interpreters whom he had brought from San Salvador, learned here that some gold was found in Cuba, but that it was much more abundant in another country farther to the east.

The prospect of obtaining gold inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, and Alonzo Pinzon, the commander of the *Pinta*, which was the best sailer in the fleet, wishing to arrive first at the land where the precious metal abounded, crowded all sail, and was soon out of sight.

On the 5th of December, Columbus, with the remaining

ships, sailed from the eastern point of Cuba, and soon arrived at the rich country of which he had received such a glowing description. It was called by the natives *Haiti*; Columbus gave it the name of *Hispaniola*. They anchored first at Port St. Nicholas, and shortly after at a little distance from Cape François. The natives took to flight at the appearance of the ships; but kind treatment to one of their number, who accidentally fell into the hands of the Spaniards by the upsetting of his canoe, gave them confidence; and they came in multitudes to the ships, exchanging fruits, provisions, and gold for bits of porcelain, beads, and hawks' bells. Guanacanagari, the prince of the country, or *Cacique*, as he was called by his people, received Columbus with much kindness, and in return was treated by him with great distinction. They contracted a friendship, which continued ever afterwards undiminished. He was loaded with ornaments of gold, which, he informed the Spaniards, came from a country farther to the east, called *Cibao*. Columbus, deceived by the resemblance of the names, believed at first that it was Zipangu; but he afterwards learned that Cibao was the name of a mountain in the centre of the island.

The fleet now proceeded to the east, for the purpose of approaching the gold mines of Cibao. On the night of the 24th of December, Columbus's vessel, the *Santa Maria*, struck upon a reef, and he was compelled to abandon her, and take refuge, with his crew, on board the *Nina*. The cacique and his people assisted the Spaniards in saving their effects, and consented to their erecting a fort with the timber of the wreck. It was named *La Navidad*, and garrisoned with thirty-eight men, the first colony in Spanish America. The admiral left provisions in the fort, articles to barter with the natives, and whatever was necessary for its defence. He then took leave of the friendly cacique, with the promise to return soon.

On the 4th of January, 1493, Columbus set sail, proceeding a little to the east, in order to complete the examination of the north coast of the island, and on his way, met the *Pinta*,

near Monte Christo. He affected to be satisfied with the excuses made by Alonzo Pinzon, to explain his parting company. At length, on the 16th, the two ships directed their course for Spain. The weather was favourable at the commencement of the voyage; but heavy gales came on when the ships were near the Azores, and the Pinta was a second time lost sight of. The admiral's vessel was in such imminent danger that he despaired of ever reaching land. He was fearful that the knowledge of his discovery would perish with him; and to prevent this, he wrote a brief account of his voyage on two leaves of parchment, and put each of these leaves into a tight cask. One of these casks was thrown overboard immediately; the other was allowed to remain on deck to await the foundering of the vessel. But Providence interposed to save so valuable a life; the storm subsided. They arrived at the Azores on the 15th of February, and at Palos on the 15th of March, seven months and a half after their departure from the same port. Alonzo Pinzon arrived about the same time at a northern port of Spain, and died a few days after.

Columbus's return was a perfect triumph. He was received at Palos with enthusiastic joy. Ringing of bells and processions of magistrates welcomed him as he advanced towards Barcelona, where the sovereigns were at that time holding their court. He made a public entry into the city; the whole population came out to meet him; he walked in the midst of the Indians whom he had brought with him, and had dressed for the occasion in their native costume. The rich productions of the New World were borne in open baskets before him, as he proceeded through an immense crowd to the palace, where Ferdinand and Isabella were seated on their throne, awaiting his arrival. As soon as he appeared with his train, they rose up. Columbus threw himself upon his knees; but they commanded him to be seated in their presence; "a rare honour in this proud and punctilious court." He then gave an account of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made, and showed the various products

of the New World, which he had brought, and the Indians who attended him. Ferdinand, delighted with the success of this great enterprise, confirmed to Columbus all his privileges and permitted him to join to the arms of his own family, those of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, with the emblems of his discoveries, and of the dignities resulting from them.

Such was the reception of Columbus in Spain, after his return from the first voyage to the New World; but his subsequent life was a practical illustration of the ingratitude of kings and courts. "Columbus," says an eloquent writer,* "inherited an elder brother's share—a double portion—of the estate of great men—envy; envy which nothing could disarm, shame down, or satiate. His brilliant success excited insatiable hatred, on the part of those who were or were not rivals for the glory and profit of nautical adventure. They resisted him in the outset; hung like a mill-stone round his neck, in his progress; and poisoned the cup of his enjoyment, to the last drop. They reversed the benediction; they turned into bitter ashes the beauty of his achievement, which had enabled Spain to stretch her jurisdiction, like the arch of heaven, over half the globe; and instead of the garment of praise, they scourged him home from his world-discovery, clothed in the spirit of heaviness. Before his voyage was undertaken, every imaginable obstacle was thrown in his way. After it was accomplished, while the attempt could be made with any degree of plausibility, the reality of his discovery was denied. When that attempt was baffled by the innumerable proofs which poured in, (to the astonishment and admiration of Spain and all Europe,) of the certain discovery of mighty regions beyond the ocean, whose inhabitants, animals, and plants differed widely from those of the other hemisphere, then the heartless creatures turned round and maintained that the glorious old admiral had learned it all from books and elder navigators. Nor was it a life-estate alone, which he held in the malice of his foes. It descended with his name. A perverse and wicked cruelty pursued the

* Governor Everett.

very blood of him, who gave a new world to Castile and Leon. But all these poor attempts to blight a peerless reputation, have for ages been buried in the forgotten tombs of their forgotten authors."

The chains, imposed on Columbus by Bobadilla, and indignantly worn by him for a whole voyage, were a type, a perfect emblem, of the reward given by Spain, not only to the admiral, but to all the most distinguished discoverers and conquerors who served her in the New World.



Columbus in Chains.



CHAPTER III.

EARLY VOYAGES TO THE CONTINENT.



HE fact was no sooner known in Europe, that "Columbus had given a New World to Castile and Leon," than other nations became ardently desirous to share with the fortunate sovereigns, the advantages of this brilliant discovery. Portugal and France

eagerly entered upon the new field of adventure, and England soon laid the foundation of her western empire, in the first discovery of the continent by a native of her own soil. The discoverer of the continent of America, was Sebastian Cabot, a navigator second only to the illustrious admiral, in skill and enterprise, and in the importance of the services which he rendered to the country under whose auspices he sailed.

His father, John Cabot, an eminent Venetian navigator, arrived and settled in England, in the reign of Henry VII. When his son Sebastian, who was born at Bristol, in 1477, was just entering upon manhood, the fame of Columbus's achievements incited him to undertake an expedition of a similar description.

The king having been disappointed in his hopes of forming an engagement with the illustrious Genoese, gladly extended his protection to the Venetian adventurer; and by a patent, dated the 5th of March, 1496, he granted to John Cabot, and his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sancius, permission to go in search of unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them. Although it has been supposed that John Cabot was the principal in this expedition, it has lately been proved that the voyage was mainly promoted by his son Sebastian, the well-known avarice of the king probably having been his motive for uniting the father, who was a wealthy merchant, in the liabilities imposed by the patent. The expedition sailed from Bristol, in the spring of 1497, under the direction of Sebastian, although he was accompanied by his father. The leading object of the enterprise was the same which had prompted that of Columbus, the discovery of a passage to India.

In the report made to the pope's legate in Spain, Sebastian says, that "understanding, by reason of the sphere, that if he should sail by way of north-west, he should, by a shorter tract, come into India, he thereupon caused the king to be advertised of his device, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was, as farre as he remembered, in the year 1496, in the beginning of summer.

"He began, therefore, to sail towards the north-west, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India; but after certaine days he found that the land ran towards the north, which was to him a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sayling along the coast to see if he could find any gulf that turned, he found the land

still continued to the 56th degree under our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned to the east, despairing to find a passage, he turned back again, and sayled downe by the coast of that land towards the equinoctiall (ever with intent to find the said passage to India), and came to that part of this firm land which is now called Florida; where his victuals failing, he departed from thence and returned to England, where he found great tumults among the people, and preparations for warres in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had unto this voyage."

The circumstance which to him was "a great displeasure," was that which has rendered him famous in all succeeding ages. He had discovered the continent of America. The date in this report is erroneous; the discovery was made on the 24th of June, 1497. The land first seen was the coast of Labrador; the region of icebergs, Esquimaux, and white bears. Columbus did not reach the continent till his third voyage, May 30th, 1498, and Amerigo Vespucci did not leave Spain until May 20th, 1499. The claim of England to her North American possessions is founded upon this clear priority of Cabot's discovery.

Under a new patent granted by Henry VII. in February, 1498, a second voyage was made by Sebastian Cabot, still in search of Cathay and the Indies. He reached the continent in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees, and coasted south to Carolina. In another voyage, undertaken in 1517, he sailed up Hudson's Bay, ascended even to the latitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, and was only prevented from still further prosecuting his hopeless enterprise of discovering a north-west passage to India, by a mutiny among his crew.

Cabot was more fortunate in his rewards than Columbus. Although slighted by the penurious Henry VII., when the novelty of his discoveries had worn off, he was invited into the service of Ferdinand of Spain, and subsequently received the title and emoluments of Pilot Major from Charles V., for whom he discharged important services in the New World. On his return to his native country, he was created Grand

Pilot of England by King Edward VI., and in this office, he directed the commercial enterprise of that country, during the remainder of a long, serviceable, and honourable life. His exertions, prompted by an ever-active zeal and guided by judgment and extensive experience, contributed far more than those of any other individual, to awaken and direct that spirit of maritime enterprise by which England has risen to her present importance among commercial nations.

The discoveries of Cabot soon attracted the attention of the sovereigns of southern Europe. The King of Portugal, who had slighted and endeavoured to circumvent Columbus, now sought to repair the error by despatching an expedition for making discoveries in the north. He gave the command to Gaspar Cortereal, who sailed from Lisbon in the year 1500, and steering north-west from the Azores, discovered and explored the coast of Labrador, which is said to have received its name from the circumstance of his kidnapping fifty of the natives. From a second voyage, commenced in May, 1501, he never returned. The important acquisitions of Portugal in India and Brazil, thenceforward diverted the attention of its enterprising government from the shores of North America.

The French nation appreciated more highly the advantages of effecting an early settlement on our shores. The fishermen of Normandy, worthy descendants of the Northmen, were familiar with the banks of Newfoundland, within a few years after the discovery of Cabot. In 1508, a mariner of Dieppe, named Aubert or Hubert, sailed to Newfoundland and brought home with him a native of that country, who was exhibited to the court in Paris. In 1524, John Verrazani, despatched by Francis I. on a voyage of discovery, in a single ship, reached the shores of North Carolina, and coasted north to the latitude of fifty degrees, exploring on his way the harbours of New York and Newport, and holding intercourse with the aborigines. In a subsequent voyage, he is said to have perished at sea.

In 1534, Jaques Cartier sailed from St. Malo, to examine the coast of Newfoundland. He returned in safety, and the

following year set forth again to prosecute his researches. He entered a great gulf, to which he gave the name of St. Lawrence. Here the savages informed him that the great Hochelega (the St. Lawrence), which conducted to Canada, was before him. They affirmed that it penetrated so far inland, that they had never heard of any one who had reached its source. Cartier proceeded to ascend the river, and found anchorage near the Isle of Orleans, which, from the beauty, variety, and luxuriance of its vegetation, and particularly for the great number of vines which clustered over it in profusion, he named the Isle of Bacchus. He ascended the river in boats, till he came to the village of Stadacona, (called also by the natives, *Canada*, or *the Town*,) which stood, he says, upon as fine a piece of ground as could be seen in France, surrounded by noble trees, such as oaks, elms, walnut, maple, and others, loaded with fruit.

Cartier and his companions wintered in the St. Lawrence, opposite the Indian town of Stadacona, from November till March. The ship was enclosed by ice two fathoms in thickness, and the snow lay above four feet deep on the decks; liquors were all frozen; and to complete the misery of the crew, the scurvy, a disease with which they were wholly unacquainted, broke out among them. There were not above three sound men in the whole company. Those who died were buried in the snow, the survivors wanting strength to dig a grave for them in the earth. An Indian at length pointed out a tree, with the leaves and bark of which they made a decoction, by drinking which they were soon completely cured.

In the spring, Cartier took solemn possession of the country, by erecting a cross decorated with a shield bearing the lilies of France. He then put to sea, and arrived at St. Malo, in July, 1536.

In 1540, another expedition, under the direction of M. de Roberval, was fitted out, in which Cartier received the appointment of chief pilot. Cartier sailed from St. Malo, in 1541, ascended the St. Lawrence, built a fort near the site of



Cartier takes possession of New France.

Quebec, and returned in June, 1542. Roberval did not arrive until after the departure of Cartier. His appointment to the vice-royalty of New France, resulted in no permanent settlement, and he perished, with a numerous train of adventurers, in a subsequent voyage.

The Norman fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, formed the only connecting link between Old and New France for the next fifty years, until in 1598, the Marquis de la Roche, being appointed Lieutenant-General of Canada, made an attempt to settle on the Isle of Sable, which not being attended with success, he returned home in disappointment and died of chagrin.

It was reserved for Samuel Champlain, an experienced mariner of Brouage, to make the first effective settlement in Canada. He founded the city of Quebec in 1608, having

selected its site as a suitable place for a fort, as early as 1603.* At this period the Algonquins and Hurons, who occupied the region in which the new colony was planted, were at war with the Iroquois; and having solicited the aid of their new visitors, Champlain was so imprudent as to enter into alliance with them and take an active part in their contests. The consequence was a rooted hostility on the part of the Iroquois, which proved a fertile source of distress to the colony, for a whole century afterwards.

The settlement of Nova Scotia was made by De Monts, under a charter, in which that country and a considerable part of New England were designated as Acadia. His expedition left France in 1604, and formed a settlement at Port Royal, now called Annapolis, in 1605.

The French colonies in North America were less rapid in their increase than the English, the whole population not exceeding fifty-two thousand, when it was added by conquest to the British dominions; at which period the population of the Anglo-American colonies exceeded a million.

* Bancroft.



Cabot discovering the Continent.



CHAPTER IV.

COLONIZATION OF FLORIDA.

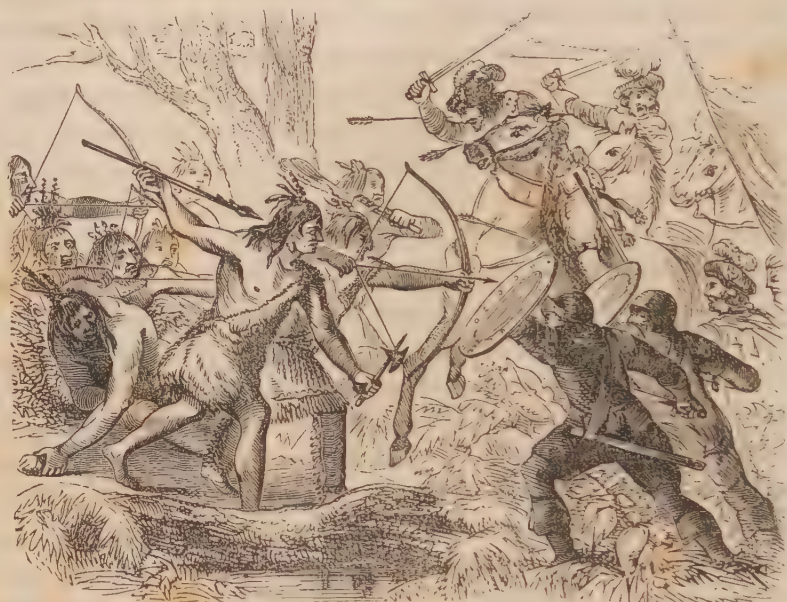


THE success of the Spaniards in making discoveries and conquests in the New World, had fired the whole nation with a romantic spirit of adventure. The prospect of acquiring new kingdoms,

abounding in wealth, of subduing barbarous nations and converting them to the religion of the cross, of bringing countless thousands under the dominion of the Spanish crown, led to numerous expeditions to the West. No region appears to have offered more brilliant prospects to the imagination of adventurers than Florida; none cost more blood and treasure in attempts at conquest, and in none were such bloody defeats and bitter disappointments experienced.

The first expedition of the Spaniards to Florida was undertaken by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1512. This officer had accompanied Columbus, in his second voyage, had been governor of the eastern province of Hispaniola, and subsequently conqueror and governor of Porto Rico. Grown old in hard service, he heard from the Indians that there existed, at the north, an island, called Bimini, in which there was a fountain, whose waters had the property of restoring youth; and the veteran determined to discover and possess a country so desirable. It was while sailing in this visionary pursuit, that he fell in with a shore, rich in beautiful flowering shrubs; and from this circumstance, and its being first seen on Palm Sunday (Pascha Florida), he gave the country the name of Florida. He spent some time in exploring the coast, from about 30 degrees and 8 minutes of north latitude, round the southern cape, discovered the archipelago of the Tortugas, and returned with his three ships to Porto Rico, in the full belief that he had found a new field of rich conquest. For this discovery, Ponce de Leon was rewarded by the Emperor Charles V. with an appointment as governor of Florida, on the condition that he should first conquer and colonize it; but it was not until 1521 that he sailed on his second expedition, with two ships, fitted out at his own cost, for the purpose of forming a settlement. His attempt to gain a footing on the soil, was resisted by the Indians with implacable hostility. The Spaniards were driven back to their ships with heavy loss; and Ponce himself received in the contest a mortal wound with an arrow. He returned to Cuba, to terminate his hopes of conquest and immortality in death.

Meantime the coast of Florida was visited by Perez de Ortubia and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, the latter of whom, in 1520, pushed his discoveries to the north till he reached Cape St. Helena. Here he was kindly received by the natives, and requited their hospitality by treacherously kidnapping a large number of them whom he enticed on board his ships. On his return to Hispaniola, one of his ships was lost; the other arrived safe, but the Indian captives remained sullen and



Ponce de Leon mortally wounded in Florida.

gloomy, refused food, and soon perished of famine and melancholy, in the mines.

For this service he was rewarded by the Emperor Charles V. with an appointment to the government of the newly-discovered country (Carolina), which he called Chicora. After incurring great expense in fitting out his armament, consisting of three large vessels, (1525) he landed in the river Jordan, or Cambahee, only to have his former treachery punished by similar treachery, and to meet with repulse and total defeat. The spirit of the natives had been roused by repeated injuries, and their resistance to the invaders was active and determined. Ayllon was either killed in battle with the Indians, or returned wounded to Hispaniola, where he soon after died. The wrongs of the Indians were amply revenged.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, the officer sent by Velasquez to supersede Cortez, in Mexico, and who was taken prisoner by that celebrated conqueror, was desirous to efface by some

signal exploit, the memory of his defeat on that occasion. He had sufficient interest at the court of Charles V. to obtain the title of *adelantado*, and a commission to conquer and rule the whole region extending from Cape das Palmas to Cape Florida; and having raised an armament of four barques and a brigantine, with a force of four hundred men and forty-five horses, he set sail from St. Lucar, in June, 1527. While waiting to take in supplies at Cuba, Narvaez and his companions suffered severely from a hurricane, which injured the fleet so much that it was found necessary to desist from any further operations during the winter.

In February, 1528, the armament put to sea, and after encountering much rough weather, reached the coast of Florida, near Appalachee Bay. After taking possession of the country with the usual solemnities, Narvaez commenced his march into the interior, (May 1st, 1528). His object was to reach a city called Appalachee, where the natives, anxious to be rid of the invaders, had told them there was abundance of gold. They had little more than a day's provision; when that slender stock was consumed, they were obliged to satisfy their hunger with roots and such fruit as they could find in the woods. For fifteen days they travelled without meeting a human habitation. At the end of that time they reached an Indian village, where they found guides to conduct them to Appalachee. The country which they had to traverse was wild and unequal; sometimes mountainous, but more frequently overspread with deep marshes, rendered nearly impassable by huge trees blown down and lying across them in every direction.

At length, on the 26th of June, the wearied Spaniards arrived in sight of a small collection of Indian wigwams, which they were told was the famed city of Appalachee. The place proved an easy capture; but its conquerors soon found upon what a chimerical foundation all their golden hopes had been reared. In Appalachee they found nothing. The exasperated Indians lurked in the woods and watched all their movements. The whole of their subsequent career was a



Narvaez's march from Appalachee.

series of disasters. After rambling about for many hundred miles, in a vain search after some rich country, they returned to the sea-shore, somewhere near the mouth of the river Appalachicola, in a state of wretched destitution. A third of their number had fallen under the arrows of the Indians, and of the remainder a large proportion laboured under disease brought on by fatigue and privation.

No alternative now remained but to construct vessels and put to sea. Their shirts were sewn together for sails, and ropes were made of the fibrous bark of the palm tree. In six weeks they had completed five boats, capable of holding from forty to fifty men each. They set sail on the 20th of September, in these small barks, so overladen that their gunwales were but a few inches above the water. They coasted towards the west, and passed the mouth of the Mississippi. The boat in which Narvaez had embarked was carried out to sea and never again seen. The other boats laboriously pursued their voyage towards the west, and were cast upon different parts of the continent or the islands along the shore, where nearly all perished of sickness or famine. But five of their number reached Mexico, to tell the story of their suffer-

ings, and to persist in declaring "that Florida was the richest country in the world."*

Among the survivors of this expedition was Alvaro Nunez, who, on his return to Spain, applied for a grant of territory and a government in Florida. But he was forestalled in his suit, by a rival possessing overwhelming interest. Ferdinand de Soto, one of the most distinguished captains of Pizarro's army, had returned to Spain from the conquest of Peru, with immense wealth, and all the reputation which success confers on eminent abilities. By his judicious liberality at court, he won the unbounded favour of the emperor, whose pecuniary difficulties made him quick to discern the merits of a wealthy subject. Soto, who had held a subordinate command in Peru, imagined that, in a higher station, he might expect the same success and a more brilliant fame. He accordingly applied for and easily obtained from the emperor, the government of



Charles V.

Florida, ambition rendering him insensible to the lesson inculcated by the fate of Narvaez. So ample were his means, and so great his reputation, that he was able to equip an armament of ten ships, on board of which were a thousand men, most

* Bancroft.

of them trained to arms. Abundance of munitions of war, more than three hundred and fifty horses, bloodhounds to hunt the natives, chains for the captives, and the instruments of a forge, were provided.

The expedition sailed from Cuba and disembarked in the bay of Spiritu Santo, on the coast of Florida, in May, 1539. To cut off all hopes of return, Soto, in imitation of Cortez, sent back his ships; and then commenced his long and toilsome march into the interior. But he was disappointed in all his hopes of gaining the confidence of the native chieftains; neither by kindness, nor patience, nor demonstrations of his power, could he succeed in conquering their deeply-rooted aversion to the Spanish name. After fighting many battles and suffering much loss to little purpose; after proceeding in devious wanderings into Georgia and Alabama, he at length reached the river Mississippi, at a point near the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. To him belongs the honour of having discovered the Father of Waters.

After crossing the river, the Spaniards marched more than two hundred miles towards the north-west; and still disappointed in their hopes of finding a rich country, like Peru, they then turned to the south. The spring of 1542 found them at the junction of the Red River and the Mississippi. Here, the commander, worn out by fatigue, chagrin, and disappointment, fell ill of a fever and died. His followers, having secretly buried his remains, turned again to the west, and resuming their march, under the command of Luis de Moscoso, endeavoured to penetrate through the savannahs and marshes of Louisiana, to Mexico. But they were compelled by insurmountable difficulties, to return once more to the Mississippi; where they succeeded in constructing barks sufficiently strong to bear them on its waters to the sea. By this means, three hundred and eleven men, the remnant of Soto's grand army of conquest, succeeded in reaching Panuco, on the coast of Mexico (1543). Never were brilliant hopes of wealth and conquest more miserably disappointed.

The disastrous expeditions of the Spaniards to Florida, had



Soto discovering the Mississippi River.

already cost them fourteen hundred lives. Not discouraged, however, with respect to the ultimate conquest of the country, they fitted out another expedition in 1549, under Luis Canello, a Dominican missionary, with the purpose of converting the Indians to the Christian religion. They were provided with great crosses, before which they expected the natives to prostrate themselves. The missionaries were met on the shore, the moment they landed, and three priests, and as many sailors, fell victims to their implacable hostility. Their companions hastily retreated to the ships and abandoned the enterprise.

Another expedition of two thousand Spaniards and six

hundred Indians, fitted out by order of Philip II., under the direction of Tristan de Luna, landed in the bay of Pensacola, August 14th, 1559. Six days afterwards the whole fleet was destroyed by a hurricane. The Spaniards remained in the country for some time, entered into alliance with the Coosa Indians, and engaged in war with the Natchez. After a variety of adventures, Tristan de Luna was superseded by Angel de Villafana, who led the colonists home to Havana.

The country was now abandoned by the Spaniards for a considerable period, during which the French Huguenots made repeated attempts to form settlements on the western coast. These expeditions were sent out under the auspices of the celebrated Admiral Coligny, the champion of the Protestant cause in France. Wearied with the protracted wars which they had been compelled to maintain in defence of their faith, many of the Huguenots had determined to seek some foreign land in which they might enjoy religious liberty. Their first attempt at colonization, made on the coast of Brazil, having been defeated by the Portuguese, Coligny determined to avail himself of the right, which was founded on the discoveries of Verrazani, and form a settlement in the country situated north of Florida. He easily obtained permission from Charles IX., and two ships were placed at his disposal, the command of which was given to John Ribault, of Dieppe, a Huguenot of tried abilities and great experience as a mariner.

The expedition sailed from Dieppe, February 15th, 1562, and reached the coast of Florida, at the thirtieth degree of latitude. Here Ribault discovered a stream, which he called the river May, because he visited it in that month. The Spaniards called it St. Matheo; it is the river St. John. Here, as a sign of possession, a column was raised, bearing the arms of France; and friendly communications were held with the Indians. Ribault now sailed along the coast to find a suitable place for forming a settlement. He discovered and gave French names to all the rivers, from the Altamaha to the Savannah, and finally, reaching Port Royal Entrance, he was so much delighted with the capaciousness of the harbour, and

the beauty and fertility of the surrounding country, that he pitched upon this as the site of the new Protestant colony. The fort, which he erected, was called Carolina, in honour of the king, and a company of twenty-six men, under the command of Captain Albert, was left in possession. The traditions of the Indians agree with the French accounts in designating this spot as the first which was settled by the whites in Carolina.

After leaving provisions and arms with the colonists, Ribault saluted the new French establishment with his artillery and sailed to the north in search of the river Jordan (the Santee), which a sailor, who had accompanied De Ayllon, had discovered forty years before. But the navigation on the coast proved so difficult and dangerous that he abandoned the search and returned to Dieppe in safety, after a voyage of five months.

The colonists had no difficulty in conciliating the Indians; but were impatient under the severe and capricious government of Albert. A revolt and the desertion of the colony was the consequence. Embarking hastily in a brigantine of their own construction, they suffered all the horrors of famine at sea, until they were picked up by an English captain, who set a part of them on shore in France, and took the remainder to Queen Elizabeth, July (1564).

The civil war in France had prevented Coligny from sending supplies to this colony. A short peace enabled him to despatch three ships, under Laudonniere, (April 22d, 1564,) which reached the coast in June. The mouth of the river May was selected for the site of a new fort, Carolina, which the Indians lent their aid in erecting. Improvidence soon led to a revolt among the colonists. A part of them compelled their commander to sign a commission for them to go to Mexico. They commenced a course of piracy against the Spaniards, were captured and punished. Laudonniere, freed by their departure, struggled on with his colony till the next summer, when he was relieved by Sir John Hawkins, who touched at the fort on his return from the West Indies, and offered to take the colonists home. This was prevented by

the arrival of Ribault (August 27th), who had been sent out to supersede Laudonniere, and form a permanent colony. The latter was preparing for his departure, when a Spanish fleet appeared upon the coast.

The bigoted and avaricious Philip II. had received information of the occupation of Florida by a colony of Huguenots, and unwilling to relinquish a country which had already cost Spain so much blood and treasure, he had despatched Pedro Melendez de Aviles, with eleven vessels and a military force of two thousand six hundred men, to extirpate them.

The expedition sailed from Cadiz, June 29th, 1565. On the 9th of August, he arrived at Porto Rico, with five ships, the others having been dispersed in a tempest; and he had now only a third part of his troops. Without waiting for a reinforcement, he sailed for Florida, and soon reached the mouth of the river May, where he found four ships at anchor within the bar. Melendez approached with the design of seizing them; he took some prisoners, on the shore, addressed a summons to the commander of the ships to surrender, and declared that he had come to engage in a war with the Lutherans, to whom no quarter would be shown; that the Catholics should be humanely treated; but that the heretics should be destroyed. He then put to sea, watching for the ships, which were not strong enough to engage with him. They, however, succeeded in escaping. Melendez proceeded to St. Augustine, and the French vessels returned to the river May.

Ribault now resolved to re-embark with part of his troops and attack the Spaniards. Laudonniere and the other officers opposed this design, and advised him to remain on shore and strengthen their fortifications, instead of exposing the fleet to the hurricanes of the season, and risking the capture of the fort in their absence. But Ribault considered himself bound by the instructions of Admiral Coligny, who had been apprised of Melendez's design, to attack the enemy before he had time to fortify himself on the coast where he had landed.

Meantime the Spanish commander was not deficient in activity. Hardly had he arrived at St. Augustine, when he

landed thirty men, to choose a suitable place for a settlement, and laid the foundation of the town which still bears that name (8th September, 1565). It is by more than forty years the oldest permanent settlement in the United States. Melendez took from his vessels all things necessary for the establishment of his colony, and then, learning that Ribault was about to attack him, he sent two ships to Hispaniola for reinforcements, and stationed himself near the bar of the river, with his other ships and a part of his troops. The shallow water did not permit Ribault to cross the bar; and a tempest arising, the French ships were carried out to sea and cast away on the coast, fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina.

Profiting by the departure of his enemy, Melendez made haste to attack Fort Carolina. Placing himself at the head of five hundred men, he cut his way through the dense forest, and arriving in the night, surprised the fort, and entered it with scarcely any resistance.

Laudonniere, who had been left in command by Ribault, had not had time to build up the ruined fortifications of Fort Carolina. His effective force was but forty men, and he was encumbered with two hundred women, children, and invalids. Unable to defend his post, he effected his retreat through a breach, attended by a single soldier, and gained the woods, where some others had taken refuge; thence they proceeded across a marsh to the mouth of the river. The three ships which were still anchored in the bay received them; twenty others succeeded in escaping, and were taken up by the ships, which sailed along the coast for the purpose, and they set sail, September 25th, for France.

Melendez ordered the women and children taken in the fort to be spared; no mercy was shown to any others, and those who had escaped from the battle were reserved for the scaffold. That portion of the French colony which had accompanied Ribault, were nearly all saved when his ships were wrecked on the coast; but in endeavouring to make their way by land to Fort Carolina, they were intercepted by the Spaniards, and trusting to their promises of safety, surrendered. But they

were all treacherously massacred, those who were hung upon the neighbouring trees, bearing on their backs the inscription, "*Hung, not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans.*"

This atrocious act of Melendez was disavowed by Philip II. and not resented by the French government. A private gentleman of Gascony, Dominic de Gourgues, who had signalized himself by various adventures and feats of valour, resolved to avenge the outrage. He sold his property, obtained contributions from his friends, and fitted out an expedition of three ships, in which, with one hundred and fifty men, he embarked for Florida (August 22d, 1567). On his arrival, he entered into alliance with the Indians, and easily surprised and captured the Spanish forts; but being in no condition to establish a permanent colony, he sailed for Europe immediately afterwards, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "*I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers.*"

The French court disavowed this act, and even attempted to punish De Gourgues. Florida was speedily reoccupied by Spain, at this period the only European nation possessing a rood of territory in North America, or its islands.



Ponce de Leon.



CHAPTER V.

ENGLISH EXPEDITIONS TO NORTH AMERICA.



HE Spaniards were the only actual occupants of the American soil; but the English had not abandoned the claim which was founded on the discovery of Cabot. In the reign of Henry VIII., several voyages, having for their object the discovery of a north-west passage to India, were undertaken. Mr. Robert

Thorne, a wealthy merchant of Bristol, who had long resided at Seville, and had acquired something of the Spanish love of adventure, prevailed upon the king to fit out an expedition of two ships, "to attempt a discovery even to the north pole." The expedition left the Thames on the 20th of May, 1527. All that we know of the result of this voyage is, that one of the ships was cast away on the north of Newfoundland.

In 1536, a voyage of discovery to the north-west parts of America, was projected by a person named Hore, of London; "a man of goodly stature, and of great courage, and given to the studie of cosmographie." It is remarkable, that of one hundred and twenty persons, who accompanied him, thirty were gentlemen of the Inns of Court and Chancery. The voyage was signally disastrous. On their arrival in Newfoundland, they suffered so much from famine, that they were driven to the horrible expedient of cannibalism. At length a French ship arriving on the coast, the adventurers succeeded in capturing it, by stratagem, and returned home. The Frenchmen were indemnified by Henry VIII., who pardoned the violence to which necessity had impelled the English adventurers.

The foreign trade of England in the sixteenth century hardly extended beyond the Flemish towns, Iceland, and a limited fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland. But the presence and counsel of Sebastian Cabot, who was well acquainted with the bold navigations of the Spaniards, opened the views and inflamed the ambition of a people not insensible of their own abilities. When that experienced navigator was appointed Grand Pilot of England, by Edward VI., he was at the same time constituted "Governour of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknownen." By his advice, and under his directions, a voyage was undertaken in 1553, for the discovery of a north-east passage to Cathay. Three ships were fitted out for this expedition, of which Sir Hugh Willoughby was appointed captain-general. Richard Chancellor, the pilot-major of the fleet, commanded the

Edward Bonadventure. While the ships lay at Greenwich, where the court at that time resided, the mariners received every mark of royal favour which could cheer and encourage men about to embark on a dangerous and important enterprise. But the result of this voyage, which held out such flattering promises, was most disastrous to the gallant Sir Hugh Willoughby and his brave associates, who, with the whole of the merchants, officers, and ship's company, as well as those of the *Bona Confidentia*, to the number of seventy persons, perished miserably, from the effects of cold and hunger, on a barren and uninhabited part of the eastern coast of Lapland, at the mouth of a river called Arzina, not far from the harbour of Keger. The ships and the dead bodies of those that perished, were discovered by some Russian fishermen the following year; and from papers found in the admiral's ship, and especially by the date of his will, it appeared that most of the company of the two ships, were alive in January, 1554.



Loss of Sir Hugh Willoughby's squadron.

They had entered the river on the 18th of September preceding. No regular journals appear to have been kept in

the ships. That of Sir Hugh Willoughby is extremely meagre, and contains only the following brief reference to their distressed situation:

“Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeere farre spent and also very evill wether, as frost, snow, and haille, as though it had been the deepe of winter, we thought it best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men south-south-west, to search if they could find people; who went three dayes’ journey, but could find none.

“After that we sent out four westward, four dayes’ journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men south-east, three dayes’ journey, who in like sorte returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation.”

Richard Chancellor, the pilot of the fleet, was more fortunate in his voyage. He reached Archangel, travelled to Moscow, to visit the sovereign of the country, and by his able agency laid the foundation of that commercial intercourse which has since subsisted between England and Russia.

The efforts made for the discovery of a north-eastern passage to India, though failing in their specific object, were thus crowned with positive though unexpected advantages. Perhaps it was this success which stimulated renewed attempts to find a north-west passage round America to Cathay. Martin Frobisher, a mariner of great courage, experience, and ability, had persuaded himself that the voyage was not only feasible, but of easy execution; and “as it was the only thing of the world that was left yet undone whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate,” he persisted for fifteen years, in endeavouring to procure the equipment of the expedition which was the constant object of his hopes and speculations.

At length, in 1576, by the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, he was enabled to fit out two small vessels, one of thirty-five and the other of thirty tons. As our adventurers passed Greenwich, where the court then resided, Queen



Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth gave them an encouraging farewell, by waving her hand to them from the window. On the 11th of July, Frobisher discovered land, which he supposed to be the Friesland of Zeno: but the land which he believed to be an island, is evidently the southern part of Greenland. He was compelled by the floating ice to direct his course to the south-west, till he reached Labrador. Sailing to the northward along this coast, he entered a strait in latitude $63^{\circ} 8'$, which was afterwards named Sumley's Inlet. The Esquimaux, in their boats or keajaks, were mistaken by our voyagers for porpoises, or some kind of strange fish. With one of these "strange infideles, whose like was never seen, read, nor heard of before," Frobisher set sail for England, where he arrived on the 2d of October, "highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he

brought of the passage to Cathaia." One of his seamen chanced to bring home with him a stone, as a memorial of his voyage to those distant countries; but his wife throwing it into the fire, it "glistered with a bright marquesset of gold." This accident was soon noised abroad; and the gold finers of London, being called upon to assay the stone, reported that it contained a considerable quantity of gold. Thus the hope of finding gold again became the incentive to distant voyages and geographical researches. The queen now openly favoured the enterprise; and Frobisher again departed, in May, 1577, with three ships, one of which was equipped by Her Majesty. He sagaciously observed that the ice which encumbers the seas must be formed in the sounds or inland near the pole, and that the main sea never freezes. He steered for the strait where his preceding voyage had terminated, and sought the spot where the supposed gold ore had been picked up, but could not find on the whole island, a piece "as big as a walnut." On the neighbouring islands, however, the ore was found in large quantities. In their examination of Frobisher's Straits, they were unable to establish a pacific intercourse with the natives. Two women were seized; of whom one, being old and ugly, was thought to be a devil or a witch, and was consequently dismissed. As gold and not discovery was the avowed object of this voyage, our adventurers occupied themselves in providing a cargo, and actually got on board almost two hundred tons of the glittering mineral which they believed to be ore. When the lading was completed, they set sail homewards; and though the ships were dispersed by violent storms, they all arrived safely in different ports of England.

The queen and the persons engaged in this adventure were delighted to find "that the matter of the gold ore had appearance and made show of great riches and profit, and that the hope of the passage to Cathaia, by this last voyage greatly increased." The queen gave the name of *Meta Incognita* to the newly-discovered country, on which it was resolved to establish a colony. For this purpose a fleet of fifteen ships

was got ready, and one hundred persons appointed to form a settlement, and remain there the whole year, keeping with them three of the ships; the other twelve were to bring back cargoes of gold ore. Frobisher was appointed admiral in general of the expedition, and on taking leave received from the queen a gold chain, as a mark of her approbation of his past conduct. The fleet sailed on the 31st of May, 1578, and in three weeks discovered Friezeland, of which possession was formally taken, and then held its course direct to Frobisher's Straits. The voyage hitherto had been prosperous; but distresses and vexations of every kind thwarted the attempt to fix a colony. Violent storms dispersed the fleet; drift-ice choked up the strait; one small bark, on board of which was the wooden house intended for the settlers, was crushed by the icebergs, and instantly went down; thick fogs, heavy snow, with tides and currents of extraordinary violence, bewildered the mariners, and involved them in endless distresses. At length, after enduring extreme hardships, it was resolved to return, and postpone to the ensuing year the attempt to make a settlement in the country. The storms which had frustrated the object of the expedition, pursued the fleet in its passage homeward; the ships were scattered, but arrived at various ports of England before the commencement of October.

The *Busse of Bridgewater*, in her homeward passage, fell in with a large island to the south-east of Friezeland, in latitude $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which had never before been discovered, and sailed three days along the coast, the land appearing to be fertile, full of wood, and a fine champagne country. On this authority the island was laid down in their charts, but was never afterwards seen, and certainly does not exist; though a bank has recently been sounded upon, which has revived the opinion that the Friezeland of Zeno and the land seen by the *Busse of Bridgewater* were one and the same island, which has been since swallowed up by an earthquake.

Success seems to have deserted Frobisher after his first voyage, which alone indeed had discovery for its object.

When the sanguine expectations which had been founded on the supposed discovery of gold were disappointed, his voyages were looked upon as a total failure ; and he appears himself, for a time, to have fallen into neglect. But in 1585, he served with Sir Francis Drake, in the West Indies ; three years later he commanded one of the largest ships of the fleet which defeated the Spanish armada ; and his gallant conduct on that trying occasion procured him the honour of knighthood.

Frobisher's zeal in the pursuit of north-western discoveries is supposed to have been fostered by the writings of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of brilliant talents and romantic temper. When we contemplate the early discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese, we see needy adventurers, and men of desperate character and fortune, pursuing gain or licentiousness, with violence and bloodshed. But the English navigators, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, sought to extend our knowledge of the globe, were men of a different stamp, and driven forward by motives of a more honourable nature. They undertook the most difficult navigations, through seas perpetually agitated by storms and encumbered with ice, in vessels of the most frail construction and of small burden ; they encountered all the difficulties and distresses of a rigorous climate, and, in most cases, with a very distant or with no prospect of ultimate pecuniary advantages. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was one of those gallant spirits, who engaged in the career of discovery chiefly from the love of fame and thirst of achievement. In 1578, he obtained a patent, authorizing him to undertake western discoveries, and to possess lands unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects.

The grant in the patent was made perpetual, but was at the same time declared void, unless acted upon within six years. In compliance with this condition, Sir Humphrey prepared, in 1583, to take possession of the northern parts of America and Newfoundland. In the same year, Queen Elizabeth conferred on his younger brother, Adrian Gilbert, the privilege of making discoveries of a passage to China and the Moluccas, by the north-westward, north-eastward, or north-

ward, directing the company of which he was the head, to be incorporated by the name of "The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage."

The fleet of Sir Humphrey consisted of five ships, of different burthens, from ten to two hundred tons, in which were embarked about two hundred and sixty men, including shipwrights, masons, smiths, and carpenters, besides "mineral men and refiners," and for the amusement of the crew "and allurement of the savages, they were provided of music in good variety, not omitting the least toys, as morrice-dancers, hobby-horses, and Maylike conceits, to delight the savage people, whom they intended to win by all fair means possible." This little fleet reached Newfoundland on the 30th of July. It is noticed, that at this early period, "the Portugals and French chiefly have a notable trade of fishing on the Newfoundland Banks, where there are sometimes more than a hundred sail of ships."

On entering St. John's, possession was taken, in the queen's name, of the harbour and two hundred leagues every way; parcels of land were granted out, but the attention of the general was chiefly directed to the discovery of the precious metals.

The colony being thus apparently established, Sir Humphrey Gilbert embarked in his small frigate, the Squirrel, which was, in fact, a miserable bark of ten tons; and, taking with him two other ships, proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward. One of these vessels, the Delight, was soon after wrecked among the shoals near Sable Island; and of above one hundred men on board, only twelve escaped. Among those who perished were the historian and the mineralogist of the expedition; a circumstance which preyed upon the mind of Sir Humphrey, whose ardent temper fondly cherished the hope of fame and of inestimable riches. He now determined to return to England; but as his little frigate, as she is called, appeared wholly unfit to proceed on such a voyage, he was entreated not to venture in her, but to take his passage in the Golden Hinde. To these solicitations the gallant

knight replied, "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." When the two vessels had passed the Azores, Sir Humphrey's frigate was observed to be nearly overwhelmed by a great sea; she recovered, however, the stroke of the waves, and immediately afterwards the general was observed by those in the *Hinde*, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, and calling out, "Courage, my lads! we are as near Heaven by sea as by land!" The same night this little bark, and all within her, were swallowed up in the sea, and never more heard of. Such was the unfortunate end of the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who may be regarded as the father of western colonization, and who was one of the chief ornaments of the most chivalrous age of English history.*

While these attempts were made to effect the colonization of the eastern shores of North America, the western were visited by an English navigator, Sir Francis Drake, during one of his marauding expeditions against the Spaniards in the Pacific. He reached the southern part of Oregon Territory in 1579. It had been previously examined, however, (in 1542), by Cabrillo, a Portuguese commander sailing in the service of Spain.

The advantages of the Newfoundland fishery were early fully appreciated by the European States, and all those which possessed a marine hastened to secure a participation in it. About the year 1578, the English vessels employed in this fishery were fifty in number. Above a hundred Spanish vessels at the same time were annually employed on those banks: there were fifty Portuguese, a hundred and fifty French, and twenty or thirty Biscayan ships; the last being chiefly engaged in the whale fishery. Among all these the English had a decided superiority in the equipment of their vessels; and they seem also to have asserted a sovereignty over those seas, founded perhaps on the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot, which was generally acquiesced in by the foreign fishermen. But the settlement made in Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey

* Hakluyt, vol. iii.

Gilbert fixed the title and confirmed the predominance of the English in that quarter: and towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the English fishing-vessels frequenting the Newfoundland Banks exceeded two hundred sail, and employed above eight thousand seamen.

The death of that gallant gentleman threatened to put a check to those schemes of settlement which required not only ability to conduct, but a romantic imagination even to conceive and enter upon them in the first instance. But the influence and the projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert descended upon one not inferior to him in the ardour or boldness of his genius. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, easily procured, in 1584, the renewal of his patents, in terms quite as ample; the territory granted being any two hundred miles in every direction, of such "remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, as were not yet taken possession of by any Christian people." He immediately equipped two ships for the purpose of discovery; and, being too much engaged in court intrigues to conduct the expedition himself, he intrusted it to the command of two experienced officers, Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. They chose the circuitous course of the Canaries and West India Islands. As they approached the coast of Florida, they were delighted with the odour which was wafted from the land long before it was in sight. On discovering the continent, they sailed along the coast forty leagues, till they came to a river, where, going on shore, they took possession of the country in the name of the queen and of their employer. Ascending the summit of a hill, they found that they had landed on an island (Wocoken, on the coast of North Carolina,) of about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. They met a native, whom they treated kindly; and he, to show his gratitude, divided among them a boat-load of fish, the produce of his day's industry. Soon after, they were visited by the king of the country, surrounded by forty or fifty chiefs. His fancy was particularly caught by a pewter dish, which he purchased for twenty deer-skins; and making a hole in the rim, he suspended it from his neck as a breast-plate,



The Indian's Breast-plate.

intimating by signs that it would protect him from the arrows of his enemies. For a copper kettle he gave fifty valuable skins. But the articles which he most coveted were swords, and to procure these he offered to leave a box of pearls in pledge; the English, however, cautiously avoided furnishing the savages with arms, or discovering the value which they attached to pearls before they knew whence they were procured. They were told of a city, six days' journey in the interior, where the king resided, but did not attempt to reach it; and being satisfied with the success of their voyage, they returned to England in September, accompanied by two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese. They represented the country which they had discovered as a perfect paradise; uniting the most romantic scenery with unequalled fertility. The queen, charmed with this description, was pleased to call the newly-discovered land *Virginia*; a name which at that time comprehended nearly all the territories of North America to which the English made pretensions.

A second expedition, consisting of seven ships, was fitted out under the auspices of Raleigh, and placed under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, accompanied by Captain Ralph Lane, as governor of the intended colony. The fleet sailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of April, 1585, and after touching at the Canary Islands and Porto Rico, arrived at Wocoken

in June. Here the admiral's ship was cast away going into the harbour, but himself and the crew were saved.

The expedition was accompanied by several distinguished men, among whom were the celebrated navigator Cavendish, and Hariot the mathematician, who acted as historian of the expedition. The admiral, with several of his officers, attended by a guard of soldiers, went over to the continent on the 11th of July, and came to the town of Secotan, where they were hospitably entertained by the natives; but an Indian having stolen a silver cup from the English, which the natives neglected to restore, the admiral in his return plundered one of their towns, and burnt it, with all the corn growing in their fields; an act of hasty retaliation, which so greatly incensed the Indians, that the English deemed it prudent to abandon



Grenville burns an Indian town.

Wocoken. The admiral accordingly set sail on the 21st of July, and arrived at Cape Hatteras, where the chief Granganimio, brother to King Wingina, came on board the fleet and had a friendly conference with the English. The company then landed on the Island of Roanoke, where the fleet remained six weeks, during which time the neighbouring continent was visited and experiments were made on the goodness of the

soil by several sorts of grain, which were sowed and "came up very kindly during their stay."

On the 25th of August, Grenville set sail for England, leaving one hundred and eight men, under the command of Governor Lane, with directions to make further discoveries, and a promise of future supplies and reinforcements.

The fleet had no sooner sailed than Lane made preparations with his boats, no ships being left with the colony, to explore the main land on the north and west. He advanced to the north as far as Cape Henry, without meeting any opposition from the natives; but on his making known his intention to proceed to the westward, up the River Albemarle, King Wingina took the alarm, and gave notice to the neighbouring princes, his allies, that the English designed to make a conquest of the whole country and extirpate or enslave the inhabitants; and orders were forthwith despatched to the surrounding tribes to carry off or destroy all their corn and provisions, and retire from the banks of the Albemarle, with their wives and children, that the English might find no subsistence.

Wingina, however, still pretended great friendship for his visitors, and encouraged the scheme of discovery by representing that there was plenty of gold in the mountains, at the head of the Albemarle; and that the English, by travelling forty days, might arrive at an ocean which he knew they desired to reach. By this stratagem it was hoped that the adventurers would be famished before they could get back to Roanoke.

Lane, supposing that it would be an easy matter to obtain supplies from the Indians, took little provision with him; but to his great surprise, he found the whole country abandoned; and as he advanced he observed that the natives made fires to give notice of his approach, and fled with all their effects. After rowing four days up the river, the company were reduced to great straits, having nothing to subsist on but the flesh of two mastiff dogs which they killed. They were thus compelled to return; and arrived at Roanoke on Easter-day,

1586. Here they found Wingina and his Indians, who still professed friendship for the English ; but immediately entered into a conspiracy with their allies to destroy them. Their plan was to surprise and set fire to the town while the people were chiefly scattered about in hunting parties, and to overpower the separate detachments by superior numbers.

This conspiracy was discovered to Lane by Skyco, the son of Menatonon, an Indian prince with whom the commander was on terms of intimacy. The captain resolved to be beforehand with Wingina, and on the last of May, being admitted to a conference with him and an assemblage of his chiefs, he gave a preconcerted signal to his men, who fell upon the Indians present and put them all to death.

The condition of the colony had now become exceedingly dangerous and distressing. The people began to despond and wish for a return to their native country. It happened (June 8th), a few days after the massacre, that Sir Francis Drake arrived at Roanoke, with a fleet of men-of-war under his command, which had been employed in attacking and plundering the Spanish ports in the West Indies. The admiral had been directed to give the colonists at Roanoke all the assistance in his power ; but understanding on what terms they were with the natives, and that it would be impossible to maintain their position without a much larger force, he received Captain Lane and his company on board the fleet, and returned with them to England. Thus terminated the first attempt of Raleigh to establish a colony in America. The companions of Lane had resided long enough with the Indians to acquire their favourite practice of smoking, which they were the first to introduce in England.

Meantime Raleigh had not forgotten his colony ; for a few days after the departure of Drake, a ship arrived at Roanoke with men, ammunition, and provisions ; but no Europeans being found, after a careful search among the islands and on the adjacent continent, it was supposed that they had all been destroyed by the Indians, and the ship returned to England. A fortnight after the departure of this reinforcement from

Roanoke, Sir Richard Grenville arrived there with three ships and a more ample supply of ammunition and provisions; but after strict inquiry, he could gain no intelligence of the colony. Unaware of the good reasons which the Indians had for hostility to the very name of Englishmen, he left fifteen men to hold possession of the country. Of course this detachment was speedily exterminated.

In the beginning of the year 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out three ships more, with one hundred and fifty men, besides mariners, under the command of Captain John White, whom he appointed governor, with twelve assistants, incorporating them by the name of "The Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, in Virginia." This squadron sailed from Portsmouth, on the 28th of April, 1587, and after touching at Santa Cruz, reached Cape Fear on the 16th of July and Cape Hatteras on the 22d. A party of men was sent on shore at Roanoke to search for the fifteen men left by Grenville, but could find no signs of them except the bones of one man, supposed to have been killed by the natives. At the north end of the island a fort was found, which had been erected by Lane, and the houses of the first colony undemolished. The lower rooms, however, were overrun with melons, and deer were feeding on them.

Raleigh had directed Governor White to settle on Chesapeake Bay; but this was opposed by Ferdinando, the Spanish pilot, to whose care the fleet had been committed, under pretence that it was too late in the year to look out for another port. It was therefore determined to remain at Roanoke. Soon after their landing, one of their number, George How, straggling a mile or two from the fort, was murdered by a party of Indians.

A number of the colonists, led by Captain Stafford, paying a visit to the Island of Croatan, with Manteo, the Indian, whose relatives dwelt there, were kindly received by the natives. The accounts given by the Indians of Croatan, left no doubt of the fate of the fifteen men whom Sir Richard Grenville had placed at Roanoke. A part of them had been



Settlement at Roanoke.

murdered by the Indians of Secotan, and the remainder had gone in their boat upon one of the small islands, where they could not long have avoided a similar fate.

On the 13th of August, Manteo was baptized and “constituted Lord of the Island of Roanoke, and of the opposite continent of Desamongapeak, as Sir Walter Raleigh had ordered;” and on the 18th of the same month, Mrs. Eleanor Dare, wife of Ananias Dare, one of the Court of Assistants, and daughter of Governor Dare, gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized by the name of Virginia. She was the first Anglo-American. When the governor subsequently went to England, she remained with her parents, and with them perished in the land of her nativity.

The colony was still in great need of further supplies and reinforcements; and at the earnest solicitation of the people, Governor White returned to England with the fleet for the purpose of obtaining them. On his arrival, the apprehension of the Spanish invasion engaged all minds. In the following

summer, 1588, when it was actually attempted, the queen and the whole kingdom were employed, and Raleigh, Drake, and the other naval commanders were so fully occupied as to admit of no attention to enterprises of inferior moment. Two ships, which Raleigh found means to despatch with supplies, were compelled to return by the enemy. No further attempt to relieve them was made until after the destruction of the "Invincible Armada."

Raleigh's schemes for colonization had already cost him forty thousand pounds, and of course had yielded him no profit. Engaged in other arduous enterprises, he was under the necessity of assigning a portion of the rights conferred by his patent (March, 1589,) to Sir Thomas Smith, and several other gentlemen, among whom was Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, the author of a celebrated collection of voyages and travels, which were instrumental in exciting the spirit of adventure among his countrymen. This company carried on a petty trade with the natives, but made no attempt at colonization.

It was not till the beginning of 1590, that Governor White obtained leave for three small ships ordered, to cruise among the Spanish islands in the West Indies, to take reinforcements and supplies for the colony at Roanoke. The cruise detained them till the middle of August, when arriving at the island, they found only the letters CROATAN cut repeatedly upon the trees and beams of the deserted houses. Hardly could the governor persuade the captains to follow the colony to Croatan. Their consent was at length obtained, when the weather growing tempestuous, and the ships losing most of their cables and anchors, they sailed directly for England, leaving the colony to its unknown fate.

Such was the termination of Sir Walter Raleigh's repeated and persevering attempts to establish a settlement on the shores of North Carolina. Although unsuccessful in his immediate object, his influence and example gave the first impulse to English colonization in our country; and it was but an act of justice to one of the greatest men of the

illustrious age of Queen Elizabeth, when the State of North Carolina, appreciating his character and revering his memory, gave his name to their capital city.

The next attempt at colonization was made on the shores of New England. On the 26th of March, 1602, Captain Gilbert sailed from Plymouth in a small vessel with thirty-two marines and landmen; the landmen being commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, and designed for a colony. Avoiding the usual course to the south, and sailing directly across the Atlantic, he reached the northern part of Massachusetts, on the 14th of May. Several of the Indians came on board in a European boat, some of them being clothed like Europeans, and others in mantles of deer-skins, the boat and clothes having been given them by fishermen who frequented the Banks of Newfoundland. The voyagers afterwards sailed to the southward, and came to a promontory which they named Cape Cod, from the shoals of codfish which they encountered. Here Captain Gosnold went on shore, and found peas, strawberries, and other fruits growing. The Indians were numerous and friendly. Sailing to the south they arrived at another point, which they called Gilbert's Point; and to the south-west they visited and named Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth Island. Upon the last they proposed to settle, and landed for this purpose on the 28th of May. The island was well-timbered, and abounded with fruits and berries. In the middle of a fresh-water lake, which surrounded a little rocky islet, containing an acre of ground, they began to erect a house and fort, capable of receiving twenty men. Gosnold meanwhile visited the continent, and received presents from the Indians of furs, tobacco, and shells.

When the time approached for the vessel to return to England, the colony, twenty in number, who were designed to be left, warned by the fate of the fifteen men left by Grenville, and by a slight encounter which two of them had had with the Indians, and apprehensive that their supplies of provisions would prove insufficient, resolved to abandon their little fort and return to their homes. Taking on board the furs which

they had collected, and the sassafras, which was an object of traffic, on account of its supposed medicinal virtues, the whole company set sail from Elizabeth Island, on the 18th of June, and arrived at Exmouth, in Devon, on the 23d of July following.

The next year (1603) Mr. Hakluyt proposed to certain merchants of Bristol to send some ships on the same voyage; and as Raleigh's patent was still in force, his consent was obtained, and two vessels, the *Speedwell* of fifty tons and the *Discoverer* of twenty-six tons, were fitted out and placed under the command of Martin Pring. Their cargo consisted of clothing, hardware, and toys, suitable for exchange with the Indians. They left Milford Haven, on the 10th of April, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth, and reached the coast of New England, in the latitude of forty-three degrees, coasted south-west to the forty-first degree, touching on the coast of Maine and visiting the Penobscot, Saco, Kennebunk, and York rivers. In Massachusetts they found the desired supply of sassafras, and erected on the shore a little redoubt, for security while they were cutting the wood and conveying it on board. Their cargo of clothing and hardware was exchanged with the Indians for furs, and the ships were soon fully laden.

The day before the English embarked, the Indians came down in great numbers and set fire to the woods where they had cut the sassafras, probably with a view of preventing the recurrence of a visit from those whom they had begun to regard as formidable intruders. Pring describes the dress of the Indians as very slight, girdles, aprons, and mantles of bear-skin hung upon one shoulder. Their canoes were of birch, constructed precisely like those now in use among the Canadian Indians. When the traffic of the party had been successfully completed, the ships sailed, and arrived safely in England, after a voyage of six months.

In 1605, the Earl of Southampton and Lord. Arundel equipped a ship called the *Archangel*, and sent her to New England, under the command of Captain George Weymouth.

He explored the coast from the Penobscot to the Hudson. Not far from the mouth of the latter river, he entered a good harbour, which, as it was discovered on Whitsunday, was called Pentecost Harbour. Here he carried on a profitable traffic with the Indians, getting forty beaver-skins for the value of five shillings in knives and other cutlery. The Indians coming on board his ship fearlessly during his intercourse with them, he treacherously kidnapped five of their number, and ultimately carried them away; the traffic with the Indians being completed and their attempts to recover their friends evaded, Weymouth set sail for England on Sunday, June 16th, and made the Islands of Scilly on the 16th of July following. As a commercial adventure this voyage was completely successful.

More than a century had now elapsed since the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and yet England had effected no settlement on its shores. But the toils and dangers of the successive navigators, whose voyages we have recounted, had not been undergone in vain. The claim founded on the discovery of Cabot had been kept alive. The country had become known to the enterprising and mercantile part of the nation. It was perceived that although destitute of the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, the northern parts of the continent were rich in the superior resources of natural fertility, inexhaustible fisheries, fine harbours, and healthful and convenient localities for colonization and trade. The public mind was fully prepared for a new attempt which should command success. The star of western empire had struggled through the clouds and was emerging into the clear firmament. The century of discovery had been a century of progress.



CHAPTER VI.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.



THE accession of James I. to the English crown," says Mr. Gra-hame, "was, by a singular coincidence, an event no less favourable to the colonization of America, than fatal to the illustrious projector of this design." The same policy which gave peace to Spain, and thereby turned many ardent spirits into new paths of adventure, deprived Raleigh of his patent by attainder, and opened the continent to the enterprise of those who were destined to effect its permanent settlement.

Many distinguished men were already revolving in their minds projects of colonization, and all turned towards Virginia as the theatre of their operations. Hakluyt, the historian of

maritime adventure, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, destined afterwards to become the proprietary of Maine, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Captain John Smith, the most able and active among the leaders in enterprises of discovery, were all at the same time directing their efforts to the same object. The failure of Raleigh's attempts seems to have convinced them of the necessity of uniting in a company or corporation in order to command success; and accordingly others were invited to join them in petitioning to the king for a patent to enable them to raise a joint stock in order to settle colonies in Virginia.

The petition was favourably received, and, on the 10th of April, 1606, letters-patent were issued to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, knights, Richard Hakluyt, clerk, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, esquires, and William Parker and George Popham, gentlemen, and their associates, granting them all those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and 45th degrees of north latitude, including all the islands within one hundred miles of their shores. The patentees were divided into two companies; the first or southern colony, consisting of the London adventurers; and the second or northern, composed of adventurers principally from Plymouth and Bristol.

The charter authorized both companies to transport to their territories as many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them. The colonists and their children were to enjoy the same rights and liberties as if they had remained in England. The supreme government of the colonies was committed to a council in England, to be nominated by the king and directed by his instructions; the subordinate jurisdiction was lodged in a council resident in the colonies; also subject to the king. Having retained in his own hands as much as possible of the power, James set about digesting a code of laws for the government of the settlements; which, having been duly prepared, was issued under the privy seal of England. By this code the legislative and executive powers were

vested in the colonial council; whose laws were subject to a repeal by the king or supreme council. The religion of the Church of England was established. Persons guilty of treason were to be sent to England for trial; those accused of murder, rebellion, and incest, were to be tried by a jury, and, if guilty, to suffer death; all inferior crimes were to be punished at the discretion of the president and council; lands were to be held on the same tenures as in England; and, for five years after the settlement of each colony, a community of property was established.

The London company immediately applied themselves to the formation of a settlement; and fitted out three small vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons burthen. These they put under the command of Captain Christopher Newport; who sailed on the 19th of December, 1606; one hundred and ten years after the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty-two years after its occupation by Raleigh. Newport had with him one hundred and five men destined to remain in America; among these were several persons of distinction; particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Bartholomew Gosnold, the navigator, and Captain John Smith. Instead of pursuing Gosnold's track, Newport took the old circuitous one, by way of the Canaries; and was four months in accomplishing the voyage. It had been his intention to land at Roanoke; but a storm arising, the squadron was driven into Chesapeake Bay. Here he discovered and named Cape Henry, in honour of the Prince of Wales. After coasting about for some time, the adventurers entered a river called by the natives Powhatan; and, seeing that the region to which they had been driven by the storm, possessed many advantages not to be found at Roanoke, they determined to make this the place of their abode. Both their settlement and the river Powhatan received the name of their king; and Jamestown can now pride herself on being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America.

But, unfortunately for their welfare, dissensions had broken out among the colonists on their voyage. This was an almost

unavoidable consequence of an artifice employed by James. The names of the colonial council were sealed up in a packet, which was not to be opened until twenty-four hours after their arrival in Virginia ; so that no one knew in what relation to the others he might be placed ; neither could any take the authority of commanding the rest. Having now landed, the packet was opened and the names of the council proclaimed ; they were far from giving general satisfaction, especially that of Captain Smith, whose superior abilities had excited the envy of his companions. The council, having elected a president, excluded Smith from their number on a groundless charge of entertaining treasonable designs. The loss of his services to the colonists was one of a serious nature ; but he demanded a trial, was honourably acquitted, and took his seat in the council. In June, Newport sailing for England, the supplies which the colonists had hitherto received from his squadron were thus cut off ; and being now limited to unwholesome provisions, and unused to the climate, they were visited by a raging disease, which, before September, had carried off one half of their number, among whom was Bartholomew Gosnold. The distress of the adventurers was heightened by internal dissensions ; accusations of embezzling the public stores were preferred against the president, and he was detected in attempting to escape from the colony in a pinnace. At length the drooping spirits of the colonists were revived by the arrival of an abundant supply of provisions which Smith had obtained from the Indians. Gratitude to their preserver now took the place of their jealousy ; and all looked up to him as the head of the colony.

Captain Smith, whose name will ever be associated with the establishment of civilized society in America, was descended from a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and was born to a competent fortune. His mind was strongly tinctured with the spirit of adventure so prevalent in England during the reign of Elizabeth ; and yielding to his inclinations, he passed through a variety of military service, with little gain, but great reputation, and with the acquisition of valuable

experience. The vigour of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness; and his undaunted temper retained his spirits unbroken and his judgment unclouded. A strong sense of religion predominated in his mind, giving dignity to his character and consistency to his conduct. Entering upon the direction of affairs, he fortified Jamestown; and the savages refusing to grant further supplies, he put himself at the head of a company of his people, and advanced into the country. By affability to the well-disposed tribes, and vigorously repelling the hostility of such as were otherwise disposed, he obtained for the colony the most abundant supplies. But in the midst of his success he was surprised, and, after a brave defence, taken prisoner. He desired to speak with the sachem, and, presenting him with a mariner's compass, he described its wonderful properties, explained the globular shape of the earth, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and other things wonderful to his captors, who listened in amazement, and regarded Smith as a superior being. The impression made on the savages was so strong, that although he had not once solicited his life, they remained for one hour undecided; but at last their habitual sentiments prevailed, and binding him to a tree, they prepared to despatch him with their arrows. Fortunately for Smith, a stronger impression had been made on Opechancanough, the chief, who, holding up the compass, gave the signal of reprieve, but still retained him a prisoner.

After vainly endeavouring to lead him to betray the colony into their hands, they conducted him to Powhatan, the king of the country, who adjudged him to die by having his head beaten to pieces with a club. At the place of execution, he was again rescued from his fate by Pocahontas, the king's favourite daughter, who threw her arms around the prisoner, and declared she would save him or die with him. Her humane affection prevailed over the cruelty of the tribe, and Smith was released, and soon after sent back to Jamestown, where he found his associates, reduced to thirty-eight men, preparing to abandon the settlement. Nor could they be



Pocahontas rescuing Captain Smith.

persuaded to relinquish the design, except by remonstrance and violent interference. Pocahontas had sent provisions, which relieved their present wants, and Smith's account of plenty among the savages revived their hopes. By his successful efforts in effecting a union of interests among the two races of people, he preserved plenty among the English, and extended his influence with the Indians. He employed his best endeavours to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstitions, but succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. They acknowledged that God, whom they termed "the God of Captain Smith," excelled their deities as artillery excels bows and arrows.

While the colony was thus prospering under Captain Smith, two vessels arrived from England, bringing one hundred and twenty men, a supply of provisions, seed, and agricultural instruments. In this time of prosperity, jealousies again appeared. Captain Smith's influence among the Indians excited the envy of those whom he had often saved; and his authority in the colony began visibly to decline, and soon ceased. The discipline which he had introduced was now relaxed, and a free traffic was permitted with the natives, who soon complained of fraudulent dealing, and resumed their former animosity. In recruiting the population of the colony, too little consideration was shown for those habits and pursuits which everywhere form the basis of national prosperity. Many of those who had lately arrived were gentlemen, a few were labourers, and some were jewellers and refiners of gold. The latter soon found an opportunity to exercise their profession. A small stream of water, near Jamestown, was found to deposit in its channel a glittering sediment resembling gold ore. This dust, being examined by the refiners, was pronounced to be ore of a very rich quality; and from that moment the thirst for gold was inflamed into a rage that produced all the extravagant excesses, without the profligate enormities, which had distinguished the followers of Cortez and Pizarro. Notwithstanding Smith's strenuous exertions, all productive industry was suspended; gold mines were supposed to exist in the neighbourhood, and mining operations engrossed the whole attention and labour of the colonists. In June, 1608, the two vessels that had brought out the late supplies, returned to England; the one laden with this worthless dross, and the other with cedar-wood.

Smith foresaw the fatal effects of this delusion of the colonists, and, in hopes of diminishing their extent, resolved to explore the Chesapeake Bay, to ascertain the qualities and resources of its territories, and promote an intercourse with the more remote tribes. In this arduous undertaking, which equals the most celebrated exploits of the Spanish discoverers, he was successful. Accompanied by Dr. Russell and a few



Captain Smith surveying Chesapeake Bay.

followers, he performed in an open boat, two voyages of discovery, occupying more than four months, and embracing above three thousand miles of exploration. He visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, from Cape Charles to the river Susquehannah, and diligently examined the territories into which he penetrated. He brought back an ample and accurate account of his researches, and his map has been made the groundwork of all posterior ones. By his liberality, wisdom, and courage, Smith inspired the Indians with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation.

While this expedition was in progress, the golden dreams of the colonists were dispelled, and they awoke to all the miseries of sickness, want, and disappointment; but when Smith returned, he revived their spirits and relieved their wants by the resources he had created. Immediately after his return, on the 10th of September, he was chosen president by the council, and, accepting the office, he soon restored good order and prosperity in the colony. But Smith's administration was not acceptable to the company in England. The patentees looked for sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter passage to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with gold and silver mines; and, as they had hitherto been disappointed, they thought it necessary to take all authority into their own hands, and abolish any originating in

America. For this purpose they applied for and obtained a new charter on the 23d of May, 1609. This charter incorporated the company in London and the colonists, by the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first colony in Virginia." The boundaries of the colony and the power of the corporation were enlarged; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished, and a new council established in England. This council was empowered to remodel the magistracy of the colony, enact all its future laws, and appoint all its officers. The charter contained a clause intended to prevent the introduction of the doctrines of the Church of Rome into the colony.

Lord Delaware was appointed, by the new council, governor and captain-general of the colony; and the eminent character of this nobleman contributed to strengthen the company by an addition to its numbers and its funds. Such was the favourable disposition evinced by the public, that the adventurers were soon enabled to equip a squadron of nine ships, carrying five hundred emigrants, under the command of Captain Newport, who, together with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was to supersede the existing administration, and govern the colony until the arrival of Lord Delaware.

The three temporary governors embarked in the same vessel; but, a storm arising, the ship was separated from the fleet, and driven on the coast of the Bermudas. The remainder of the squadron arrived safely at Jamestown; but so little were they expected, that, when first seen at sea, they were mistaken for enemies. A great part of the new emigrants were profligate and licentious youths, sent over by their friends to screen them from justice in their own country; the residue consisted principally of indigent gentlemen, too proud to beg and too lazy to work, of broken tradesmen, idle retainers, of whom the great had been eager to rid themselves; and others like these, more fitted to ruin a commonwealth than to found and maintain one. Under the command of seditious leaders, this pernicious crew, without the least authority, proclaimed the changes which the constitution had undergone,

and proceeded to overthrow the colonial presidency and council. Investing themselves with the powers, they were unable to devise any frame of government; sometimes they resorted to the old commission, and sometimes a new model was attempted, and the chief direction of affairs passed from one to another, without any improvement. By this revolution in its government the colony was involved in distress and disorder, and the Indians were exasperated by the insolence and injustice of the new settlers. In this emergency, Smith declared his intention of retaining his authority and enforcing the old commission, until his legal successors should arrive. He imprisoned the **chief** promoters of the tumult, and, to prevent a return of the former disturbances, he sent a portion of the new colonists to form a settlement at some distance from Jamestown. These detachments soon converted the neighbouring Indians into enemies, and were compelled to apply to Smith for assistance. Whilst exerting himself to redress the grievances of both the settlers and the savages, he received such a dangerous wound from the explosion of some gunpowder, that he was obliged to proceed to England for surgical aid; and, although he abandoned with regret the society he had so often preserved, he never again returned to Virginia.



Leaf and blossom of the Tobacco plant.



Capture of Pocahontas.

CHAPTER VII.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE LONDON COMPANY.



VHEN Smith left the colony it was inhabited by five hundred persons, amply supplied with arms, provisions, cattle, and implements of agriculture. These stores would have been sufficient, had his administration continued; but with him the fortunes of the colony departed. The command was now intrusted to Mr. Percy, a man of worth, but wanting the vigour that gives efficacy to virtue; and the direction of affairs soon fell into the hands of persons utterly unfit for the task. The colony became a prey to anarchy; the provisions were quickly exhausted; and the Indians, no longer restrained by the

presence of the man whom they respected, but incensed by repeated injuries, harassed the colonists by continual attacks. To complete their misery, famine prevailed; and, six months after Smith's departure, there remained only sixty persons alive at Jamestown. In this distressing situation they were found by Newport and his colleagues, who arrived from the Bermudas, in May, 1610; and they all determined to abandon the settlement. Embarking on board the vessels that had arrived from the Bermudas, they sailed for England; but, before reaching the mouth of James River, they were met by Lord Delaware, who had arrived with a considerable number of new settlers, a supply of provisions, and means of defence and cultivation. Encouraged by this prospect, they returned to Jamestown, and were prevailed on by Lord Delaware to remain.

This nobleman was well qualified for his situation. His assiduous attention to his duty, aided by his dignity and firmness, soon restored order and industry among the colonists, and once more taught the Indians to respect the English character.

In order to give the reader a graphic description of the state of the colony under the administration of Lord Delaware, we quote a passage from a quaint old historian:* "The Lord De La War, upon his arrival, reprimanded the planters for their divisions, idleness, and ill conduct, which had occasioned their misfortunes; advising them to reform, or he should be compelled to draw the sword of justice and cut off the delinquents; declaring, however, he had much rather draw his sword in their protection and defence; and telling them for encouragement, that he brought them such plenty of provisions that they would be in no danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themselves in providing such things as the country produced. Then he proceeded to constitute a council, consisting of Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant-general; Sir George Summers, his admiral; the Honourable George Percy, one of his captains; Sir Ferdinando

* Salmon. Modern History.

Weinman, his master of the ordnance, and Christopher Newport, his vice-admiral. These, and the rest of his officers, having taken the oaths to the government, his next care was to furnish his people with flesh; for, notwithstanding there were not less than five or six hundred hogs in the plantation when Captain Smith went to England, there was not one left alive at this time; they had been either eaten by the colonists or killed by the Indians, who, to distress them, had also driven all the deer and other game out of the country; and the English were so ill-provided with nets, that though there was plenty of fish in their rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The company had sent over a supply of clothing, biscuit, flour, beer, and other liquors; but taking it for granted that they had hogs, venison, fowl and fish enough in the country, had made no provision of flesh. Whereupon Sir George Summers, the admiral, was despatched to Bermudas to bring over live hogs from thence; for these Sir George found plenty of in that island when he was cast away there, though there were no people upon it. The governor also set some to fishing within the bay, and others without, where there were shoals of codfish; but their nets and tackle were so defective that they could not catch any; whereupon he endeavoured to settle a correspondence with Powhatan and other Indian princes, that he might purchase flesh of them for other English goods; and in some of these negotiations he succeeded, particularly with the King of Patowmack, one of the most potent of the Indian princes. But notwithstanding he represented to Powhatan that he had already promised to acknowledge the King of England for his sovereign, accepted of a crown and sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty from him, with presents of great value; this prince would give him no other answer, but that he expected the English should depart his country, or confine themselves within the limits of Jamestown Island, and not range through every part of the country, as they continued to do, only with a view of subduing it, as he apprehended; threatening to issue his orders to cut them off and destroy them, if ever they were found without the limits he prescribed

them ; and commanded the messengers his lordship sent to him not to see his face again unless they brought him a coach and six horses ; for in these, he had been informed by some Indians who had been in England, their great Werowances were drawn.

The Lord De La War, finding that he was to expect no friendship from Powhatan, determined he should fear him : having taken an Indian prisoner, therefore, he cut off his right hand, and sent him to his master Powhatan, letting him know that he would serve all his subjects in that manner, and burn all the corn in his country (which was ripe at this time), if he did not forbear all acts of hostility for the future ; which had so good an effect, that the colony lived in peace and plenty for some time, every day making fresh discoveries, and forming new alliances with some Indian princes. And thus the company's affairs being happily established again by the conduct of the Lord De La War, Sir Thomas Gates was sent to England to give an account of the state of the colony, the ships being freighted home with cedar, black walnut, and iron ore ; which returns appeared so inconsiderable, that the company were in suspense whether they should not send for the Lord De La War and the colony home ; however, they first desired Sir Thomas Gates's opinion upon it ; who told them that these were not the only returns they were to expect ; that if they would send over men who understood how to make pitch and tar, and plant hemp and flax, they might furnish England with all manner of naval stores ; and that it would be very easy also to set up a manufacture of silk, the country abounding in mulberry trees, as well as in silk grass ; that the soil was exceeding fruitful, producing corn, grass, grapes, and other fruits in abundance ; that European cattle and poultry multiplied prodigiously ; and there was great plenty of venison, fish, and fowl, which they could never want, when they should be provided with boats, nets, and engines to take them. The company need then be at very little charge to support the colony. On the contrary, they would in a short time meet with returns answerable to their expectations. Whereupon

the company resolved to proceed with alacrity to improve their Virginia plantation; in which resolution they were confirmed by the Lord De La War, who returned to England about this time (Anno 1610,) for the recovery of his health."

Before his departure, Lord Delaware committed the government to Mr. Percy; and, although he left the settlement in a flourishing condition, the restoration of Mr. Percy to the presidency was followed by the former relaxation of discipline. This would, no doubt, have led to a recurrence of the same anarchy, idleness, and want, but for the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale, in May (1611), with a reinforcement of men and a supply of provisions. When he found into what state the colonists were fast relapsing, he issued a declaration of martial law, and, by rigorously enforcing its provisions, he preserved the colony from ruin. Dale was succeeded by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived in August, with six vessels, containing a reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. Gates continued to enforce martial law; and, on account of the increased numbers of the colonists, subordinate settlements were formed on the James River.

The extravagant descriptions of the fertility of the Bermudas, received by the patentees, rendered them desirous to obtain possession of these islands; and accordingly they were included in the new charter, which was granted, March (1612). The connexion thus established did not long subsist, for the Bermudas were soon sold; but other changes were made in the charter. The boundaries of the colony were enlarged so as to include all the islands within three hundred leagues of the coast; the company was authorized to compel the return of all who escaped from their territory; the forms of the corporation were somewhat changed, and the exemption from duty on exports was continued. Besides these provisions, lotteries were established in England, for the benefit of the company. This expedient brought into its treasury £29,000; but the House of Commons remonstrated against it as a public evil, and the lotteries were abolished.

It was in this year (1612) that the marriage of Pocahontas

took place ; and it was the accidental result of an act of treachery. A scarcity prevailing in Jamestown, Captain Argal was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living at no great distance from him. Hoping that Powhatan, in order to ransom his daughter, would offer provisions, he enticed her on board his vessel and sailed to Jamestown, where she was kept in a state of honourable captivity. Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by misfortune, rejected the demand of a ransom ; but promised, if his daughter were restored, to forget the injury, and supply the wants of the colonists. During her residence in the settlement, Pocahontas made such an impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage. This was granted ; and the ceremony was performed with great pomp. The old king was ever after the firm friend of the colony ; and this event had a very favourable effect on the neighbouring Indians. A treaty was concluded with the Chiccahominies, who, to be called Englishmen, consented to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and in peace with their provisions.

The reception and conduct of Pocahontas in England, whither she accompanied her husband, are thus described by Salmon : “ King James’s queen and court paid her the same honours that were due to a European lady of the same quality, after they were informed by Captain Smith what services she had done the English nation, and particularly how she had saved the captain’s life, when his head was upon the block. But it seems before this princess married Mr. Rolfe, she had been given to understand that Captain Smith was dead ; for he was the first man she had set her affections upon, and I make no doubt he had promised to marry her when he was in her father’s court ; for when he came to wait upon her, on her arrival in England, she appeared surprised, turned away from him with the utmost scorn and resentment, and it was some hours before she would be prevailed with to speak to him. She could not believe any man would have deceived her, for

whom she had done so much and run so many hazards ; and when she did vouchsafe to hear his excuses, she still reproached him with ingratitude. In all her behaviour, 'tis said, she behaved herself with great decency and suitable to her quality, and mighty expectations there were of the future services she would have done the English, upon her return to her own country ; but she was taken ill at Gravesend, as she was about to embark for Virginia, and died in that town, a very devout Christian, 'tis said, leaving only one son, named Thomas Rolfe, whose posterity now flourish in Virginia, and enjoy lands descended to them as heirs of the Princess Pacahunta."

Hitherto there had existed in the settlement, a community of property. Under this system every one endeavoured to diminish his share of labour ; all relied more on the common stock than on their own exertions ; and the idle had become an insupportable weight on the industrious. To the great joy of the latter, the evil was now (1613) abolished. A sufficient quantity of land was divided into lots ; one of which was assigned to each settler. From this moment industry flourished, and the colony rapidly advanced in prosperity.

In the next year (1614), Gates returned to England, and Sir Thomas Dale again became governor. During his presidency, Argal was despatched on his famous expedition. He sailed from Jamestown to Acadie, where the French had, in 1605, built Port Royal. Finding the settlement unprepared for defence, and pretending that the French had invaded the right which the English derived from the first discovery of the continent, he surprised and plundered the town. But as he left no garrison, the French soon returned to their settlement, and the expedition had no other effect than the bad impression it made on the minds of the French and Indians. On his return, Argal appeared before New York, then belonging to the Dutch. The governor, incapable of resistance, was compelled to acknowledge himself and the colony subject to England, and to pay tribute to Virginia. But a new governor arriving with better means of defence, the concessions were retracted and the tribute refused.

Tobacco was now (1615), for the first time, becoming an object of attention in Virginia ; and the industry of the colonists was soon almost wholly directed to its cultivation. James had conceived such a hatred to the use of this weed, that he wrote a book on the subject, entitled "*Counterblast against Tobacco.*" But, notwithstanding his opposition, the consumption and value of tobacco rapidly increased in England. Nothing was now thought of by the colonists but its culture ; and they might have been again brought to the brink of destruction, had not Sir Thomas Dale made use of his authority to restrain their inconsiderate ardour, and to adjust the proportion between the corn and tobacco crops.

In 1616, Dale returned to England, leaving the affairs of the colony in the hands of Mr. George Yeardley ; who, after an administration of one year, gave place to Captain Argal. Argal possessed the abilities to provide for the colony, but he was selfish and tyrannical. He made some useful regulations concerning intercourse with the Indians, but governed the colony by martial law. He endeavoured to promote piety in others by punishing absence from church with temporary slavery ; but, as for himself, he sacrificed every other consideration to his avarice. His administration excited general discontent, and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the company in England. Lord Delaware was, therefore, sent out to take command of the colony ; but he died on the voyage, and the office of captain-general was conferred on Yeardley.

Yeardley arrived in Virginia in April, 1619, and commenced his administration by convoking a colonial assembly (June, 1619), the first that ever assembled in America. This body consisted of a governor, council, and two burgesses, elected by each of the eleven boroughs. They held their meetings at Jamestown, in the same room ; and the laws which they enacted were sent to England for the approbation of the company ; who, soon after, passed an ordinance by which they gave their sanction to the Virginian Legislature. They, however, reserved to themselves the power of forming a

council of state to assist the governor. But the enactments of the assembly were not to have the force of laws, until ratified by the court of proprietors, in London ; neither were the orders of that court to have effect in Virginia till approved by the assembly. Such was the rise of that representative system which forms the basis of political liberty in the United States ; and, in this age, so strongly were the minds of Englishmen tinctured with a love of free institutions, that, wherever they settled, the principles of independence took root and grew up with them. But the territory which had proved a seat of liberty to the Virginians, was to become a grave for the freedom of others. In the year 1620, a Dutch vessel from the coast of Guinea, sailing up the James River, sold a part of its cargo of negroes to the planters ; and, as it was found that the blacks could bear the climate better than the whites, the number of slaves was increased by subsequent importations.

The system of domestic servitude was not confined to the natives of Africa and their descendants. At this period, and during the civil war of the reign of Charles I., the English were accustomed to sell as slaves their own countrymen, taken prisoners on the field of battle. Such was the treatment experienced by the captives taken at Dunbar and Worcester. These, and the leaders in the insurrection of Penruddock, were shipped to America. Others were induced by exaggerated accounts of the country to emigrate, on condition of paying for their passage by subsequent services ; and on their arrival in Virginia, were sold to the highest bidder, as servants for a term of years. This practice was continued for a long period, and extended to all the other colonies. Nor did it cease when the country became independent. The condition of indentured servants in Virginia, at the early period when negro slavery was introduced, was little better than that of the blacks. The previous existence of such a system was probably the real cause of slavery ever being tolerated in a colony so thoroughly imbued with the love of freedom as Virginia has ever shown itself.

Few women had hitherto crossed the Atlantic ; and, therefore, the planters, being mostly unmarried, could not regard Virginia as their home ; but proposed, after acquiring a competency, to return to their native country. Knowing the disadvantages that would result from such intentions, the company sent over ninety young women of agreeable persons and respectable character, and in the next year (1621) sixty more. They were soon disposed of to the young planters ; the price at first being a hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, and afterwards, one hundred and fifty. The Virginians, having now acquired homes, saw the necessity of establishing seminaries, and measures were accordingly taken for the foundation of the college afterwards completed by William and Mary.

Sir George Yeardley's government of three years expiring in 1621, he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt, who arrived in Jamestown, in the month of October, with twelve hundred planters ; and the same year fifty more were brought out by Captain Newport, whom he established in a part of the country to which he gave his own name. This accession of numbers afforded additional guarantees for the prosperity of the colony.

But the happiness of the colonists was interrupted by a dispute between the king, on the one hand, and the company and themselves on the other. The importation of tobacco into England was restricted by heavy duties ; and, in consequence of this, the company had opened a trade with Holland, and had sent some thither directly from Virginia. In order to prohibit this diminution of his revenues, James ordered that all the Virginia tobacco should first be brought to England. The company remonstrated against this order ; but the king persisted ; and a long dispute arose. It was however adjusted by a compromise. The company obtained the exclusive right of importing tobacco into the English dominions, provided they paid a duty of ninepence per pound.

A storm had been for a long time gathering over the colony ; and the increasing prosperity of the planters made it burst upon them with more destructive violence. Since the marriage

of Pocahontas they had maintained a friendly intercourse with the Indians, whom they admitted as guests into their dwellings, occasionally making them presents. But the savage nature of the sons of the forest triumphed over all motives of friendship. They beheld with regret the augmenting numbers of the whites ; and, in the midst of the free and unguarded communication between the two races, the Indians formed the plan for a general massacre of all the English. Powhatan had died in 1618, and had been succeeded by Opechancanough, a man distinguished by his courage, profound dissimulation, and rancorous hatred of the settlers. He renewed the treaty made by Powhatan, and availed himself of the tranquillity it produced to mature his project. All the neighbouring tribes except those on the eastern shore of the bay, were successively gained over, and co-operated with that unity and perseverance which characterize Indian revenge. Notwithstanding the long interval which elapsed between the formation and the execution of the plot, and the continued intercourse of the savages and their intended victims, the greatest secrecy was preserved.

An occurrence now took place which served to sharpen the ferocity of the Indians. There was, in one of the tribes, a man named Nemattanow, who had attained the highest reputation among his countrymen. In the former wars with the English, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded their esteem. His good fortune had preserved him from wounds, and he was looked upon, by the savages, as invulnerable. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by those who attempted to apprehend him. Finding the pangs of death coming fast upon him, he entreated his captors to grant his two last requests. First, he begged them never to reveal that he had been slain by a bullet ; secondly, to bury him among the English, so that his mortality might never be known to his countrymen. His death, however, soon became known, and the Indians were filled with a grief and indignation, which Opechancanough inflamed, by pretending to share.

At length the day was fixed on which all the settlements were to be attacked. Stations were assigned to each troop of assassins, and, that they might not excite suspicion, some carried presents to the colonists; others spent the evening before the massacre at the houses of the English; and the rest, under various pretences, assembled near the detached settlements. Although the fatal hour was fast drawing near, yet not an unguarded look of exultation, not a rash expression of hate, had occurred to disclose their designs. The universal destruction of the colony was prevented by nothing but the previous conversion of an Indian to Christianity. On the night before the massacre, this Indian was let into the secret by his brother, who made known to him the command of the king for all to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with revenge, spoil, and glory. But, as soon as his brother was gone, instead of complying with his wishes, the convert communicated the intelligence to the Englishman with whom he lived. This planter hastened with the tidings to Jamestown, and the alarm was carried thence to the nearest settlers; but it came too late to be more generally available.



The Christian Indian disclosing the intended massacre.

On the 22d of March, 1622, at mid-day, the savages raised a yell, rushed on the English in the outer settlements, and butchered men, women, and children. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. Six members of the council, and many of the most eminent inhabitants were among the slain; and the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six.



The Great Massacre.

To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war; and the colonists retaliated, in some degree, on their savage adversaries, the evils of which they had set so bloody an example.

The intelligence of this calamity excited the sympathy of the English in favour of the colonists, and convinced them that the policy pursued by the company was defective. The company was now a large body, composed of men of all classes; but its proceedings were much impeded by the intrigues of rival factions; and all its meetings afforded evidence that its dissolution was fast approaching. Those proprietors who had been disappointed in their expectations of wealth, threw all

the censure on the company; the prejudice of the king had been greatly increased by the result of the tobacco controversy; and the discontent created by the news of the massacre, furnished him with an opportunity which he failed not to improve. He had also been irritated by his useless endeavours to give the court party the ascendancy in the company; and this determined him to suppress an institution which he could not govern. Having first ordered a supply of arms and provisions to the colonists, James directed an inquiry to be made into the affairs and conduct of the company. In May (1623), commissioners were appointed to examine its transactions since its first establishment. All the charters, books, and papers of the corporation were seized, and letters from the colony were intercepted.

The commissioners did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company, who first learned the tenor of the report in which they were so deeply interested from an order of the king and privy council, signifying to them that the misfortunes of Virginia had arisen from the misgovernment of the company in London, and that, for the purpose of repairing them, his majesty had determined to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which should commit the government to fewer hands. At the same time, to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be respected, and that all part grants of land should remain inviolate. The company were required instantly to surrender their privileges; and in default of their voluntary submission, they were assured that the king was prepared to carry his purpose into effect by process of law.*

To this arbitrary proceeding the company indignantly refused to submit. Neither threats nor promises could move their resolution, and by a nearly unanimous vote, they rejected the king's proposal, and declared their determination to defend themselves against any process he might institute. Incensed at their audacity in disputing his will, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, in order to

* Grahame.

try the validity of their charter in the Court of King's Bench. To collect additional proofs of their mal-administration, he despatched envoys to Virginia, with orders to inspect the condition of the colony, and to organize a party in opposition to the London proprietors.

The royal envoys, finding the provincial assembly in session, endeavoured by liberal promises of military aid against the Indians, and other marks of the king's favour, to detach individual members from their adherence to the company, and to procure an address to the king, expressive of "their willingness to submit to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But in this attempt they were completely foiled. The attachment of the Virginians to the principles of civil freedom, and their perfect understanding of the position in which they stood, and of the imminent danger to which their franchises were exposed, are sufficiently apparent by the course of the assembly on this occasion. Instead of voting the servile address desired by the minions of the king, they transmitted to his majesty a petition, professing satisfaction at finding themselves the objects of his especial care, desiring him to continue the present form of government, and soliciting, that if the promised military aid should be sent to them, it might be placed under the control of their own governor and house of representatives.

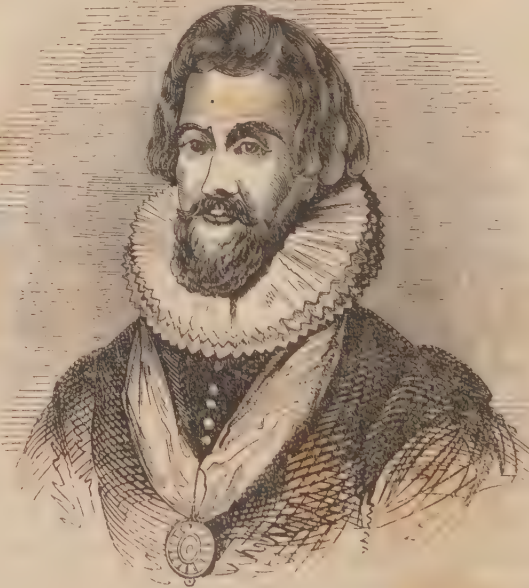
The same spirit which actuated this proceeding of the assembly was manifested in an act depriving the governor of the power to withdraw the inhabitants from their private labours, for his own service, or to levy taxes without the sanction of the colonial legislature.

The result of the lawsuit between the company and the king could not be doubtful; and the House of Commons was petitioned for a redress of grievances, with no further result, however, than an attempt to ameliorate the condition of the tobacco trade. The king, enraged at the presumption of the company, issued a proclamation, suppressing their courts and committing the administration of colonial affairs to certain of his privy counsellors, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith

and a few other persons. The Virginia company was thus dissolved, and its rights and privileges reverted to the crown.

This event was no misfortune to the colony. "In surveying," says Grahame, "the constitutions and tracing the progress of the various colonial establishments which the nations of Europe have successfully formed, we find a close and invariable connection between the decline and the revival of their prosperity, and the ascendancy and overthrow of sovereign mercantile corporations. A sovereign company of merchants must ever consider their political power as an instrument of commercial gain, and as deriving its chief value from the means it gives them to repress competition, to buy cheaply the commodities they obtain from their subject customers, and to sell as dearly as possible the articles with which they supply them—that is, to diminish the incitement and the reward of industry to the colonists, by restricting their powers and opportunities of acquiring what they need, and disposing of what they have. Their mercantile habits prevail over their political interest, and lead them not only to prefer immediate profit to permanent revenue, but to adapt their administration to this policy, and to render government subservient to purposes of monopoly. They are almost necessarily led to devolve a large discretionary power on their provincial officers, over whom they retain at the same time but a feeble control. Whether we regard the introduction of martial law into Virginia as the act of the company, or (as it really seems to have been,) the unauthorized act of the treasurer and the provincial governors, the prevalence it obtained displays, in either case, the unjust and arbitrary policy of an exclusive company, or the inability of such a sovereign body to protect its subjects against the oppressions of its officers. How incapable a body of this description must be to conduct a plan of civil policy on fixed and stable principles, and how strongly its system of government must tend to perpetual fluctuation, is attested by the fact, that, in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than ten successive governors had been appointed to preside over the province."

The king now issued a special commission, reappointing Sir Thomas Wyatt as governor, with twelve counsellors. The provincial assembly is not mentioned in this instrument; but it was continued as a matter of usage. Some favour was manifested towards the commercial interests of the colony, in the royal proclamation renewing a former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and giving the exclusive trade in this article to Virginia and the Somers Islands. This was the last public act of James in relation to the colony. His death the next year frustrated his design of composing a code of laws for its domestic administration. Thus terminated a reign of which the only illustrious feature was the colonization which he promoted. He was the first British sovereign of an established empire in America.



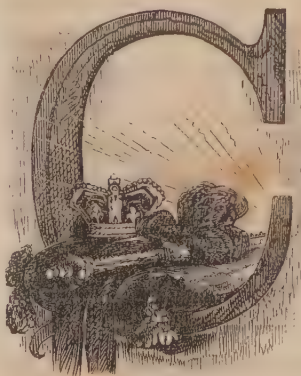
James I.



Charles I.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, CONTINUED TO THE TIME OF THE
OLD FRENCH WAR.



CHARLES I. inherited, with his father's throne, all the maxims by which he had been guided in his colonial policy. He declared that the government of Virginia should depend immediately on himself; and his first act was to prohibit the planters from selling their tobacco to any but his agents. Thus, the Virginians saw their legislature superseded by a council responsible to the king alone; all the

profits of their industry engrossed, and their staple commodity monopolized by their sovereign.

The king conferred the office of governor on Sir George Yeardley, whom he authorized, in conjunction with twelve counsellors, to make and execute the laws of the colony; to levy taxes; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses; and to transport accused persons to England for trial. But Yeardley died in 1627, and two years afterwards, Sir John Harvey was appointed governor. Harvey was haughty, rapacious, and cruel; and at last he became so tyrannical and insolent, that the Virginians, impatient of further sufferings, seized his person, and sent him a prisoner



Arrest of Governor Harvey.

to England. They also sent with him, two commissioners, who were charged to represent the grievances of the colony and the misconduct of the governor. But, instead of redressing their wrongs, Charles reinstated Harvey, and sent him back to Virginia, where, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, he resumed his tyrannical sway, and provoked complaints so loud and vehement, that they began to penetrate into England, and there produced an impression which could not be safely disregarded. Had Harvey's government continued much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or ruin of the colony.

But a great change was now at hand, which was soon to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress

of their grievances. After a long intermission, Charles was forced to contemplate the reassembling of a parliament; and, well aware of the ill-humour which his government at home had excited, he had the strongest reason to dread that the displeasure of the commons would be inflamed by complaints of the despotic sway he had exercised over Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even to secure the adherence of a people, who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was felt still to unite them with the parent state. Harvey was therefore recalled, and the government of Virginia committed to Sir William Berkeley, a person distinguished by every popular virtue in which Harvey was deficient.

The new governor was instructed to restore the colonial assembly, and to invite it to enact a body of laws for the province. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists, the system of freedom which they had originally derived from the Virginia Company. Universal joy and gratitude were excited throughout the colony; and the king, amidst the hostility that was gathering around him in every other quarter, was addressed in the language of affection and attachment by the Virginians. Indeed, such was their gratitude to the king for this favour, that, during the civil wars, they were faithful to the royal cause, and continued so even after he was dethroned, and his son driven into exile.

But a new calamity was impending over the colony. Opechancanough, the successor of Powhatan, was the implacable enemy of the English. The peace which he had concluded with them in 1632, was but a hollow truce. For nine years after, he had been secretly maturing a plot for the utter extirpation of the colony. All the chiefs of the tribes inhabiting the country from the mouth of the Chesapeake to the heads of the great rivers which flow into it, had united in the conspiracy, and the final blow fell upon the colony like a stroke of lightning, (April 18th, 1644). Five hundred persons perished in the massacre, and numerous others were carried

into captivity. Whole villages, with all the corn, household utensils, and instruments of farming, were given to the flames. The fate of Virginia was nearly decided by a single blow.

All who were able to bear arms were embodied as a militia for the defence of the colony; and a chosen body, comprising every twentieth man, marched into the enemy's country, under command of the governor.

"Opechancanough," says an old historian, "by his great age and the fatigues of war (in which Sir William Berkeley followed him close), was now grown so decrepit, that he was not able to walk alone, but was carried about by his men, wherever he had a mind to move. His flesh was all macerated, his sinews slackened, and his eyelids became so heavy that he could not see, but as they were lifted up by his servants. In this low condition he was, when Sir William Berkeley, hearing that he was some distance from his usual habitation, resolved, at all adventures, to seize his person, which he happily effected; for, with a party of horse, he made a speedy march, surprised him in his quarters, and brought him prisoner to Jamestown; where, by the governor's command, he was treated with all the respect and tenderness imaginable. Sir William had a mind to send him to England; hoping to get reputation by presenting His Majesty with a royal captive, who, at his pleasure, could call into the field, ten times more Indians than Sir William Berkeley had English in his whole government. Besides, he thought this ancient prince would be an instance of the healthiness and long life of the natives in that country. However, he could not preserve his life above a fortnight; for one of the soldiers, resenting the calamities the colony had suffered through this prince's means, basely shot him through the back, after he was taken prisoner, of which wound he died. He continued brave to the last moment of his life, and showed not the least dejection, at his captivity. He heard, one day, a great noise of the treading of people about him, upon which he caused his eyelids to be lifted up, and finding that a crowd of people were let in to see him, he called, in high indignation, for the governor, who,

being come, Opechancanough scornfully told him, that had it been his fortune to take Sir William Berkeley prisoner, he should not meanly have exposed him as a show to the people."



Opechancanough reproving Sir William Berkeley.

The Indians, after the death of their king, speedily submitted, and tranquillity was so effectually restored to the province, that two months after the massacre, Berkeley set sail for England, leaving Richard Kemp as his successor. After this event, the borders were still annoyed by the incursions of the Indians; but little apprehension was entertained from their continued hostility, and a definitive peace was settled in 1646, after Berkeley's return and resumption of the government.

The commerce of the colony was, at this time, in a flourishing state. Twelve ships were engaged in the trade with England, twelve with Holland, and seven with New England. The population had increased to twenty thousand.

Meantime, the civil war in England was not regarded with indifference by the Virginians. They favoured the royal cause, and held intercourse with Charles II., after his father's death. In 1650, the parliament took measures to reduce them to submission, and at the same time passed an act, restricting their commerce, forbidding the ships of foreign nations to trade in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia. Soon after, the first act of navigation was passed, requiring the commerce between England and the rest of the world, as well as between England and her colonies, to be conducted in ships owned and principally manned by Englishmen. The object of this law was to prevent the interference of the Dutch. It was followed by the celebrated naval war, in which Blake and Ayscue, Van Tromp and De Ruyter, signalized themselves.

A naval force, commanded by Captain Dennis, under the orders of parliament, in 1651, anchored in the Chesapeake; and orders were transmitted to Berkeley to yield submission to the Protector. "The country at first," says the authority just quoted, "held out vigorously against him; and Sir William Berkeley, by the assistance of such Dutch vessels as were then there, made a brave resistance. But at last, Dennis contrived a stratagem, which betrayed the country. He had got a considerable parcel of goods aboard, which belonged to two of the council, and found a method of informing them of it. By this means they were reduced to the dilemma of either submitting or losing their goods. This occasioned factions among them, so that at last, after the surrender of all the other English plantations, Sir William was forced to yield to the usurper, on the terms of a general pardon. However, it ought to be remembered to his praise, and to the immortal honour of that colony, that it was the last of all the king's dominions that submitted to the usurpation, and afterwards,

the first to cast it off; and Sir William never took any post or office under the usurper."

The political state of the colony, says Hinton, from the time of this capitulation to the restoration of Charles II., has not, until lately, been perfectly understood. The early historians of Virginia have stated, that during this period, the people of that colony were in entire subjection to the government of Cromwell; and that the acts of parliament in relation to trade were there rigidly enforced, while they were relaxed in favour of the New England colonies. Researches, however, prove these statements to be incorrect. Under the articles of capitulation, parliament and the Lord Protector, left the inhabitants of the colony to govern themselves. The burgesses or grand assembly, elected their governor and counsellors, and all other officers; and the people enjoyed a free trade with the world. The inhabitants, indeed, expected instructions and orders from England, concerning the government; but none were sent during this whole period. The commissioners of parliament assumed the government for a short time; but in April, 1652, the grand assembly met, and, with the consent of the commissioners, proceeded to elect a governor and councillors. Richard Bennet, one of the commissioners, was appointed governor, until the further pleasure of the commonwealth should be known. In 1655, Edward Digges was chosen governor by the house of burgesses, and after him, in 1658, Samuel Matthews.

After the resignation of Richard Bennet, the house expressly declared that the supreme power of government should reside in the assembly, and that all writs should issue in the name of the "Grand Assembly of Virginia," until such a command and commission came out of England, as should be by the assembly judged lawful. At the same session, Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor; and, by a special act, was directed to call an assembly once in two years, at least, and oftener, if necessary. He was empowered to choose a secretary and council of state, with the approbation of the assembly, and restrained from dissolving

the legislature, without the consent of a majority of the house.

The colonists of Virginia, or a great part of them, were Episcopalians, and attached to the Church of England; the religion of that church, indeed, was established by law in the colony; and it is evident that they were strongly in favour of the royal cause. Their warm-hearted loyalty could not fail to be exhilarating to the spirits of Charles II., during his banishment. He transmitted from Breda, a new commission to Sir William Berkeley, as Governor of Virginia, declaring his intention of ruling and ordering the colony, according to the laws and statutes of England, which were to be established there.

Thus, while that prince was not permitted to rule over a foot of ground in England, he exercised the royal jurisdiction over Virginia. On receiving the first account of the restoration, the joy and exultation of the colony were universal and unbounded, though not of long continuance.

Sir William Berkeley, having received a new commission from the crown to exercise the office of governor, issued writs for an assembly in the name of the king. The comparative self-government, permitted by the Long Parliament, had thus ceased. A general revision of the laws soon followed, and aristocratic elements were introduced into every department of the civil and ecclesiastical government. Suffrage was confined to freeholders and housekeepers; the governor, and the assembly convoked by royal writs, were paid at an exorbitant rate, by permanent taxes fixed by themselves; the supremacy of the Church of England was established by law, and tithes were exacted by irresponsible county magistrates; preachers who had not received ordination from a bishop in England, were forbidden to exercise their offices; and severe penalties were enacted against the introduction of Quakers into the colony. The house of assembly, which enacted these laws, remained in office more than ten years.

A system of legislation which favoured so exclusively the large land-holders, who were also, for the most part, the office-

holders, could not be acceptable to the great mass of the people. But there was another source of popular discontent, originating in the acts of the new parliament under the restored king.

It had been observed with concern, during the commonwealth, that the English merchants, for several years past, had usually freighted the Hollanders' shipping, for bringing home their own merchandise, because their freight was lower than that of the English ships. For the same reason, the Dutch ships were made use of for importing American products from the English colonies into England. This system, of course, operated to the disadvantage of the English commercial marine. The government, therefore, not unnaturally, turned its attention towards the most effectual mode of retaining the colonies in dependence on the parent state, and of securing to it the benefits of their increasing commerce. It was with these views that the Long Parliament had enacted, "that no merchandise, either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also the English plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English-built ships, and belonging to English or English plantation subjects, navigated also by an English commander, and three-fourths of the sailors to be Englishmen; excepting such merchandise as should be imported directly from the original place of their growth or manufacture, in Europe solely; and that no fish should thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of their own home ports, but what should be caught by their own fishers only."

The first house of commons after the restoration, instead of granting the colonies that relief which they expected from the restraints on their commerce imposed by Cromwell, not only adopted all his ideas concerning this branch of legislation, but extended them further. Thus arose the navigation act, the most important and memorable of any in the statute book, with respect to the history of English commerce. By these several and successive regulations, the plan of securing

to England a monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, and of shutting up every other channel into which it might be diverted, was perfected, and reduced into complete system. On one side of the Atlantic, these laws have been extolled as an extraordinary effort of political sagacity, and have been considered as the great charter of national commerce, to which the parent state is indebted for its opulence and power; on the other, they have been regarded as instruments of oppression, more characterized by ignorance of the true principles of political economy than of legislative wisdom.

This oppressive system excited great indignation in Virginia; and no sooner had the people experienced the effects of the navigation act, than they petitioned earnestly for redress. A native population had sprung up in the colony, and the dissatisfaction of these was not mitigated by the fond remembrance which emigrants retain of the land of their nativity. The discontents of the colony, occasioned by the oppressive acts of their own legislature, and the restrictions on commerce laid by the government of the parent state, at length attained to such a pitch, that nothing was required to induce the most violent acts of resistance, but a bold and commanding leader, who should be able to unite and direct their operations. Such a leader was soon found, in the person of Nathaniel Bacon, a lawyer from London, and a member of the provincial council. Youthful, bold, ambitious, and of a commanding address, he excited the resentment of the colonists against their rulers; and by his eloquence, so swayed their minds, as to cause himself to be elected general by the people. He made application to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, offering to march instantly against their common foe, the Indians. Berkeley refused the application, and commanded the insurgents to disperse.

But Bacon had advanced too far to recede. He marched to Jamestown, at the head of six hundred armed men, and surrounding the house where the governor and council were met, repeated his demand. The council, intimidated by the

threats of the multitude, hastily made out the desired commission, and prevailed upon the governor to sign it. Bacon immediately marched with his troops against the Indians; but the council, now relieved from their fears, declared the commission void, and Bacon a rebel. Enraged at this, he returned to Jamestown, and engaged in several skirmishes with the old governor, who, unsupported, and almost abandoned, had fled to Accomack, on the eastern shore of the colony, where he collected a few of the well-affected to oppose the insurgents. Jamestown was burnt, the districts which still adhered to the old administration were laid waste, and the property of the loyalists confiscated by the insurgents — whose possessions were in turn seized by Berkeley, and several of their leaders executed.

In the midst of these disasters, Bacon sickened and died; and the insurgents, thus deprived of their leader, soon sought an accommodation; and, after a brief negotiation with the governor, they laid down their arms, on the promise of a general pardon. Thus terminated the insurrection, distinguished in the annals of Virginia, by the name of Bacon's Rebellion. During seven months, this daring rebel had remained master of the province, while the legitimate governor was shut up in a remote corner of it.

As soon as Berkeley was reinstated in his office, he assembled the representatives of the people, that by their advice and authority order might be restored. Great lenity was displayed towards the offenders. No one suffered capitally, and few were subjected to fine: but while the council spared the living, they wreaked their vengeance on the dead, and passed an act of attainder against Bacon, long after he was removed beyond reach of their enmity.

On hearing of the disturbances in Virginia, King Charles had despatched a fleet, with some troops, to quell them; but these did not arrive until their aid was rendered useless by the surrender of the insurgents. Colonel Jeffreys came out with this fleet, empowered to recall and replace Sir William Berkeley, who did not long survive his dismissal. By the

aid of the troops he had brought with him, Jeffreys soon effected a conclusion of the war with the Indians, and arranged a treaty which gave universal satisfaction.

On the death of Jeffreys, in 1678, Sir Henry Chichely succeeded to the government, and under his sway the colony enjoyed an interval of repose, which was soon broken upon by the tyranny of Lord Culpeper, who commenced his administration in 1680. He endeavoured to silence all complaints against his despotism and plunder, by an ordinance, which prohibited all disrespectful allusions to his person, and all observations on his proceedings. An insurrection naturally followed upon this treatment; and the prudence, kindness, and vigour of Chichely, who was happily at hand, alone saved the colony from again falling into the same disorder which had existed under Berkeley. Having diffused terror through the colony by his trials and executions, Culpeper repaired to England, to report the success of his experiments in colonial government; but his services do not appear to have been appreciated, even by the kindred spirit of his royal master. He was placed in confinement for having returned without leave, and being brought to trial, he was found guilty, and deprived of his commission.

Lord Effingham, who came out in 1685, proved little better qualified as a governor than his predecessor. He brought with him an order that no printing-press should be used in the colony; and feeling at ease to pursue his plans of aggrandizement, he established a court of chancery, with suitable powers, instituted fees worthy of the office, and appointed himself the judge, providing that nearly the whole emolument should fall to him. But though the arbitrary governor could silence the press, he could not prevent the assembly from delegating an agent to advocate their cause in England, and urge his removal. The revolution of 1688 occurred before Effingham or his accuser could cross the Atlantic; but William was either unable or unwilling to remove the officers appointed under the preceding reign, and Lord Effingham was continued in office until 1692, when he was replaced by Sir Edmund Andros.

It was during this year (1692), that the sovereigns granted a charter for the "College of William and Mary, in Virginia."

From this period to the date of the French war, in 1756, there is little to interest in the history of Virginia. The colony continued to grow, favoured by several circumstances: as the increased use of tobacco in Europe, which gave employment to the planters, and increased their wealth; its remoteness from the Spanish and French settlements in Florida and Canada, which favoured its quiet; and its central position, thus protected from the savage incursions, on the north by the colonies of New England and New York, and on the south by Georgia and the Carolinas.

During the period which we have thus rapidly passed over, Virginia was, in most respects, nearly the same that it has ever since been, a prosperous planting country. The soil being fertile, the natural productions, both animal and vegetable, abundant, and the means of subsistence easily obtained, the people enjoyed unusual prosperity. The staple production was tobacco. Manufactures were neglected; but whether free, or restricted by short-sighted enactments, commerce poured its abundant products into the coffers of the merchant.



The Signing of Bacon's Commission.



George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore.

CHAPTER IX.

COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.



HE whole territory of Maryland was included under the second charter of Virginia; but the dissolution of the London Company by James I., restored to the crown the right to make a fresh grant; and this right was not considered to have been vitiated by the trading colony established on Kent Island, in the heart of the province, by William Clay-

borne, in 1631. The effective settlement of the province was destined to be made under the auspices of the Calvert family. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, had early become interested in American colonization. His first attempts were made on the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland; and he twice visited his settlement on that island, freely expending his fortune in planting, and risking his life in defending the colony against the attacks of the French, whose participation in the fishery rendered them jealous of the English settlers.

The project was at length abandoned, and Lord Baltimore, turning his attention towards a more fertile soil and a milder climate, visited Virginia with the intention of founding a settlement there. But he was a conscientious Catholic; and his attempts to gain a footing on the soil were resisted by the government tendering to him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Observing that the country north of the Potomac was still unappropriated, and learning that the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes were preparing to occupy it, he conceived the design of obtaining possession of this region, and colonizing it himself, and easily prevailed with Charles I. to bestow on him the investiture he desired.

Having thus obtained a grant of the country, he proceeded to settle it; and while he aimed at rendering his colony the asylum of civil liberty, he, at the same time, conceived the laudable design of raising here a shelter for the persecuted of every Christian denomination. He had hardly completed the construction of his charter, when death terminated his honourable and useful career. His son, Cecil, inherited, with his father's title and fortune, his liberal views with respect to religious liberty, and his determination to plant the colony. In his name was completed and executed the charter; which described the district assigned him as "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkins's point of Chesapeake Bay; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north which lies under the fortieth degree, where New England is terminated; thence in a right line by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of Potowmack;

thence following its course by the farthest bank, to its confluence."

In honour of the queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, it received its name of Maryland; and in honour of her majesty's faith, more ample immunities were conferred on it than were possessed by any other of the colonies. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary, save the allegiance due to the crown. He was empowered, with the consent of the freemen, to make laws for the province, and to execute the laws of assembly. With the agreement of the people, he might impose all just and proper subsidies; and, on the part of the king, it was covenanted that neither his majesty, nor his successors, should impose any taxes upon the colonists, their goods, or commodities. This exemption was to be perpetual with Maryland, while, to the other colonies, it was granted for a term of years only.

Thus was Maryland erected into a palatinate; the proprietary invested with all the royal rights of the palace; while the king exercised towards him the highest prerogatives of a feudal sovereign, holding the palatine and his domain in feudal tenure. For the population of the new colony, license was given to his majesty's subjects, without distinction of sect or party, to transport themselves thither; and in addition to the immunities already mentioned as being granted to them, they were declared to be liegemen of the king, and entitled to all the liberties of Englishmen born in the realm.

The first body of emigrants, under this charter, consisted of about two hundred English gentlemen, and a large number of inferior adherents, who sailed with Leonard Calvert, the first governor of the province, in November, 1633. Having taken the route by the West Indies, and spent some time in Barbadoes and St. Christopher, they at length landed on the shores of St. Mary's river, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, on the 27th of March, 1634. Here Calvert erected a cross and took possession of the country, "for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord, the King of England." Aware that the Virginians had given offence to the Indians,

by possessing themselves of their lands, without offering any remuneration for them, or even obtaining their permission to occupy them; the governor wisely determined to procure their friendship, as the first step towards effecting a happy and successful settlement. He therefore submitted to a neighbouring chief, his propositions for settling; but received from him an answer of sullen indifference; "I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." Such was the address and courtesy of the governor, however, that not only was this sullen warrior subsequently won over to the interest of the colony, but he also persuaded the neighbouring tribes to preserve peace with the newcomers. They procured, for a moderate price, a considerable tract of country, within the limits of which was the Indian town of Yoacomoco. To this town they gave the name of St. Mary's, and here was established the capital of the colony.



The Settlement of St. Mary's.

A guard-house and a store-house were erected, and corn was planted. A friendly visit was received from Sir John Harvey, the Governor of Virginia, who appears not to have participated in the jealous feelings of his people towards the new colony. Several Indian chiefs from the interior came to pay their respects to the governor, and were sumptuously entertained on board a ship which lay at anchor in the river, the King of Patuxent being seated, at table, between the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Maryland.

The store-house being finished, and it becoming necessary to unload the ship, and bring the stores for the colony on shore, the governor, to impress the natives with respect, ordered it to be done with some solemnity. The colours were brought on shore, and the colonists were all paraded under arms. Volleys of musketry were fired, which were answered by discharges of cannon on board the ship. The Kings or Werowances of Patuxent and Yoacomoco being present at this exhibition, the former took occasion to advise the Indians of Yoacomoco to keep the league which they had made with the English. He remained in town several days afterwards; and it is said that when he took his leave, he made this remarkable speech to the governor: "I love the English so well, that if they should go about to kill me, I would command the people not to revenge my death; for I know they would not do such a thing, except it were through my own fault."

During the remainder of the year, while the English and the Indians lived together, in St. Mary's, each community occupying half of the town, according to a stipulation made between them, the utmost harmony prevailed.

The natives testified their friendly disposition, by going every day into the woods with their new neighbours, pointing out the best resorts of game, joining them in the chase, and bringing home venison and wild turkeys in abundance; well satisfied with a cheap requital in knives, tools, and toys. They also supplied them with fish in plenty, and their women instructed the wives of the colonists in making bread of maize. As a certain mark of the entire confidence of the Indians, their

women and children became, in some measure, domesticated in the English families.*



Indians instruct the English in hunting.

The settlement was now making rapid progress. Fifty acres of land was assigned to every colonist, and their number being augmented by new emigrations, aided by the judicious administration of Baltimore, a dreary wilderness was soon converted into a flourishing colony. The fact that Maryland had been granted to the proprietor in opposition to the wishes of the Virginia Company, which claimed a priority of right, was a considerable evil to the colony, as it tended greatly to aid Clayborne in his designs against its prosperity. About a year prior to the date of Lord Baltimore's charter, that individual had obtained from the king license to trade in such parts of America as were not comprehended in any prior patent of exclusive trade. His object being to monopolize the trade of the Chesapeake, he founded a settlement on Kent Island; and being thus in the very centre of Maryland, he claimed jurisdiction over the whole colony: and although in every legal proceeding he was defeated, yet he persisted in

* Bozman. History of Maryland.

asserting his claims, and continued to harass the province until banished from its limits by an act of assembly.

'Till this emergency, the colony had subsisted without enacting or realizing its civil institutions; but the same emergency that now called forth the powers of government, tended also to develop its organizations. Accordingly, in 1635, was convened the first provincial assembly, consisting of the whole body of freemen. Various regulations were adopted for the preservation of good order, among which was a law for the punishment of murders and other felonies, providing that the perpetrators of such crimes should be transported to England, there to be tried by the law of the land. This was intended to pave the way for the judicial proceedings contemplated against Clayborne, who, being soon after indicted for murder, piracy, and sedition, escaped from justice; and, in consequence, his estate was confiscated. His petitions to the king proved unavailing; for, though he possessed considerable influence at court, yet the lords commissioners of the colony pronounced a final sentence against him: and his hopes of victory were exchanged for schemes of revenge.

The second assembly was convened in 1637, to consider the code of laws proposed by the proprietary; which, contrary to all expectation, they hesitated not a moment to reject, substituting in its place, a collection of regulations, highly creditable to their good sense; and such as evinced the state of the province at this period. The province was divided into baronies and manors, the privileges of which were clearly defined. Bills were framed for securing the liberties of the people and the titles to landed property, and for regulating the course of intestate succession. A bill was passed for the support of the proprietary, and an act of attainder against Clayborne. The population had, by this time, so greatly increased, that on the meeting of the third assembly, in 1639, a representative form of government was established, although it was provided that persons who did not vote for burgesses could take their seats as members of the assembly.

Slavery appears to have been established in Maryland from its earliest colonization; for an act of assembly describes *the people* to consist of all Christian inhabitants, *slaves only excepted*. The discontent with which the Virginians regarded the establishment of the new colony, was augmented by the contrast between the liberty and happiness enjoyed by the Marylanders, and the tyranny to which themselves were exposed from the government of Harvey; so that, when their own liberties were restored, they regarded with aversion the revival of the patent, being sensible that their interest would be impaired by an event that should re-annex Maryland to their territory. The mutual animosities therefore ceased, and the new settlers henceforth received but little annoyance from this source. But troubles threatened from another quarter. Clayborne having infected the minds of the Indians with a jealous suspicion, which the rapid increase of the strangers augmented, an Indian war broke out, in 1642, and for several years afflicted the colony, without being brought to a decisive issue. Peace having been at length restored, the assembly enacted laws for the prevention of the more obvious causes of animosity; providing that no lands should be obtained from the Indians without the consent of the proprietary; that it should be a capital offence to sell or kidnap any friendly Indians, and a high misdemeanor to supply them with ardent spirits, ammunition, or fire-arms: by the observance of these laws, a peace was established, which lasted without interruption for several years.

But scarcely was peace with this enemy concluded, when Clayborne, the prime-mover of all their troubles, was again at work; and by his constant adherence to the predominant party in England,—whether royal or popular,—together with the influence he possessed over his old associates in Kent Island, he succeeded in raising a rebellion in Maryland, in 1645. Calvert,*unprepared for this emergency, fled into Virginia, whereupon the government was immediately appropriated by the insurgents, who held sway until August of the next year, when the revolt was suppressed. By the assembly

of 1649, an act of oblivion was passed, which extended to all except a few of the prominent offenders; and by the same assembly, an act of religious toleration was established, the principal provisions of which were the following:

That no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of his religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other, against his own consent. That persons molesting any other in respect of their religious tenets, should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary. That those who should apply opprobrious names of religious distinction to others, should forfeit ten shillings to the persons so insulted. That any one speaking reproachfully against the Blessed Virgin or the apostles, should forfeit five pounds; but that blasphemy against God should be punished with death. Thus Maryland acquired the praise of being the first American colony in which the various forms of the Christian religion were placed upon a footing of equality. The rights of conscience being thus established, the improvement of civil liberty next claimed attention; and in the following year, 1650, the constitution received that structure which it retained for more than a century after. From this same year the two houses of the state legislature held their sessions separately; those who were called to the assembly by special writ, constituting the upper house, and the burgesses the lower house: all bills receiving the assent of both houses, and the ratification of the governor, were thereby constituted laws of the province.

The assembly of 1650 recognised Lord Baltimore as proprietary of the province, and conferred on him public tokens of their gratitude and esteem. But while they were ever ready to award him his true meed of honour, and yield to him all just power; they were equally prompt in maintaining their own rights: and blending a due regard to the rights of the people, with a just gratitude to the proprietary, the assembly enacted a law prohibiting the imposition of taxes without the consent of the freemen, and declaring, "that as the proprie-

tary's strength doth consist in the affections of his people; on them doth he rely for his supplies, not doubting their duty and assistance on all just occasions!"

The short gleam of sunshine now enjoyed by the colony, was soon to be broken by the evil genius of Clayborne; and a storm burst over their heads, more fearful than any they had hitherto experienced. The colony having been declared to be dependent on England, commissioners were appointed to reduce and govern it, and Clayborne being one of these, here was presented to his ever-active mind, an opportunity to wreak his malignity upon the province; and it was not allowed to pass by unimproved: his plans were well arranged and promptly executed. By inflaming the Protestants against the Catholics, the parties were exasperated to the extremity of civil war: the Catholics were defeated, the governor deposed, and the administration usurped by Clayborne and his associates. The victorious party abolished the institutions of the proprietary, though they did not expressly disclaim his title; and the new assembly having recognised Cromwell's authority, framed a law concerning religion, by which the toleration formerly enjoyed by the province was abolished, and the Catholics, Protestant Episcopalians, and Quakers, proving obnoxious to the new law, suffered many and grievous persecutions.

In this state of distraction the province remained for two years, when the commissioners, disgusted with the disorders which they had produced, but were unable to quell, surrendered the administration of the province into the hands of Fendal, who had been appointed governor by the proprietary; and into worse hands he could not have placed the reins of government. Fendal instigated the burgesses to dissolve the upper house, and arrogate to themselves the entire legislative power: he imposed many exorbitant taxes; grievously oppressed the Quakers; increased the disorders which already pervaded the province; and finally, was stopped in his career of usurpation and outrage by the restoration of Charles II., who immediately caused Lord Baltimore to be reinstated in

his proprietaryship. Fendal was convicted of high treason, but allowed to escape with a light fine, and under declaration of incapacity of public trust.

Notwithstanding all the disorders to which the province had been so long a prey, it continued to increase in population, industry, and wealth, and at the epoch of the restoration, contained twelve thousand inhabitants. Five years after, the population had increased to sixteen thousand, and so much had their commerce increased, that the number of ships engaged in carrying on their trade with various parts of the British dominions was at least one hundred. Its internal regulations at this time were such as well deserve our notice. Every young person was trained to useful labour: pauperism and beggary were unknown; and even the introduction of slavery had not been sufficient to degrade honest labour in public esteem.

A mint was established by law of assembly, in 1661, and the act which established it was confirmed and declared to be perpetual in 1676.

The address of Calvert saved the colony from an evil which seemed inevitable. The encroachments upon the western bank of the Delaware, and the hostilities of a distant tribe of Indians, now threatened the tranquillity of the colony; but the governor's remonstrances obliged the former to desert the whole country around Cape Henlopen; while his prudence, seconded by the friendly demonstrations of the Indians in alliance with the province, restored peace with the hostile tribe. On the Dutch removing from Henlopen, many of these united themselves to Maryland, where they were received with the utmost kindness; and in 1666, the assembly passed in their favour, the first act which occurs in any colonial legislature for the naturalization of aliens. In 1671, provision was made for self-defence, by imposing a duty of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported; and applying one-half of this revenue to the support of a magazine and the supply of fire-arms. The other half was settled upon the proprietary, as a mark of gratitude. This illustrious nobleman died in 1676, having lived to reap

the fruits of this plantation, which he had ordered with so much wisdom and virtue ; and was succeeded by his son, Charles, who, for fourteen years, had governed the province with a high reputation for virtue and ability.

By the assembly convened this year, an attempt was made to stem the progress of an evil which had for some time existed in the colony : namely, the transportation thither of felons from England. A law was passed, forbidding the importation of convicts into the colony ; in spite of which, however, the evil increased, and shortly previous to the revolution, three hundred and fifty were landed annually in the province. About the year 1681, many attempts were made to introduce domestic manufactures ; but the undertaking was premature, and although domestic industry supplied some articles for domestic use, yet even many years after, it was found impossible to render Maryland a manufacturing country.



Interview between Lord Baltimore and William Penn.

In the following year, William Penn arrived in America, when an interview took place between him and Lord Baltimore,

in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territories. But so inconsistent were the claims, and so little was either party inclined to yield to the other, that it was found impossible to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both; and by Penn's interest at court, he caused it to be adjudged that the disputed district should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. The part thus dismembered from Maryland, constitutes the territory included within the limits of the present State of Delaware.

Meanwhile the late proceedings against Fendal were made the foundation of fresh complaints against Lord Baltimore; and, in spite of his explanation of the affair, which was quite satisfactory, the ministers of the king, anxious to shift the imputation of popery from themselves, commanded that all offices of government should, in future, be committed exclusively to the hands of Protestants. Another, and a still more serious charge, was now preferred against him. He was accused of obstructing the custom-house officers in the collection of the parliamentary duties: and though, when the affair was investigated thoroughly, it appeared that the opposition was not so great as was at first represented, yet, Charles threatened him with a writ of *quo warranto*; a threat, which, however, was never executed.

The news of the accession of James II. to the throne of his brother was speedily published in the colonies, and there received with lively and unaffected demonstrations of joy; but they were sadly disappointed in their expectations of the treatment they should receive at his hands; for disregarding alike the feelings of the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Catholics of Maryland, he involved both in the same project of oppression. No less was the joy excited throughout the province on receiving news of the birth of a son to James II.; but the flames of revolt and revolution, which raged so fiercely in England, were soon communicated to Maryland, and the latent dissensions, inflamed by fresh incentives, burst forth in a blaze of insurrectionary violence. Those who had been

long sowing discontent in the minds of their fellow-citizens, now prepared to reap an abundant harvest from the prevalence of public disorder.

The rumour, suddenly and rapidly disseminated, that the deputy-governors and the Catholics had formed a league with the Indians, for the massacre of all the Protestants in the province — together with several unlucky circumstances which combined to corroborate this unfounded statement, — so operated upon the minds of the people, producing confusion, dismay, and indignation, that a *Protestant Association* was formed by John Coode, the former associate of Fendal, the members of which, being strengthened by the accession of new adherents, took up arms in defence of the Protestant faith, and the assertion of the royal title of William and Mary. William expressed his approbation of these proceedings, and authorized the insurgents to exercise in his name the power they had acquired by injustice and violence. Armed with this commission, for three years they continued to administer the government, with that severity and oppression which power is prone to arrogate when it has been acquired by corrupt or violent means.

The associates having entered a complaint against Lord Baltimore, he was summoned to answer before the privy council, the charges preferred against him. This produced a tedious investigation, which involved him in a heavy expense; and it being impossible to convict him of any other crime than that of holding a different faith from the men by whom he had been so ungratefully traduced, he was suffered to retain the patrimonial interest attached by his charter to the office of proprietary. But, by an act of council, he was deprived of the political administration of the province; and Sir Edmund Andros was appointed its governor by the king. Thus fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after an existence of fifty-six years, during which time it had been administered with unexampled mildness, and with a regard to the liberties and welfare of the people that merited a better requital than that which it has been our task to record.

Though Andros is said to have approved himself a good governor in Virginia,—yet he appears to have exercised no little severity and rapacity in Maryland. He protected Coode against the complaints he had provoked; but that profligate hypocrite, finding himself neglected by Colonel Nicholson, the successor of Andros, began to practise his treacherous intrigues against the proprietary administration: this occasioned his downfall. Being indicted for treason and blasphemy in 1695, he declined to stand a trial, and fled for ever from the province which he had contributed so signally to dishonour.

The suspension of the proprietary government was accompanied by an entire subversion of the principles on which its administration had been founded. The Church of England was declared to be the established ecclesiastical constitution of the state; and an Act passed in 1692, having divided the several counties into parishes, provision was made for the support of a minister of this communion, in every one of these provinces; the appointment of the ministers vested in the governor, and the management of parochial affairs in vestries elected by the Protestant inhabitants; free schools and public libraries were established by law in all the parishes, and an ample collection of books presented to the libraries as a commencement of their literary stock, by the Bishop of London.

But with all this seeming liberality, a strong prejudice was entertained against the Catholics, and a bitter persecution practised towards them; and while the ecclesiastical rulers, with the most unchristian cruelty, enacted toleration to themselves, and granted the same to all Protestant dissenters, they denied it to the men by whose toleration they themselves had been permitted to gain an establishment in the province. Not only were these unfortunate victims of religious persecution excluded from all participation in political privileges, but by an Act passed in 1704, they were debarred, also, from the exercise of their peculiar form of worship.

Thus, for twenty-seven years, the crown retained the

absolute control of the province; when, in 1716, the proprietary was restored to his rights, which he and his successors continued to enjoy until the commencement of the American Revolution. In 1699, Annapolis was substituted for St. Mary's, as the capital of the province; but it was not till many years after, that the towns of Maryland assumed any considerable size,—the same cause that prevented their growth in Virginia, retarding their increase in Maryland. Most merchants and shopkeepers were also planters; and it being the custom for every man to keep on his own plantation a store, so as to supply his family, servants, and slaves with the usual accommodations of a shop,—there was little to induce any large congregation of citizens, so as to form considerable towns. At a later period, however, the towns and cities seem to have acquired a sudden principle of increase; and Baltimore has grown with a rapidity equalled only by that with which the new western cities have since sprung up, and continue to advance in wealth and population.

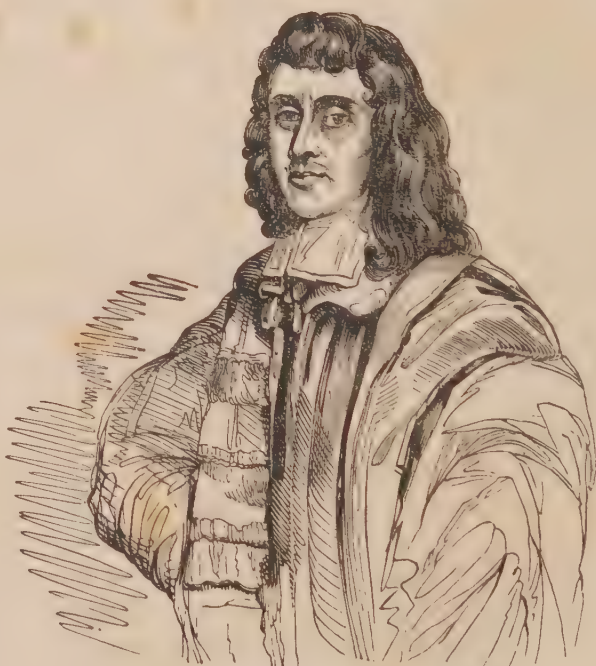
An Act was passed in 1698, vesting a large tract of land in Dorchester county, in two Indian kings, who, with their subjects, were to hold it as a fief from the proprietary, and to pay for it a yearly rent of one bear-skin.

Maryland was much infested with wolves, and so late as 1715, a former Act was renewed, offering the *sum* of three hundred pounds of tobacco for every wolf's head that should be brought by any colonist or Indian to a justice of the peace.

For nearly a century after the revolution of 1688, difference in religious opinions was made the source of animosity and oppression; and during that period, not one single seminary of learning arose in the province. Within a few years after the return of equal laws, and universal toleration—with the establishment of American Independence, the varieties of doctrinal opinions among the people, served but to illustrate religious charity; numerous colleges and academies were founded; and the same people among whom persecution had lingered longest, became distinguished for a remarkable

degree of courteous kindness, generous compassion, unfeigned and universal hospitality.

The settlement of Maryland was distinguished by several circumstances that confer a well-deserved reputation upon its founder. His care for religious liberty, his just and beneficent conduct towards the natives, and his truly paternal government of the colony, render the early history of Maryland alike instructive to the statesman and pleasing to the philanthropist.



Cecil Calvert, the Second Lord Baltimore.



CHAPTER X.

THE PLYMOUTH COLONY.

ON that memorable occasion when James I. granted permission for colonizing the extensive territory in North America, comprehended under the name of Virginia, he divided the country between two trading companies, one residing in London, and the other in Plymouth. The effect of this partition was unfavourable to the success of the project, as it divided the resources of the patentees so unequally, that it left the weaker company little more than the privilege of debarring the rest of the world from attempting what it was of itself unable to accomplish.

The principal members of the Plymouth Company, were Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth Fort, and Sir John Gilbert, nephew of the distinguished adventurer, who has already engaged our notice as the first patentee of Queen Elizabeth, and the earliest leader of emigrants to America.* Animated by the zeal of these men, and especially of Popham, who assumed the principal direction of their measures, the Plymouth Company, shortly after their association, despatched a small vessel to inspect their territories; but soon received intelligence that it had been captured by the Spaniards under a pretended right to exclude other nations from a resort

* Grahame.

to the American seas. Not deterred by this disaster, Popham, at his own expense, despatched another vessel, to resume the survey; and receiving a favourable report of the country, he succeeded in raising a sufficient supply of men and money for the formation of a colony (May, 1607).

Under the command of his brother, Henry Popham, and of Raleigh Gilbert, brother of Sir John, a hundred emigrants, embarking in two vessels, repaired to the territory of what was still called Northern Virginia; and, landing in autumn, took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagadahoc, where they built a strong-hold, called Fort St. George. The country was rocky and barren, and their provisions so scanty that they were obliged to send back all but forty-five of their number. The winter was severe, and before the return of spring, several of the adventurers died, and among the rest, their president, Henry Popham. When in the spring, a vessel coming out with supplies, brought intelligence of the death of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, their most powerful patrons, being disheartened by these tidings, and by the hardships they had endured, the emigrants forsook their settlement and returned to England, bearing the most dismal accounts of the soil and climate of Northern Virginia. Historians did not fail to notice that this disastrous expedition had originated with the same judge who had condemned to a traitor's death, the illustrious Raleigh, the noblest patron of American colonization.

For several years after this attempt, the operations of the company were confined to fishing and trading voyages to Cape Cod. At length their prospects were cheered by a gleam of better fortune. Captain John Smith, the enterprising founder of the Virginia colony, entered their service; and in 1614, two ships, under the command of Smith and Captain Hunt, were sent on a voyage of trade and discovery to the Plymouth Company's territories. Smith, after completing his traffic with the natives, left his crew engaged in fishing, and, accompanied by only eight men, travelled into the interior of the country, explored the coast from Cape Cod to Penobscot,

and drew a map, in which its features were accurately delineated. On his return to the country, he presented his map, with an account of his travels and observations, to Prince Charles, who was so much pleased with the description of the country, that he gave it the name of New England.

Unfortunately, Hunt, the sordid companion of Smith, being left behind, was guilty of an act, which his high-minded colleague would never have sanctioned. Having enticed a number of the natives on board his ship, he set sail with them for Malaga, where he had been ordered to touch on his homeward passage, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards. The company, indignant at his wickedness, instantly dismissed him from their service; but the mischief was irreparable; and the next vessel that returned from New England, brought intelligence of the vindictive hostility of the Indians.

A small squadron, with a body of emigrants, was despatched next year (1615), under the command of Smith. But the voyage was disastrous. After encountering storms and pirates, Smith was captured by a French fleet, whose commander charged upon him the unjustifiable capture of Port Royal, which had been accomplished, the preceding year, by Captain Argal. He was separated from his crew and detained in captivity; but he escaped in an open boat from Rochelle, and returned to England. Here he resumed his disinterested efforts in favour of American colonization, by publishing his map and description of New England, and urging various projects of discovery upon the merchants and gentry in the west of England.

Several years afterwards, the Plymouth Company, having discovered that an Indian named *Squanto*, one of the persons kidnapped by Hunt, had escaped from the Spaniards, and found his way to Britain, acquitted themselves to his satisfaction of the injury he had suffered, loaded him with kindness, and sent him back to New England, along with a small expedition commanded by Captain Dormer, who was instructed to avail himself of Squanto's assistance in regaining the friendship of the Indians. But although Squanto earnestly laboured

to mollify his abused countrymen, and assured them that Hunt's treachery had been condemned and punished in England, they refused to be pacified, and watching a favourable opportunity, attacked and dangerously wounded Dormer and several of his party, who, escaping with difficulty, left Squanto among his countrymen.

Disgusted at so many disappointments, the company abandoned all thoughts of establishing colonies in New England, and contented themselves with conducting an insignificant trade, and disposing of small portions of the territory to private adventurers.

The exertions of Smith, however, were not without effect in arousing the western adventurers from this state of apathy (1618). They were induced once more to entertain new projects. Smith was appointed admiral of the country, and a new patent was, with some difficulty, obtained from King James, constituting forty noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, a company, under the title of "*The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England, in America.*" The territory granted in this patent extended from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, comprising more than a million of square miles. The grant included the fee of the soil, and the exclusive right to the commerce and the fisheries. Such a reckless abuse of the sovereign power, far from encouraging, effectually repressed emigration. While it called forth the censure of the House of Commons and excited the ridicule of foreign nations, New England was effectively colonized, without any regard to its provisions.

Virginia had been settled by cavaliers, and had always manifested a strong attachment to the Stuart family. New England was settled by puritans, and from its earliest hour, it has retained much of the spirit, and sturdily maintained the leading principles of its founders. The puritans, it will be recollected by the student of history, were the same men to whom England owed her first emancipation from the tyranny

of the Stuart family—the same men whose political principles, sternly asserted, led to the revolution of 1688, and thus gave to our trans-atlantic progenitors whatever civil freedom they now enjoy—the same men whose descendants took the lead in the American revolution of 1776, and thus set an example, whose influence, after overturning many ancient dynasties and changing the whole political aspect of Europe, is still felt in the more silent but certain progress of liberal principles, and the wider diffusion of equal rights.

In the year 1610, a congregation of these people, expelled by royal and ecclesiastical tyranny from their native country, England, had removed to Leyden, where they were permitted to establish themselves in peace under the ministry of their pastor, John Robinson. This excellent person may be justly regarded as the founder of the sect of Independents, or as it is customary to call them in New England, Congregationalists.* The most important feature of their ecclesiastical system is the independence of each church or congregation, of all bishops, synods, or councils, and its direct dependence on the Head of the Christian church himself. The preaching of such a doctrine could not but offend the government of England. It drew down upon the devoted heads of its disciples the most determined persecution from Elizabeth and James, and exasperated the civil war, which, terminating in the dethronement of Charles I., finally gave the ascendancy to the puritans.

It was to avoid the persecution of James, that the English exiles composing Mr. Robinson's congregation, remained for ten years at Leyden. But, at the end of that period, the same pious views which had originally prompted their departure from England, incited them to undertake a more distant migration. The manners of the Dutch, and especially their neglect of a reverential observance of Sunday, made them apprehensive that the lapse of a single generation would obliterate every trace of the puritan character among their descendants. It was determined, therefore, to seek a new

* Robinson, although originally a follower of Brown, afterwards expressly disclaimed the name of Brownist for himself and his people.

home in some foreign dependency of England. They at first cast their eyes upon Guiana, of which Raleigh had given a glowing description; but subsequently decided to seek an establishment in Virginia. Agents were despatched to England to obtain permission from the king. James, although desirous to promote the increase of the colony which had been planted under his auspices, was unwilling to sanction their religious opinions by taking them under his protection. The utmost he would promise was, to connive at their practices and refrain from molesting them. After accepting this precarious security, they procured from the Plymouth Company a grant of a tract of land, lying, as was supposed, within the limits of its patent; a partnership or joint-stock company was formed, on disadvantageous terms, with certain merchants in London, in order to raise the funds necessary to defray the expenses of emigration and settlement. Two vessels were obtained; the *Speedwell* of sixty, and the *Mayflower* of one hundred and eighty tons burthen; in which a hundred and twenty of their number were appointed to embark from an English port for America. These were to act as the pioneers of the whole congregation. They were destined to figure in the world's history as the celebrated Pilgrims of New England.

They sought retirement—isolation—an opportunity of founding a small community of puritans, where, apart from all the world, their peculiar doctrines could be transmitted from father to son, without attracting the notice of king or bishop. But they had a higher destiny. They were, in fact, to become the most efficient among the founders of a great empire, in which their own principles should flourish for ages after, and a more liberal system of civil and religious freedom should be learned and taught by their descendants.

All things being prepared for the departure of this detachment of the congregation from Delft haven, where they took leave of their friends, for the English port of embarkation, Robinson and his people devoted their last meeting in Europe to an act of solemn and social worship, intended to implore a

blessing from heaven upon the enterprize in which they were about to engage.

The pilgrims sailed from Delft haven on the 22d of July, 1620, for Southampton, whence, after remaining a fortnight, they sailed for America; but they were compelled by the bad condition of the *Speedwell* and the treachery of its captain, to put back twice before their final departure. The *Speedwell* was abandoned; a portion of the company, who were dismayed at the evident dangers of the voyage, were dismissed, reducing their number to one hundred and one, including women and children. This company were all crowded into the *Mayflower*, which set sail from Plymouth on the 6th of September, 1620, bearing the founders of New England across the Atlantic. Never did so frail a bark carry so precious a burden.

The voyage was long and boisterous, and the captain of their vessel, through ignorance or treachery, instead of landing them at Hudson's river, whither they were bound, carried them to the north as far as Cape Cod, where they arrived, on the 11th of November. This district was not included in the patent which they had obtained in England; and to supply the want of a more formal title, they composed and signed a written constitution of government, recognising the authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a body politic (November 11th) and their determination to enact all just and necessary laws, and to honour them by due obedience. They then proceeded to elect John Carver for their governor, to serve for one year.

The selection of a spot for their settlement was attended with considerable difficulty and delay. On the 11th of November, some men were sent on shore to obtain wood and make discoveries; but they returned at night, without having met with any person or habitation. On the 15th, Captain Miles Standish, the military leader of the colony, landing for the purpose of exploration with sixteen armed men, observed and followed some Indians without overtaking them; but coming upon a deserted village, they found and examined

some graves, but left the arms and implements, which they found in them, undisturbed, "because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which four bushels of seed corn were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to repay them to their satisfaction."* This intention was subsequently fulfilled, and to the providential discovery of this seed corn they attributed the ultimate preservation of the colony. During the absence of this exploring party, the wife of William White gave birth to a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine. He was the first Anglo-American born in New England.

On the 6th of December, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, with some seamen, embarked in a shallop, and sailed round the bay in search of a place for settlement. On landing they were saluted with a flight of Indian arrows; but a discharge of musketry speedily dispersed the assailants. A storm came on. The shallop lost its rudder, and was nearly shipwrecked. Reaching an island on the 9th, they reposed themselves and kept the Christian Sabbath with the usual solemnities. The next day a harbour was found, which they deemed commodious, and the surrounding country was pleasant and well watered. They returned with the agreeable intelligence to their friends, and the ship was brought into this harbour on the 15th. The 18th and 19th were passed in exploring the land; and on the 20th, after imploring the Divine guidance and protection, the people landed and commenced the settlement. This day is still celebrated by the descendants of the pilgrims as the anniversary of New England's birth.

They gave the town the name of Plymouth, in remembrance of the hospitalities they had received at the last port in England from which they had sailed. Their first operations consisted in measuring out the land to the different families,

* Belknap.



Landing of the Pilgrims on the Rock at Plymouth

laying a platform for their ordnance, and erecting habitations. It was not till the 31st of December, that they were able to celebrate the Sabbath, with its appropriate exercises, in a house on shore.

The hardships undergone by the people in exploring the bay and effecting a landing, sowed the seeds of fatal disease; their provisions were scanty; the winter was severe; and the Indians, remembering the kidnapping exploits of Hunt and others, were hostile. More than half the colonists, including John Carver, their governor, died before spring. Those who retained their strength were hardly sufficient to minister to the urgent wants of the sick and dying. In this employment, no one distinguished himself more than Carver, the governor. He was a man of fortune, who had spent all in the service of the colony, and readily sacrificed his life in discharging the humblest offices of kindness to the sick. He was succeeded by William Bradford, who was re-elected for many successive years, notwithstanding his remonstrance, that "if this office were an honour, it should be shared by his fellow citizens, and if it were a burden, the weight of it should not always be imposed on him."

It appears that previous to the arrival of the pilgrims in New England, a sweeping pestilence had carried off whole tribes of natives, in the region where they had now settled. The traces of former habitation were apparent; but no Indians were found residing in their immediate vicinity. The spring, which restored health to the colonists, brought them also an agreeable surprise, in the visit of some Indians whose disposition was friendly. The visit of Samoset, whose previous intercourse with the English fishermen enabled him to salute them with "Welcome, welcome, Englishmen!" was followed by that of Massasoit, the principal sachem of the country, with whom the celebrated treaty was concluded, which was inviolably observed, for more than fifty years, and contributed, during that period, more than any other circumstance, to secure New England from the horrors of Indian warfare.



Treaty with Massasoit.

This treaty with Massasoit was one of the most important events in the history of New England. It averted, in a great measure, from Massachusetts, the horrors of Indian warfare, for half a century. Another efficient means of preserving the colony from Indian hostility, was found in the courage, ability, and military experience of Captain Miles Standish. He was the hero of New England, says Dr. Belknap, as Captain Smith had been of Virginia. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. He had early embraced the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, the theatre of war, he had entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch, and, after the truce, settled with the English refugees at Leyden. He came over with the pilgrims, and on their arrival at Cape Cod, he was appointed commander of the

first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery ; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives, he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied by a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the treaty was made with Massasoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was preparing to join with the Narragansetts against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's residence, and surrounded his house ; but not finding him at home, he informed the Indians of his intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. This decisive proceeding struck terror into the turbulent chieftain, who promptly submitted to Massasoit, and entreated his mediation with the English. The example was not lost upon the neighbouring sachems, eight of whom came forward in September, 1621, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government. Other sachems made a similar submission, among whom were those of Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, and Namasket, with several others about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts.

"In every hazardous enterprise," says Dr. Belknap, "Captain Standish was ready to put himself foremost, whether the object were discovery, traffic, or war ; and the people, animated by his example, and confiding in his bravery and fidelity, thought themselves safe under his command."

When the town of Plymouth was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who organized the military force, made the appointments of subordinate officers, and took efficient measures against sudden surprise by the natives.

The Narragansetts were the enemies of Massasoit's people. Indeed, Captain Smith, in his history, says, it was to secure a powerful ally against this tribe, that the great chieftain made his treaty with the English. Their chief, Canonicus, sent a bundle of arrows tied up with a rattlesnake's skin to the

governor, in token of hostility ; but when Bradford filled the rattlesnake's skin with powder and shot, and sent it back in defiance, the sachem was intimidated, and gladly consented to a treaty. The Indians were afraid to receive the significant token of the governor, or to let it remain in their houses ; and it was finally sent back to Plymouth.

A rival settlement was attempted in the immediate neighbourhood of the Plymouth colony. Thomas Weston, a London merchant, originally concerned in the adventure to Plymouth, having obtained a separate patent for a tract of land on Massachusetts Bay, sent two ships, with fifty or sixty men, to settle a plantation. Many of the adventurers being sick on their arrival, became dependent on the hospitality of the Plymouth people, with whom they remained through the summer of 1622. They afterwards established themselves at Wessagusset, or Weymouth ; but their affairs never prospered. Their treatment of the Indians was such as to provoke their hostility ; and a plot was laid for the extirpation of all the English settlers. This conspiracy extended to many tribes, and came to the knowledge of Massasoit, who revealed it to Edward Winslow and John Hambden, when they were paying him a friendly visit, and relieving him from a dangerous illness. The great sachem advised them to kill the leading conspirators, as the only means of safety (1623):

The governor, on learning the impending danger, instantly committed the affair to Standish ; directing him to take with him as many men as he chose, and if he should be satisfied of the existence of the plot, to fall upon the conspirators. Standish took but eight men for the expedition, and arriving at Weymouth, learned from the people enough of the insolent behaviour and threats of the Indians to satisfy him of their hostile intentions. Indeed, those who came to the place insulted and defied him. His only difficulty now was to bring a sufficient number of the Indians together to commence the attack. At length, when Wittuwumet and Pecksuot, two of the boldest and most powerful chiefs, were together in the same room, with a youth of eighteen, the brother of Wittu-

wumet, and another Indian, "putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men," the Captain having about as many of his own party with him,* "gave the word, and the door being shut fast, he began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling, killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwumet and the other man; the youth they took and hanged. It is incredible (says Mr. Winslow) how many wounds these men received, before they died; not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobamack, (Standish's Indian guide and interpreter), stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action; which being ended, he, smiling, broke forth and said: "Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but, to-day, I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground."

By Standish's orders, several other Indians were subsequently killed; but the women were sent away uninjured. This exploit of Standish so terrified the other Indians who had conspired with the Massachusetts, or Massachusenscks, as Mr. Winslow calls them, "that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought diseases upon themselves, whereof many died, as Canacum, sachem of Manomet; Aspinet of Nauset, and Ianough of Matachiest. The plantation of Weston was broken up and the settlers dispersed, within one year after it begun. Some of the people returned to England, and others remained in the country. Weston did not come to America himself till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen; and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm he was cast away on the coast south of the Piscataqua, and robbed by the Indians of all which he had saved from the wreck. By the charity of the inhabitants of Piscataqua, he was enabled to reach Plymouth, where he obtained some

* Winslow.

pecuniary aid from the colonial authorities, and "he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach."

Another rival colony was attempted in the neighbourhood of the Plymouth settlers, by John Pierce, in whose name their first patent had been taken out. He procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit; but his treachery met its punishment in the shipwreck of the vessel in which he attempted to cross the Atlantic. Having embarked with a company of one hundred and nine persons, his vessel was dismasted and driven back to Portsmouth. His property was purchased by the Plymouth settlers, and the passengers and goods being embarked in another vessel, arrived safely at Plymouth, in July, 1623.

The connection of the pilgrims with the trading company in London, who were their partners in the scheme of colonization, was attended with many inconveniences. To meet their engagements the colonists were obliged to submit to the payment of excessive usury, and to trade at a serious disadvantage. One of their number, Isaac Allerton, was sent to London, in 1626, to "make a composition with the adventurers, to take up more money, and to purchase goods." He returned in the spring of 1627, having obtained a loan of two hundred pounds at thirty per cent. interest, and laid it out in goods suitable for the supply of the colony. On behalf of the colony, he had bought out the interest of the London partners for eighteen hundred pounds, payable in nine yearly instalments. To consummate this bargain, a few of the principal men became bound jointly on behalf of the rest; and a new stock was created and divided equitably among the settlers. This arrangement proved highly beneficial to the colony.

The portion of Mr. Robinson's congregation who had remained at Leyden, after the death of their pastor, were desirous to join their brethren in New Plymouth. As the expense of their removal was the main difficulty to be overcome, this was defrayed by the settlers, and the emigration was accomplished in 1627.

By the new patent which the Plymouth colony obtained from the council for New England, in 1630, their territory was considerably enlarged, and a tract of land was obtained on Kennebec river; but the population of the colony had increased so slowly, that at this time it did not exceed three hundred. The sanction of King James to their government could never be obtained; but the new patent from the council allowed them to make ordinances and laws for the regulation of their affairs, and the distribution of lands within the limits of the patent.

The establishment on the Kennebec was an important acquisition for the purposes of trade. Their commerce was also extended by means of an amicable intercourse with the Dutch settlers on the Hudson river.

The government of the Plymouth colony was at first a pure democracy; the whole body of freemen constituting the legislature; and the executive power being confided to a governor and a council of five, and subsequently of seven assistants, elected annually by the people. When the increase of population rendered this government too unwieldy, the representative system was adopted, each town sending members to the general court. After the revolution in England, which gave the throne to William III., a new charter for Massachusetts was issued, including the Plymouth colony (1689). In population and extent of territory, the settlement of the pilgrims was of trifling importance; but as an integral portion of the New England confederacy, it always exerted a commanding influence; and the moral effect which the character of its people and the spirit of its institutions produced on the surrounding communities, was as extensive as it was salutary and lasting.

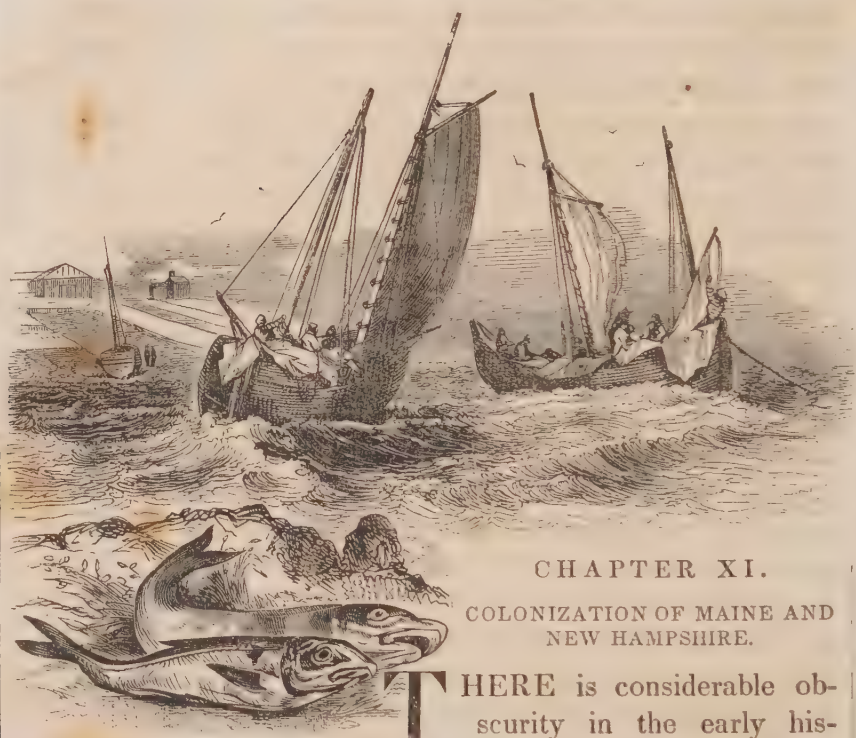
The little colony which they established, under circumstances which would have discouraged men of less determined spirit, served as the nucleus of all the others which were planted on the soil of New England. The character of moral integrity and political firmness which characterized its leaders was stamped upon the influential class of the other

communities which sprang up around them. It displayed itself in all the transactions with the aborigines, as well as with the mother country, from their earliest exercise of chartered rights up to the period when those rights were violated beyond endurance, and the children of the pilgrims became the Fathers of the Revolution.

In later times the spirit of the pilgrims has actuated their descendants in all that relates to the great interests of religion and education, and has pervaded their whole political and social system, preserving its moral soundness, and giving it the health and vigour which belongs only to institutions planted in the firm soil of independence, and flourishing in the bracing air of civil and religious freedom.



Canonicus's Challenge



CHAPTER XI.

COLONIZATION OF MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE.

THERE is considerable obscurity in the early history of the extensive territory now constituting the States of Maine and New Hampshire, arising from the numerous and conflicting grants made by the Council of Plymouth for New England. The extensive powers conferred upon this company by the crown were a source of discontent in the mother country, and of litigation in the colonies. Their claim to the exclusive enjoyment of the fisheries was opposed in the House of Commons; and their attempt to establish this claim, by despatching Francis West, with a commission as admiral of New England, to protect their monopoly by the presence of a naval force was entirely nugatory; nor was the grant of a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, which they made to Robert Gorges, with power "to restrain interlopers," attended with any better success. These failures discouraged the council; and their subsequent operations were chiefly confined to the granting of patents for tracts of land in New England of various extent, without much

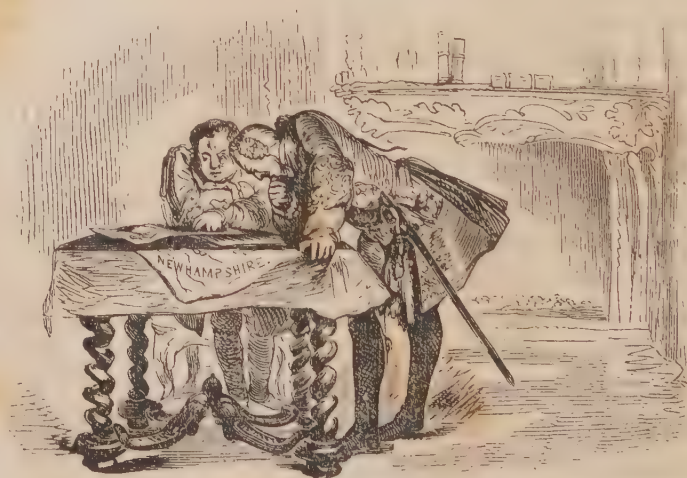
regard to the inevitably conflicting claims of the patentees. Under some of these patents the settlements on the coast of Maine and New Hampshire were commenced.

Among the earliest settlements in New England were those on the coasts of Maine. Its shores, as we have seen, were visited by Martin Pring in 1603 and 1606, and the knowledge which he obtained of the interior of the country was communicated to the patrons of American colonization. This led the Plymouth Company to attempt the unfortunate settlement under Popham, at the mouth of the Kennebec, in 1607, whose failure followed so speedily after its commencement. One of the most zealous supporters of this enterprise was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who vainly urged his associates to repeat the experiment. "Finding," says he, "I could no longer be seconded by others, I became owner of a ship myself, fit for that employment, and, under colour of fishing and trade, I got a master and company for her, to which I sent Vines and others, my own servants, with their provisions, for trade and discovery, appointing them to leave the ship and the ship's company to follow their business in the usual place."

Gorges continued this private course of discovery for several years; and in 1622, uniting his fortune with that of the wealthy John Mason, they obtained conjointly from the Plymouth Company—of which they were both members—a grant of the territory called Laconia, lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. A number of colonists were sent over the next year, and these commenced settlements near the mouth of the Piscataqua. Here a part of them erected the first house, calling it Mason Hall; the remainder proceeding farther up the river, settled at Cocheco, afterwards called Dover. Fishing and trade were the chief objects of these emigrants; and consequently, their settlement increased slowly. Portsmouth had no more than sixty families in thirty years after its settlement. The council issued several patents of inferior extent a few years after, and some of these were comprised within the limits of Mason and Gorges's grant. Two of these were situated at the mouth of the Kennebec,

where a permanent colony was planted in 1630, under the direction of Richard Vines, a former agent of Gorges. The year following a tract, comprehending the peninsula on which Portland is built, was conveyed by the council to two merchants, who erected a trading-house on an island near Portland harbour, and thus promoted the settlement of the neighbouring coasts. The colonists were principally from the south-west of England, and being accompanied by clergymen of the establishment, they found little favour with the Massachusetts planters.

The Pemaquid territory, lying without the limits of Gorges's patent, and to the eastward, extended about thirty miles from the Kennebec. This tract had been the subject of an Indian treaty in 1625, at which time the settlement was commenced there. Pemaquid must therefore be regarded as the first permanent settlement in Maine. In 1635, Gorges obtained from the council a separate title to that portion of their former grant which lies east of the Piscataqua, while Mason was confirmed in the possession of the western part. Gorges conferred on the tract thus acquired the name of New Somersetshire, in compliment to his native county in England.



Gorges and Mason naming their provinces.

In like manner Mason gave to his portion the name of New Hampshire. He sent agents to dispose of his lands, and take care of his interests; but he soon after died, leaving his affairs in so disordered a state that his family derived little benefit from his proprietorship, and the colonists were left to take care of themselves. Gorges took immediate measures for organizing a government, and to this end, sent over Captain William Gorges to his colony, with commissions to several gentlemen resident in the province. Seven of these commissioners assembled at Saco in 1636, received from the inhabitants an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the proprietary, and attended some days, hearing cases in dispute and exercising a cognizance of criminal offences.

There appears not to have been entire satisfaction on the part of the colonists, with this early administration; for the next year Gorges gave authority to Governor Winthrop and others of Massachusetts, to govern the province and oversee his servants and private affairs. But this order was entirely disregarded by those to whom it was addressed: and, not long after, the proprietary obtained a royal charter, confirming the grant of the council, and creating him lord palatine, with powers similar to those exercised by the Bishop of Durham. Gorges thereupon appointed a new board of councillors for the government of his province, the name of which was now changed to Maine. The first general court under this charter assembled at Saco, in 1640, at which the inhabitants of the several plantations renewed their oaths of allegiance to the proprietary. Thomas Gorges arrived with the commission of governor the same year, and presided at the second session of the court, held in September. He resided at the city of Gorgeana—now the town of York—of which he was created mayor.

Previous to the date of Mason's patent for New Hampshire, the Rev. John Wheelwright, an emigrant from Massachusetts, for causes which we shall hereafter notice, had purchased lands of the Indians, and laid the foundation of Exeter; but it was not till 1630, that the inhabitants combined and established

civil government ; an example which was followed a year or two afterwards by Dover and Portsmouth. In 1641, New Hampshire was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and permitted to send two representatives to the general court at Boston ; thus ceasing to be a separate province in six years from the time of its first settlement.

At the suggestion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his friend Sir William Alexander had obtained in 1621, a patent for the territory east of the river St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence, under the name of Nova Scotia. This was followed in 1628, by the capture of Port Royal by the English ; and in 1629, Quebec itself surrendered to a naval force commanded by Sir David Kirk. All New France was thus conquered by the English, one hundred and thirty years before its final subjugation by the army of General Wolfe ; but it was immediately afterwards restored by treaty ; the British government apparently not being aware of the value of the acquisition.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in common with other royalists, was unable to breast the storm of civil war which was become ruinous to all adherents to the crown. He was taken prisoner on the surrender of Bristol to the parliamentary forces, in 1645, and soon died, leaving his estate to his son John Gorges. On the return of the governor to England, in 1643, he was succeeded in his office by Mr. Vines. During his brief administration, Colonel Alexander Rigby revived a title to a large portion of the province, which had been granted by the council of Plymouth in 1630, under the name of the "Plough Patent." This patent claimed jurisdiction of the towns, as well as possession of the soil, of a tract forty miles square, located in the most populous part of the province. Mr. George Cleaves, who had long resided in the province, was sent over by Rigby as his agent and deputy governor. Cleaves summoned a court at Casco, in 1644, in the name of the "lord proprietor and president of the province of Lygonia," as the new proprietor denominated his patent ; and though the inhabitants seem generally to have opposed the pretensions of Rigby, yet as Mr. Vines received no directions from Gorges

as to his mode of proceeding, he yielded to the storm, resigned his commission, and removed with his family to the Island of Barbadoes. Two years after, the commissioners for foreign plantations in England recognised the claims of Rigby, and the government of Lygonia became regularly established.

But few towns and plantations were left to the jurisdiction of the former proprietary of Maine. These elected Edward Godfrey of Gorgeana their governor; and fearing they should fall into the hands of the puritan colonies, they petitioned parliament in 1650 to constitute them a distinct jurisdiction. Their application was unsuccessful, and their apprehensions were soon realized. The Massachusetts Bay Company laid claim to the greater part of Maine in 1652, under pretence that it was embraced within the limits of their patent. They accordingly proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the towns, notwithstanding the manly protests and well-founded claims of Governor Godfrey: and Lygonia being soon after left in a defenceless state, by the death of Rigby, it also was brought within the Massachusetts charter, though some of its towns did not submit until 1658.

The royal commissioners sent out soon after the Restoration to inspect affairs in New England, visited Maine in the summer of 1665, and declared the province to be under the protection and government of the king. They also designated several gentlemen to administer affairs until the royal pleasure should be known: but the commissioners had scarcely left New England, when the authorities of Massachusetts, aided by a military force, resumed their sway, and reduced the province to a reluctant submission. The legal proprietor, F. Gorges, grandson to the original patentee, succeeded in obtaining a restitution of his title in 1677. This was effected by a formal adjudication at Whitehall, where the agents of the Massachusetts Bay Company appeared in compliance with a royal order. But the colony was unwilling to renounce her hold on the province, and in conformity with her instructions, her agents purchased the title from Gorges for the sum of twelve hundred and fifty pounds. After this transaction,

the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay took possession, under colour of a right derived from their former patent, and declaring themselves the lawful assigns of F. Gorges, they proceeded to organize a provincial jurisdiction accordingly.

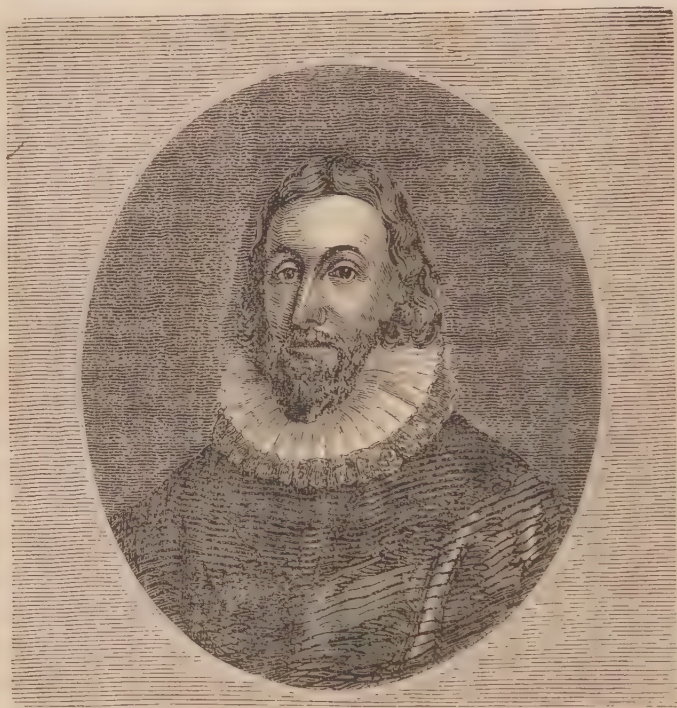
The government established at this time, consisted of a president, deputy, and assistant, eight justices, and an elective general court. This form of government was retained until 1692, when by a new charter granted to Massachusetts, Maine was constituted a county, with the name of Yorkshire. This arrangement continued unchanged till 1760, when Cumberland and Lincoln counties were incorporated, and York reduced to nearly its present limits. After the revolution, Maine was styled a district, although its connexion with Massachusetts remained the same until 1820, when it was erected into a separate and independent state. About one-third of the present territory of Maine was included in the patent of Gorges. The other portions fell to Massachusetts in virtue of the charter of 1692.

Prior to that date, the ancient settlement of Pemaquid—now Bristol—was the only important post east of the Kennebec. The French province of Acadia, originally so indefinite in its asserted limits, was finally restricted on the west of the Pemaquid river. But the English resisted even this reduced demand of territory on the part of the French; and in 1664, Charles II. included in his patent to James, Duke of York, the country extending from Pemaquid to St. Croix river. Being thus united in its government with New York, it received the name of the county of Cornwall; a fortress was built at Pemaquid to defend the inhabitants; and at the instigation of the governors of New York, a considerable number of emigrants established themselves at different points along the coast. The ravages of the Indians prevented the growth of these settlements, and finally occasioned the dispersion of the inhabitants for a number of years. When James was dethroned as King of England, his title to these lands ceased. The charter granted by William in 1692, vested the territory in

Massachusetts, as already stated. On the reduction of Canada and the termination of Indian hostilities, numerous settlers again took up these lands : and from that time to the present, notwithstanding the many perplexities produced by conflicting and unsettled claims to the right of the soil, this portion of Maine has steadily advanced in cultivation and improvement. The inexhaustible fisheries and forests of timber which first drew settlers to the shores of Maine and New Hampshire, covering their waters with fleets of small vessels, and enlivening their solitudes with the busy sounds of the saw-mills, have, in all periods of their history, proved great sources of wealth.



Lumber Mills.



John Winthrop, the First Governor of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XII.

COLONIZATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.



THE progress of colonization in New England was now becoming rapid. While the scattered and ill-organized settlements of Maine and New Hampshire were springing into existence, the colony of Massachusetts was planted and raised into a compact, flourishing, and powerful state. The persecution of the puritans in England, which formed a part of the political system of Charles I. and his ecclesiastical adviser, Laud, had the effect

of directing the thoughts of many distinguished men of that sect towards the quiet haven which had been secured by their brethren in New Plymouth.

In the last year of James's reign (1624), a few non-conformist families, under the direction of Roger Conant, removed to New England and took possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay, near Cape Ann; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of being joined by a sufficient number of associates to secure the formation of a permanent settlement, they were on the point of returning to England, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous and powerful reinforcement. John White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, in England, had projected a new settlement on the shore of Massachusetts Bay; and by his zeal and activity, had succeeded in forming an association of puritan gentlemen, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. In the prospectus of their undertaking, circulated at the time under the title of "*General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*," they urged the propriety of forming, in the New World, such Protestant institutions as might serve to countervail the influence of the Jesuit establishments already existing there; and they assigned as a further reason for the same measure, the desolate condition of the brethren in England, and the secure asylum, offered them in New England, as it were, by the hand of Divine Providence itself.* "England," they remarked, "grew weary of her inhabitants; insomuch that man, the most precious of all creatures, was there reckoned more vile and base than the earth he trod on; and children and friends (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome encumbrance, instead of being cherished as the choicest of earthly blessings. A taste for expensive living, they added, prevailed so strongly among their countrymen, and the means of indulging it had become so exclusively the object of men's desires, that all arts and trades were tainted by sordid maxims and dishonest practices: and the English seminaries of learning abounded with so many

* Grahame.

spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example, than knowledge and virtue were imparted by precept. The whole earth, they declared, is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam, to be tilled and improved by them. Why, then, should any stand starving here for places of habitation, and, in the mean time, suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste, without any improvement?" They concluded by adverting to the situation of the colony of New Plymouth; and strongly urged the duty of supporting the infant church which had there been so happily planted. Actuated by such views, these magnanimous projectors purchased from the council of Plymouth, all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack to three miles south of Charles river, and in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their measures were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small troop of planters and servants were despatched, under John Endicot, one of the leading projectors, who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies Peace.

These adventurers were acting under a patent purchased from the Plymouth council in 1628, granting the territory above defined. By means of the influence and activity of White, a number of merchants and gentlemen in London, who professed or favoured the puritan tenets, joined in the enterprise of colonizing this extensive region. Among these were Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Saltonstall, and others of considerable note. These auxiliaries brought prudence and ability as well as wealth into the treasury of their little commonwealth; and doubting the stability of a colony founded on the basis of a grant from a company of patentees, who might confer a right of property in the soil, but not municipal powers, they induced their associates to

unite with them in application to the crown for a royal charter.

This was granted with a readiness not less remarkable than the liberal tenor of the grant itself, which contained "ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposition of a single ordinance respecting their church government or the forms and ceremonies of their worship." Such a proceeding on the part of Charles I. has occasioned not a little doubt and discussion among historians as to his motives, some attributing it to carelessness and indifference, and others to a desire to rid the kingdom of as many puritans as possible. But his liberality did not end here. "So completely, in this instance, did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the demands of the projectors of a puritan settlement, that, although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to manage the affairs of a remote colony; yet on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wish of the mercantile portion of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony which was to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation chiefly consisting of merchants resident in London.

"The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic; and, their right to the territory which they had purchased from the council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the soil, and to govern the people who should settle upon it. Among other patentees specially named in this charter, were Sir Henry Rosewell, one of the earliest promoters of the design; Sir Richard Saltonstall, the descendant of an ancient family in Northamptonshire; Isaac Johnson, son-in-law to the Earl of Lincoln; John Ven, a distinguished citizen of London, and commemorated by Clarendon, as *leading the city after him in seditious remonstrances*; and Samuel Vassal, who was afterwards member of parliament for London, and had already signalized himself by a strenuous opposition to the arbitrary collection of tonnage and poundage. The first governor of the company

and his council were named by the king; the right of electing their successors was vested in the freemen of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants: the legislative, to the body of the freemen, who were empowered to enact statutes and ordinances for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. The adventurers obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginia Company, from duties on goods imported or exported; and, it was declared, that, notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants should be entitled to all the rights of home-born subjects of England.”*

Soon after obtaining the charter the adventurers despatched five ships for New England, with three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous puritans, accompanied by the Rev. Francis Higginson, and some other eminent non-conformist ministers. Divine service was performed during the voyage; “they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with the unwonted acclaim of praise and thanksgiving to its Creator. The seamen, partaking their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had practised the first *sea fasts* that had ever been kept in the world. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants, late in June (1629), reached the little settlement at Salem. Over the community established here, whose number was now so considerably augmented, John Endicott was presiding as deputy governor. The town had no more than a dozen houses; and one hundred of the newly-arrived settlers established themselves at Charlestown.

The formation of a church was considered one of the most important and interesting of all the concerns which claimed their attention; and accordingly, the settlers at Salem, after consulting their brethren at New Plymouth, with reference to the constitution they had adopted, “united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a solemn dedication of

* Grahame.

themselves to live in the fear of God, and practise an entire conformity to his will, so far as he should be pleased to reveal it to them, they engaged to each other to cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; to repress jealousies, suspicions, and secret emotions of spleen; and, in all cases of offence, to suffer, forbear, and forgive, after the example of their Divine pattern. They promised, in the congregation, to restrain the indulgence of a vainglorious forwardness to display their gifts; and, in their intercourse, whether with sister churches or with the mass of mankind, to study a conversation remote from every appearance of evil. They engaged, by a dutiful obedience to all who should be set over them in church or commonwealth, to encourage them to a faithful discharge of their functions: and they expressed their resolution to approve themselves, in their particular callings, the stewards and servants of God; shunning idleness as the bane of every community, and dealing hardly or oppressively with none of the human race. The system of ecclesiastical polity and discipline which they adopted was that which distinguished the churches of the independents, and which we have already had occasion to consider. The form of public worship which they instituted, rejected a liturgy and every superfluous ceremony, and was adapted to the strictest standard of Calvinistic simplicity. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they consecrated to their respective offices by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were on that occasion admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith digested by their teachers, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as Christians; and it was declared that no person should thereafter be permitted to subscribe the covenant, or be received into communion with the church, until he had satisfied the elders with respect to the soundness of his faith and the purity of his conduct." (August 6th, 1629).

This system of church government, which was considered by the emigrants as affording an assurance of the principal object of their expatriation, the undisturbed enjoyment of their

own religion, was perfectly satisfactory to almost every individual among them. Two brothers, however, of the name of Browne, one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of note, and among the original patentees, dissented from this constitution; and arguing that all who adhered to it would become anabaptists, endeavoured to procure converts to their opinion, and to form a separate congregation, more approximated to the forms of the Church of England. They made but few converts. Endicott, the governor, summoned them before a general assembly of the people, who, after hearing both parties, signified their approbation of the system that had been established, and, as the two brothers still persisted in their endeavours to create a schism in the church, and even endeavoured to excite a mutiny against the government, they were declared unfit to remain in the colony, and compelled to re-embark and depart in the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants from England. Their departure restored harmony.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts Bay Company in England endeavoured to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of settlers; and this design was promoted by the rigour and intolerance of Archbishop Laud's administration. As the hardships imposed on all nonconformists daily increased, their estimation of the dangers and difficulties attending a retreat to America, lessened proportionably. In consequence, many gentlemen of wealth and rank proposed to the company to remove with their families, on condition that the charter and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England. To this the company assented; the king made no objection, probably being glad thus to remove from them the power to disturb his operations with respect to ecclesiastical affairs in England; and in the next year about fifteen hundred persons embarked to seek a new home amidst the wilds of America.

Among the passengers were many nonconformist ministers, the most eminent of whom was Mr. Wilson, son of a dignitary of the church, himself capable by his connexions and talents

to have aspired to its highest honours, yet who had renounced all in order to suffer with those he accounted the people of God.

The vessels, with fifteen hundred emigrants, arrived at Salem,—where they designed to make the principal settlement—in June and July, 1630; but, many being dissatisfied with its situation, explored the country in search of a better. Establishing themselves in various places about the bay, they laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other towns of some note.

The first public worship was held under a tree. On the 30th of July a solemn fast was observed at Charlestown; and on this occasion were laid the foundations of the first church at this place and at Boston. Prior to leaving England, John Winthrop had been appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy, by a general court. These, with eighteen assistants, appointed at the same time, and the body of the freemen who should settle in the new province, were to constitute a legislative and executive body, in which all the corporate rights of the colony were vested. The court of assistants held its first meeting at Charlestown, on the 23d of August, and enacted that houses be built for the ministers, and salaries raised for them at the common charge. A second court ordered that no settlements should be made within the limit of their patent, without the consent of the governor and his assistants; and changed the name of Trimountain to Boston, of Metapan to Dorchester, and gave to the town on Charles river the name of Watertown. The first general court of Massachusetts was held the same year at Boston, where the governor and most of his assistants had removed with their families some time previous. This court enacted that the freemen should in future elect representatives, who were to choose a governor and deputy from their own number, and with these, possess power to make laws for the province and appoint officers to execute them. To this measure the people gave their assent by a general vote; but the court rescinded it early the next year, and enacted that the officers should be chosen by the whole body of freemen.

The colony suffered much from the severity of the climate, and other trials incident to a new settlement. Before December, two hundred of their number died, among whom was Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who had left the abodes of luxury and social comfort for the American wilderness, there to leave a memorial of her virtues and misfortunes. Her husband, one of the chief patrons of the colony, weighed down by sorrow and suffering, soon followed her. But these disasters in no way disheartened the colonists, who bore all with fortitude, in the hope of transmitting free institutions to their posterity.



Death of Lady Arbella Johnson.

As soon as the severity of the winter was sufficiently abated to admit of assemblies being convened, the court proceeded to enact laws for their internal regulation: and in May (1631), that body ordered that in future no persons should be admitted freemen, or entitled to a share in the government, unless members of some of the churches within the province. Many

historians and statesmen have censured this provision, and the right of the government to make it has been much questioned. Yet it was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the age; and though it subsequently produced much dissension, it continued in force until the dissolution of the government.

In 1632 the chiefs of several Indian tribes visited Governor Winthrop, and sought his alliance. Among them were the sachems of the Mohegans, Nipmucks, Narragansetts, and Pequods. They were hospitably entertained by the governor, and entered respectively into treaties of amity with the colony.

To confirm their friendly relations with the Plymouth colony, Winthrop and Wilson paid a visit to Governor Bradford, and passed a Sabbath with him; an event to which no small importance was attached at the time.

During the summer of 1633, two hundred emigrants arrived from England, among whom were some eminent puritan ministers, Elliott and Mayhew, the first Protestant missionaries to the Indians; John Cotton, "a man whose singular worth procured and long preserved to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony;" and Thomas Hooker, a man little inferior to him in worth and influence. At a later period, Dr. Increase Mather arrived, whose family supplied no less than ten ministers to the colony in after times, and produced the celebrated author of the ecclesiastical history of New England.

The small-pox had prevailed in the neighbourhood of the English settlements to a considerable extent, destroying the natives and leaving their lands desolate; and as several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, the colonists eagerly took possession of them. This produced a greater dispersion of the population than suited the condition of an infant colony, and it led to innovation in the government, totally altering its nature and constitution. When a general court was to be held in 1634, instead of attending in person, as the charter prescribed, the freemen elected representatives in their different districts, authorizing them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide on all points

that fell under the cognizance of the general court. This court asserted their right to a greater share in the government than they had formerly possessed, and provided that the whole body of freemen should assemble but once a year for the election of magistrates, while the deputies from the several districts were to assemble in general court four times a year. They also provided against arbitrary taxation, by enacting that the disposing of land and raising of money should be done only by the representatives of the people. This general court is the second instance of a house of representatives in America, the first being that of Virginia, convened June 19th, 1619. The government thus established, was retained, with but slight alterations, during the continuance of the charter. We must henceforth consider the colony, not as a corporation, whose powers were defined and mode of procedure regulated by its charter,—but as a society possessed of political liberty, and a constitution framed on the model of that in England.



Settlement of Boston.



Roger Williams entertained by the Indian Chiefs.

CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION OF PROVIDENCE AND RHODE-ISLAND.



THE founders of Massachusetts, having fled from persecution on account of their religious opinions, were chiefly anxious to secure to themselves and their descendants the unmolested enjoyment of these opinions in the country where they had taken refuge. For this purpose they deemed it important

to require of all the members of their community, conformity to their religious views, to a certain extent; and this, in a small state, such as they proposed to found, they considered not only practicable but absolutely essential to the continued

existence of the colony. The puritans had not learned to separate moral and religious from political questions, nor had the governors of any other state or sovereignty in the world, at that period, learned to make this distinction. We must not be surprised therefore to find that what was considered *heresy*, by the rulers of Massachusetts, should be regarded as subversive of the very foundations of society, and that, in accordance with these views, it should receive from them precisely the same sort of treatment which at the same period dissent from the established religion of the state was receiving from the rulers of the most enlightened nations of Europe.

The impracticability of maintaining a uniformity of religious opinion even in a small community, most favourably situated for the purpose, soon became apparent. Among the emigrants of 1630 was Roger Williams, a puritan minister who officiated for some time as a pastor in New Plymouth; but subsequently obtained leave to resign his functions at that place, and in 1633 was appointed minister of Salem. His unflinching assertion of the rights of conscience, and the new views which he developed of the nature of religious liberty, had early attracted the attention of the leading men of the colony, and excited the hostility of a great portion of the people. Indeed there was much in his doctrine to awaken the prejudices and excite the alarm of those who had adopted the exclusive theory of Winthrop and his adherents.

"He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate: that it was not lawful to take an oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to reject: that King Charles had unjustly usurped the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid: that *the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that anything short of unlimited toleration for all religious systems was detestable persecution.*"*

* Grahame.

These opinions and others of a kindred nature, enforced with an uncompromising zeal, soon occasioned his separation from his pastoral charge. A few admirers clung to him in his retirement; and when he denounced the use of the cross on the British flag, the fiery and enthusiastic Endicott cut the *Popish emblem*, as he styled it, from the national standard; nor did the censure of this act by the provincial authorities convince the military trained bands of Williams's error. With them the leaders were obliged to compromise. While measures were in agitation for bringing Williams to a judicial reckoning, Cotton and other ministers proposed a conference with him, of the fruitlessness of which the far-sighted Winthrop warned them—" *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you.*" Subsequent events showed that these two men, the most distinguished in the colony, regarded each other with mutual respect throughout the whole controversy. The conference was ineffectual; and sentence of banishment was pronounced against Williams. This sentence was so unpopular in Salem, that a large proportion of the inhabitants prepared to follow him into exile; when an earnest remonstrance from Cotton and the other ministers of Boston, hardly induced them to relinquish their purpose. Alarmed at this movement, his enemies determined to send him to England; but he evaded the warrant issued for his apprehension, and making his escape in the midst of winter, sought shelter among the recesses of the forest. His sufferings should never be forgotten by the friends of religious liberty. For more than three months he was a houseless wanderer in the woods (1635). It was well for him that his philanthropic spirit had previously led him to cultivate the friendship of the Indians. From Massasoit and Canonicus he received a cordial welcome; and he was ever after their advocate and friend.

His first attempt at a settlement was at Seekonk, where he procured land from Osamaquin, the chief sachem of Pokanoket, and began to build. But a private letter from Governor Winthrop brought him information that this place was within



Roger Williams exiled.

the jurisdiction of Plymouth colony, and advised him to remove to the neighbourhood of Narragansett Bay. His friends Miantonomoh and Canonicus assured him that he should not want land for a settlement in that vicinity. "With this assurance, he, with five other persons, went over Seekonk river to seek a place for that purpose. Descending the stream, as they drew near the little cove, north of Tookwotten, now called India Point, they were saluted by the natives with the friendly term, 'What cheer?' Passing down to the mouth of the river, and round Fox Point, they proceeded a little way up the river on the other side to a place called by the Indians Mooshausick, where they landed and were hospitably received. Not far from the landing, Roger Williams afterwards built his house. Here he, with his companions, began a plantation, which, in acknowledgment 'of God's merciful providence to him in his distress,' he called PROVIDENCE.* In 1638 a deed

* Holmes. American Annals.

of Canonicus and Miantonomoh confirmed his possession of the land. The exile, persecuted for his testimony to the freedom of conscience, had become the founder of a state.

During the summer of the same year, twenty ships arrived in Massachusetts, bringing no less than three thousand new settlers. Among them was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell; and Sir Henry, commonly called Sir Harry Vane, son of a privy counsellor at the English court. Peters, a zealous puritan and a warm advocate of popular rights, became minister of Salem, where he "not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. He remained in New England till 1641, when at the request of the colonists he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return. But his race remained in the land which had been thus highly indebted to his virtue; and the name of Winthrop, one of the most honoured in New England, was acquired and transmitted by his daughter. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England, by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to waive his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of patrician family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing all his prospects in Britain, he chose to settle in an infant colony, which, as yet, afforded little more than a subsistence for its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The deep, thoughtful composure of his aspect and demeanour, stamped a serious grace, and somewhat (according to our conceptions) of angelic grandeur on the bloom of manhood; his countenance disclosed the surface of a character not less

resolute than profound, and of which the energy was not extinguished, but concentrated in a sublime and solemn calm. He possessed a prompt and clear discernment of the spirits of other men, and a wonderful mastery over his own. He has been charged with a wild enthusiasm by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them have appeared worthless and ignoble; and with hypocrisy by others, who have contrasted the vigour of his resolution with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps, may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his determination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave, deliberate constancy. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, that though constitutionally timid, and keenly susceptible of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when, amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to himself in the form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with a heroic and smiling intrepidity, and encountered it with tranquil and dignified resignation. The man who could so command himself, was formed to acquire a powerful ascendancy over the minds of others. He was instantly admitted a freeman of Massachusetts; and extending his claims to respect, by the address and ability which he displayed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by unanimous choice, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration.*

In these expectations they were disappointed. Vane's ideas of civil and religious liberty were at least a century in advance of the people among whom he was settled; his character was not understood; his youth prevented him from commanding the deference to which his personal qualities entitled him; he became involved in a controversy, where he had nothing but reason and justice to oppose to violent party

* Grahame.

spirit; and a party in opposition to him, composed of some of the most noted men in the colony, was organized at the very outset of his career.

Meantime others of the English nobility were disposed to follow him to the puritan colony. Lords Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, signified their willingness to become citizens of Massachusetts, if they could be permitted a hereditary seat in the senate, as at home. The colonial authorities were willing to make any reasonable concession to gain such powerful friends; and they offered appointments for life, but declined making any hereditary grants, assigning the most obvious reason for their refusal—the possible incapacity of some future scion of some noble house to discharge creditably the duties of a senator. Thus Massachusetts escaped the infliction of an hereditary nobility.

Governor Vane's great influence with the people of the colony, says his English biographer, Forster, enabled him for some time to withstand effectually the hostility of its chiefs; and we find that early in July he started on a tour through the towns on the northern and eastern parts of the bay, and made a public entrance into Salem on the 9th of that month, amidst every demonstration of affection and enthusiasm. We cannot refrain from speculating on the effect likely to have been produced on the extraordinary mind of the chief actor in this pageant, as he moved along the winding streets of a succession of straggling, quiet villages, then for the first time perhaps alive and stirring with great emotion—all eyes gazing—and all hearts excited—as the son of the chief minister of the English king, self-banished from a palace to a wilderness, thus passed along, invested with all the power that the dwellers in his chosen exile had to give; “old men and matrons, young women and children of every age, thronging round the door-stones and gathered at the windows,” before which the procession pursued its line of march; while, through the slight breaks of the surrounding woods, might be caught glimpses of the neighbouring Indians, assembled at intervals to watch the passing show, and gazing at all its strangeness

with an interest and wonder but poorly concealed beneath the constrained and sullen silence which resented the white men's intrusion.

Soon after Vane's return to Boston, the occurrences which led to what is called the Pequot war commenced, of which it is only necessary to observe, that by the influence of Vane, exerted in various ways, many of the Indian tribes were withheld from joining in hostilities against the English. In nothing were Vane's wisdom and benevolence more strikingly illustrated than in the course of justice and conciliation he invariably pursued towards that noble race of men. We find that on his invitation, on the 21st of October, in this year, the sachem of the Narragansetts came to Boston, accompanied by two sons of Canonicus, Cutshamakin, another sachem, and twenty other Indians; and that these gallant sons of the forest were treated by Governor Vane with marked kindness and attention. They dined in the same room and at the same table with himself, and after a long and friendly conference, the result was a treaty of peace and amity with the English. When the object of their visit was accomplished, they marched back to their native wilds, having been attended to the borders of the town, at the order of Governor Vane, by a file of soldiers, who were instructed to give them at parting the salute of a volley of musketry.*

The structure of the government in Massachusetts gave political power to the clergy, since church-membership was a necessary qualification for a voter, and this could only be obtained by clerical approbation. The founders of the colony, Winthrop and his friends, of course, approved of this state of things, since it had originated with them. A party, however, soon rose in the colony, actuated by more liberal views, and opposed to every infringement of spiritual liberty. The leader of this party was a woman, and the origin of her influence is thus explained by Forster:

"During Vane's administration, Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a very remarkable and accomplished woman, arrived from

* Forster. Life of Vane.

England, and became a member of the Boston church. Her husband was a gentleman of respectable standing; and her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, who accompanied her, bore a highly estimable character as a Christian minister.* "She was possessed of extraordinary talents, information, and energy. Her mind was prone to indulge in theological speculations, and the happiness of her life consisted in religious exercises and investigations. She was perfectly familiar with the most abstruse speculations of the theology of the day. In keenness of perception and stability of reasoning, she had no superiors, and her gifts as a leader of devotional exercises were equally rare and surprising." It was the fortune of this singular woman to kindle a religious strife in the infant commonwealth of Massachusetts, which has secured to her name a lasting memory there, and rendered her the heroine of a passage in the American history, as wonderful and tragical as any it contains.

It was the custom in Boston at the period of her arrival, for the brethren of the church to meet every week for the purpose of impressing still more deeply upon their minds the discourses and other exercises of the previous Sunday. Following out this custom, Mrs. Hutchinson very soon instituted weekly religious meetings for females; and so attractive and interesting did she make them, that almost all the ladies in the place attended. The exercises were conducted and superintended by Mrs. Hutchinson herself, and it soon followed, as a matter of course, that she exerted a controlling and almost irresistible influence over the whole community.†

The clergy of the colony, startled at first, were not long in discovering the danger that threatened them. Here was a power suddenly brought to bear upon the religious feelings and views of the people, irresponsible to them, wholly beyond their control, and withdrawing from their reach that very portion of society, which is always, perhaps, the chief source of such authority and influence as theirs. Of the religious opinions which prevailed generally among these clergy, it will

* Upham. Life of Vane.

† Forster. Life of Vane.

be enough to say, that the doctrines, as professed by the reformed churches, were received with almost unanimous consent by their order throughout New England, while they permitted themselves to regard with very great jealousy and aversion the exercise of free inquiry, whenever it in any way threatened to lead to results different from their own. Their views of Mrs. Hutchinson's particular case were not likely to be propitiated by the very disagreeable comparisons, to say the least of them, which her powers and talents were likely to provoke among the people.

Mrs. Hutchinson, in her turn, was neither wise nor considerate in the style and manner she adopted. To say nothing of the somewhat unbecoming position in which, as a woman, she placed herself, it soon became obvious that one of her great objects in these weekly audiences, was to utter disparaging criticisms upon the discourses of the preceding Sunday or lecture-day, to circulate imputations against the learning and talents of the clergy, and even to start suspicions respecting the soundness of their preaching. Anything like moderation, where a system of personality has been adopted, is a thing vainly looked for, and now not a day passed which did not, in the matter of these attacks, add to Mrs. Hutchinson's offences and indiscretions, and tend to drive beyond all fair and reasonable ground, the hostilities of which she had become the object. The ministers, the magistrates, all the leading men in the colony, rose in array against her, and, not confining their animosity to the point on which she was in the wrong, and might easily have been shown to be in the wrong—not satisfied with proceeding against her as a contentious and busy calumniator and disturber of the peace—they imputed to her grossly and openly what was then considered the darkest crime in the catalogue of depravity, and demanded against her criminal penalties of the deepest dye. She was a HERETIC, they said, and must be crushed by the punishment due to heresy. At this point Vane interfered—the ever gallant and generous defender of the rights of faith and conscience—and a sharp religious controversy was soon

fairly developed, which of course led to crimination and recrimination, "introduced innumerable questions of doubtful disputation, and finally wrapt the whole country in the raging and consuming flames of a moral and religious conflagration."*

As Mrs. Hutchinson and her party insisted upon justification by faith alone, and declared that "sanctification is no evidence of justification," they were, in the course of the controversy, driven to speak disparagingly of external and visible morality, while their opponents assigned too high a value to it; until at last the two watchwords or countersigns of the controversy became, in theological phrase, *a covenant of faith*, and *a covenant of works*. By declaring to her hearers, in explanation of her distinguishing principle, that Mr. Cotton preached a covenant of faith, while Mr. Wilson and the other ministers were under a covenant of works, Mrs. Hutchinson had the address to detach the former from his brethren, and render him a faithful and zealous champion of her cause; while Mr. Wilson and the rest of the clergy went about inflaming the people with the most violent invectives against their antagonist. The subject had so important a bearing on political affairs that at the ensuing elections it was of course made the ruling question. Mrs. Hutchinson's brother, Mr. Wheelwright, having been censured by the general court for sedition, in consequence of one of his sermons, his friends threatened an appeal to England; and from that moment the clerical party, whose candidate for the office of governor was Winthrop, were gaining the ascendant. Appeals to England were never popular in this country.†

The crisis arrived at last. The day of the annual election came round; and the party always hostile to Vane, reinforced in strength and numbers by the party whose hostility he had brought down in his support of Mrs. Hutchinson, all assembled and massed themselves together at the appointed place and time. A terrible storm of excitement was the result. Among other notable circumstances, the Rev. Mr. Wilson clambered up into a tree, and harangued the electors in a

* Upham. Life of Vane.

† Bancroft.

speech which, as it is described, could surely never have been endured in those grave times, and in one of his calling, except during the prevalence of a most engrossing and almost maddening excitement. The end was, that Winthrop was elected governor, and Vane and all his friends left out of office.

The Boston people, ever devotedly attached to Vane, at once declared their unmoved confidence and faith in him, by electing him, with others of his most zealous friends, to represent them in the general court. More passionate than discreet, the Winthrop party in the assembly pronounced the election void. The people of Boston, spirited and independent then as they have been ever since, with indignation at such a gross outrage on their rights of suffrage, returned the same men back to the house, by a new election, the very next day. The successful party meanwhile, once seated in the colonial government, lost not a day in beginning in fearful earnest to put down *by main force*, the Hutchinsonian heresy, and to cut off for ever all means of its further growth. The first step taken with this view was a startling one,—no less than to prevent, by absolute means, the introduction into the colony of persons who were at all likely to favour Mrs. Hutchinson or her doctrines. Many such persons being expected to arrive from England about that time, a law was passed which imposed a heavy penalty upon any person who should receive into his house a stranger coming with intent to reside, or let to such an one a lot or habitation, without, in every instance, obtaining permission of one of the standing council, or two of the assistant magistrates; and, by the same act, a large fine was to be levied upon any town which should, without such permission, allow strangers a residence.

A grosser violation of the rights of the colonists, considered in the abstract, could not be imagined, than such a law as this. Vane at once declared against its injustice and enormity, and appealed to the people. The inhabitants of Boston, with whom his influence always bore its natural and fair proportion to their own independence, took up the matter so warmly, that they refused to meet Governor Winthrop,

after the usual customs of respect, when he entered the town on his return from the session of the legislature; and, at last, the public mind generally, and in all parts of the colony, showed so much discontent on the subject of the law, that Governor Winthrop was driven to the necessity of a formal public appeal in its behalf and his own. A warm controversy ensued, in which Vane was his chief and most formidable opponent.

This discussion is only to be alluded to here in so far as it illustrates the character of Vane as a statesman, so long misunderstood, and, by writers of English history, so unjustly handled. It is in proof during its progress, that he was the first to declare at this early period of his life, and at the greatest personal hazard, that the theory on which New England had been planted and was proposed to be maintained, was absolutely visionary and impracticable. He was in fact a clear-headed and practical politician. He could never understand what was meant, as applied to the case of New England, by a settlement of religious liberty in a peculiar sense alone, and subject to conditions which destroyed it in fact. He held that they who in a large society had contended for the rights of conscience, when they were themselves sufferers, could not upon any pretext, in a society however small, turn against others, and, upon points of speculative difference, violate *their* rights of conscience, because they had acquired the power and opportunity to do it. The result proved Vane to have been right; he had hit the true principle of religious liberty; and he was the first English statesman to declare and to act upon that principle up to its very fullest extent.* The party in power, however, were too strong to be shaken; and baffled in his best hopes and purposes, Vane now resolved to return to England. He took his passage in August, 1637, not "fain to steal away by night," as Baxter would have it, but openly, nay with marks of honour from his friends, which even his enemies were obliged to take part in, and accompanied by the young Lord Ley, son and heir of the

* Forster.

Earl of Marlborough, who had come over a short time before to see the country. A large concourse of the people of Boston attended him with every form of affectionate respect, to the vessel's side, which he ascended amidst the strongest demonstrations of love and esteem for his person, and admiration for his character and services. A parting salute was fired from the town, and another from the castle; and as he sailed from the shores of New England, he left behind him a name which, as years went on, became more and more endeared to the people; a name which is venerated there to this day; and gives a kind of religious interest to the small house in Boston which is still pointed out as one of his places of residence, with an honourable gratitude and pride.*

Before the departure of Vane, a general synod of the clergy was called, in which the doctrines recently broached by Mrs. Hutchinson, were condemned as erroneous and heretical. As this proceeding served only to provoke the professors of these doctrines to assert them with increased warmth and pertinacity, the leaders of the party were summoned before the general court, and Mrs. Hutchinson, her brother, Mr. Wheelwright, and Mr. Aspinwall, were by its sentence banished from the colony; and the religious dissension known in the history of Massachusetts as the Antinomian controversy, was thus brought to a termination. One of its most important consequences was the scattering of new parties of emigrants into various regions of the country; a considerable number of those who were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the synod and the general court of Massachusetts, having voluntarily joined the exiles, forsook the colony. Some of these proceeding to New Hampshire under the guidance of Wheelwright, founded the town of Exeter.

Another party, led by John Clarke and William Coddington,

* Milton, whose intercourse with Vane afforded him ample opportunities of understanding his character, pronounces a noble eulogy on him in the sonnet which commences,

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."

united themselves with Roger Williams and his friends at Providence; and in March, 1638, by his aid, these exiles obtained from Miantonomo, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, a deed of the fertile island which subsequently acquired the name of Rhode Island. One of Vane's first acts, after his return to England, was to exert himself in procuring a charter for the new colony. Williams himself acknowledges the influence of Vane's powerful name with the Indian chief, as well as the British government. "It was not price and money," says he, "that could have purchased Rhode Island; but it was obtained by love,—that love and favour, which that honoured gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself had with the great sachem, Miantonomo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansetts, in the Pequot war. This I mention, as the truly noble Sir Henry Vane had been so good an instrument in the hand of God, for rescuing this island from the barbarians, as also, for procuring and confirming the charter, that it may be recorded with all thankfulness."*

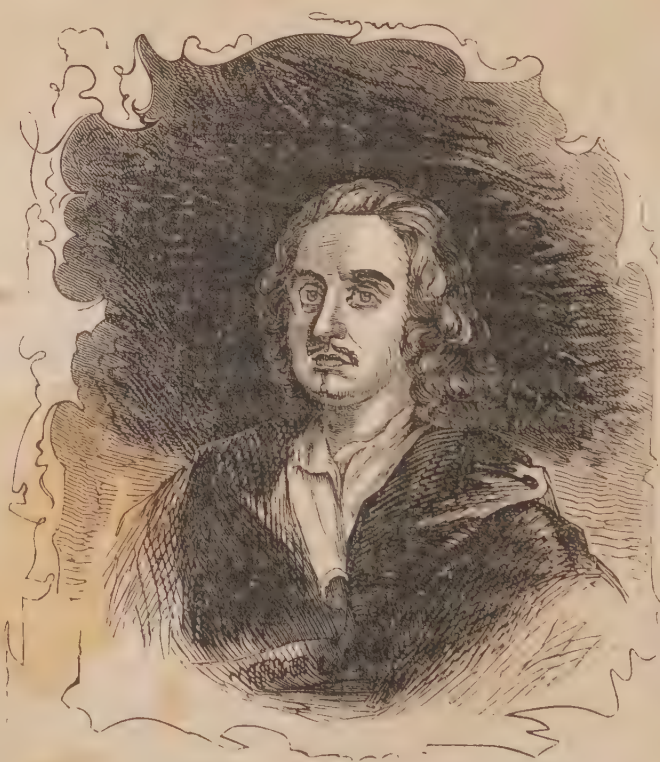
The settlers of Rhode Island had their written constitution, their governor and assistants, after the example of the Plymouth colony. Coddington was their first governor, or judge, as he was styled, after the ancient practice of the Israelites. As might have been anticipated from the character of its founders, Rhode Island enjoyed the most ample provision for "liberty of conscience." In this respect it claims precedence among Christian States, its institutions in this respect being more liberal than even those of Lord Baltimore.

Mrs. Hutchinson, whose controversy with the clergy and government of Massachusetts, had led to such important results, found a shelter in Rhode Island, where she remained several years. Being left a widow, she emigrated with her family to East Chester, within the limits of New Netherlands. In an Indian war which occurred after her removal to this place, her house was attacked and burned, and this remarkable

* Upham. Hist. Coll.

woman, with all her family except one child, fell victims to the ferocity of the savages.

The decided character of Mrs. Hutchinson, the extensive influence exerted by her over some of the most extraordinary men of the age, and the part which she took in the controversy, which was followed by such important results, will cause her name to be held in remembrance to the latest time.



Sir Henry Vane, the Younger.



Emigration of Hooker and his company.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIZATION OF CONNECTICUT.



WHEN Lord Brooke and Lords Say and Seal proposed to emigrate to New England, they obtained from the Earl of Warwick, an assignment of a grant which he had received from the Plymouth council, for lands on the Connecticut river, and they had proceeded so far in their design as to send out

an agent to take possession of the territory and build a fort. "Happily for America, the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil liberty and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen

from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America; and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardour for emigration subsided, and nearer and more interesting projects opened to their view in England.”*

In 1633, certain emigrants from the New Plymouth colony built a trading-house at Windsor, and others from Massachusetts were preparing to follow them; but they had all been preceded by the subjects of another European power.

The first settlements on the Connecticut river were effected by the Dutch; and the imputation of the English settlers that the former were intruders, seems to be quite unfounded in justice or truth. The patent obtained from their own government for all lands they should discover, included the lands on the Connecticut river, which was as yet unknown to the English. They traded with the Indians for several years, and purchased from them a tract of land, on which they erected a fort and trading-house at Hartford, before the English had taken possession of the country. Those who came from Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, and attempted to drive the Dutch from their settlements, were not possessed of the smallest title from the Plymouth Company. The prior claim of the Dutch will appear from the account of this transaction given by Governor Bradford;† in which he relates how they eluded the vigilance of the Dutch by craft and deceit, and on the pretence of trading with the natives, succeeded in passing their settlement, and sailed to about a mile above them, on the Connecticut, where they made a clearing, erected a house, and fortified the place by palisades. The writer continues: “The Dutch send word home to the Monhatos of what was done; and in process of time they send a band of about seventy men, in warlike manner, with colours displayed, to assault us; but seeing us strengthened, and that it would cost blood, they come to a parley, and return in peace. And

* Grahame. Chalmers. † North American Review, Vol. viii., p. 84, 85.

this was our entrance there. We did the Dutch no wrong, for we took not a foot of any land they bought, but went to the place above them, and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians we carried with us, and our friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do."

In 1634, a number of the inhabitants of Cambridge, with the Rev. Mr. Hooker at their head, applied to the general court of Massachusetts for permission to remove to the banks of the Connecticut, on the plea that the number of emigrants did not allow them such a choice of lands as they desired. The court was divided on the subject, and its consideration was postponed for a time. Several of the most active of those engaged in the enterprise had proceeded so far in their preparations for removing, that they would not wait the court's consent; and, accordingly, five of them set out and proceeded to Pyquag, a beautiful spot on the Connecticut, a few miles below Hartford, where they built huts and passed the winter. The general court again assembled in May, 1636, and granted permission to Hooker and his company to remove to Connecticut, as they desired; stipulating, however, that they should remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Active preparations for removal were immediately commenced, and small parties were sent out in advance, not only from Cambridge, but also from Dorchester and Waterton.

While preparing for their departure from Massachusetts, the colonists were apprized that the lands they had intended to occupy, had been granted to a London company by royal charter: and they hesitated whether they ought to proceed to settle them. They finally determined to go, having agreed with the Plymouth Company, that in case they were obliged to abandon the lands, the company should indemnify them, or provide another place of settlement. They commenced their journey about the middle of October, accompanied by their cattle, swine, and other property, and numbering about sixty persons, men, women, and children. They were occupied several weeks in the march, having numberless difficulties to

encounter in the fording of streams, crossing hills and swamps, and cutting pathways through dense forests. When near the place of their destination, the company divided; and different parties occupied the several towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.

Unfortunately for the settlers, the winter began much earlier than usual; the weather was stormy and severe, and by the 15th of November, Connecticut river was frozen over, and the snow lay to a considerable depth. Many of the cattle driven from Massachusetts could not be brought across the river; and the vessels which were to convey most of their furniture and provisions were prevented by the rigour of the season from arriving. Several vessels were wrecked on the New England coast, and from one cast away in Manamet Bay, three men escaped to New Plymouth, famished and benumbed with wandering for ten days in deep snow. On account of the lateness of the season, it was impossible to erect buildings suitable to protect them from the severity of the weather; and from the delay of the vessels on the coast and in the rivers, a general scarcity of provisions ensued by the beginning of December. A party of thirteen set out for Boston, and on their way one of the number fell through the ice in crossing a stream, and the remainder must have perished but for the kindness of the Indians. Another party of sixty persons proceeded down the river, to meet their provisions; but being disappointed in this, they went on board the Rebecca, a vessel of sixty tons, which was shut up by the ice, twenty miles up the river. By the partial melting of the ice, she was enabled to return to open water, but running on a bar in the sound, she was obliged to unload, in order to get off. The cargo was replaced, and in five days they reached Boston. Those who remained on the Connecticut suffered intensely during the winter, and though they were kindly assisted by the Indians, yet they were forced to subsist on malt, grains, and acorns.

Those who had left Connecticut in the winter, returned thither in the spring, accompanied by many others who had

determined to take up their abode in the new colony. Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, set out from Cambridge, and were nearly a fortnight on their journey, at the end of which time they safely reached their place of destination. Through a trackless wilderness, they had had no guide but a compass, no cover but the heavens, no shelter but such as rude nature furnished; yet many of the company were persons of affluence and rank from England, who had lived in delicacy and luxury, and were quite unused to danger and fatigue.

The Indians about the Connecticut had discovered a hostile disposition from the first settlement. The Pequods were the most formidable tribe of New England, numbering from seven hundred to a thousand warriors, long accustomed to victory. Their principal forts were at Groton, where their great prince Sassacus resided, and at Stonington, on the Mystic river.

The Pequods were endeavouring to form a league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans for the utter extirpation of the whites. Information of this design had been given to the Governor of Massachusetts by Roger Williams; but not content with this measure of precaution, the intrepid founder of Rhode Island embarked himself alone in a small canoe and proceeded directly to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts. Here he met the emissaries of the Pequods, and it was not without days and nights of earnest solicitation, and at the imminent peril of his life, that he finally succeeded in detaching the Narragansetts from the league. Their example was followed by the Mohegans, and thus the Pequods were left to contend single-handed with their civilized adversaries.

Meanwhile the repeated injuries inflicted by the Pequods, and the actual murder of about thirty of the settlers, determined the general court of Connecticut to proceed to active hostilities; and on the 1st of May, 1637, they resolved to raise ninety men, who were placed under the command of Captain Mason. This force, accompanied by sixty friendly Indians, under Uncas, a Mohegan sachem, sailed on the 19th for Narragansett Bay. On the 22d, they repaired

to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch of the tribe, and were received with Indian solemnity by the younger and more fiery sachem Miantonomoh, who offered to join them. They here heard of the arrival of the Massachusetts troops at Providence; but it was determined not to wait for them, and on the next day the allies marched to Nihantick, bordering on the country of the Pequods. Here a large body of friendly Indians joined them, and pushing on the Mystic river, the army encamped about two miles from the enemy's fort, just at night-fall. The Pequods, who had seen the vessels pass the harbour, some days before, and believed that the English wanted courage to attack them, were passing the night in rejoicing, singing, and dancing, till weary with these exertions they at last sought repose. A bright moon favoured the English, who surprised the fort just before day. The barking of a watch-dog and cry of an Indian sentinel roused the slumbering savages, who rushed from their wigwams to meet a determined foe. The Pequods fought bravely, and would probably have made their escape, had not Mason set fire to



Destruction of the Pequods.

their dwellings, and thus forced them from their lurking-places into open light, to be a mark for the English muskets. The victory was complete, but the conquerors were in a dangerous situation. Several of their numbers were killed, and one-fourth wounded. The remainder, exhausted with fatigue, destitute of provisions, and ill-provided with ammunition, were exposed to the rage of a fresh body of savages, but a few miles distant, who would be exasperated on hearing of the destruction of their brethren. Fortunately, at the time of this perplexity, their vessels were seen steering into the harbour; and being received on board, the troops reached their homes in less than a month from the day that the court had resolved on war.

The troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut arrived in time to hunt out a number of the fugitives, burn their remaining villages, and lay waste their corn-fields. Sassacus fled towards the Hudson, with a party of his chief sachems; but he was surprised by the Mohawks, and with his warriors put to death. Mononotto alone escaped. A scanty remnant of the Pequods were enslaved by the English, or mingled with the Mohegans and Narragansetts. This decisive termination of the war produced a most salutary effect on the future condition of the New England colonies, striking such terror into the minds of the Indians, that they were content to remain at peace for nearly forty years.

Settlements were constantly forming, and new emigrants arriving from England. In the summer of 1637, John Davenport, a celebrated London minister, arrived at Boston, accompanied by several merchants and other persons of respectability. But they did not find in Massachusetts sufficient room for the many emigrants they expected to follow them, and therefore requested of their friends in Connecticut to purchase for them, from the natives of the soil, all the land lying between the Connecticut and the Hudson rivers. This purchase was in part effected, and in the autumn a journey was made to Connecticut by some of the company, who erected a hut at Quinipiack, where several men passed the winter. The rest of the company sailed from Boston in the spring following, and

soon reached the desired port. They kept their first Sabbath under a large spreading oak, April 18th. In November, the colonists received the land from Momanguin, sachem of the country, in consideration of being protected by the English from hostile Indians. Davenport promised to protect him and his tribe, and obtained a sufficient quantity of land to plant, on the east side of the harbour. The next month, the colonists purchased another tract to the north of the former; and soon after laid out a town in squares, on the plan of a spacious city, to which they gave the name of New Haven.

The colonists at New Haven at first acknowledged the authority of Massachusetts: but as they were evidently without the limits of that colony's patent, they convened an assembly early the next year (1639) and established a constitution of independent powers. The same year, the colony at Hartford formed a constitution similar to that of New Haven: and the two colonies remained distinct until 1661, when they were united under the new charter. The union thus effected rendered the colonies formidable to the Dutch and the Indians, and also secured greater harmony and peace among themselves.

The people of Connecticut and New Haven had been at variance with the Dutch colonists from their earliest settlement, and the most bitter enmity existed between them. War was declared against the United Provinces, by Great Britain, and this opened the way for hostilities between the infant colonies in America. A rumour that the Dutch of New Netherlands had formed a plot with the Indians in all quarters of the country for the massacre of the whole English population of New England, led to a special meeting of the United Colonies at Boston, on the 19th of May, 1653. The rumour of the plot was derived from the Indians themselves, and several circumstances occurring at the time seemed to corroborate it. A letter from the Dutch governor to the governors of the New England colonies, proposing neutrality between them, unless contrary orders should

be given by their superiors, was supposed to confirm the truth of the rumour. The English settlers adjacent to New Netherlands became alarmed: the commissioners of the United Colonies met, examined the evidence of the plot, and a majority declared in favour of war. But Massachusetts was averse to it, and at the suggestion of her deputies, it was resolved to send an agent to the Dutch governor, and demand an explanation of his conduct. This was accordingly done; and the explanation obtained not being deemed satisfactory, on the return of the agents the commissioners met again at Boston, and were a second time on the point of declaring war, when the general court of Massachusetts resolved "That no determination of the commissioners, though all should agree, should bind the colony to engage in hostilities. Connecticut and New Haven felt alarmed and indignant at this declaration, which was considered by all the colonies to be in direct violation of one of the articles of confederation; and used argument, remonstrance, and entreaty with the general court, but in vain. Without the aid of Massachusetts, the other colonies were too weak to resist the Dutch and their Indian allies; and the danger was represented to Cromwell, who promptly sent over a fleet to protect the English and conquer their enemies. But the news of peace in Europe reached New England soon after the arrival of the fleet, and thus the Dutch were left unmolested, and the people of New England relieved from further apprehension of danger.

The Connecticut colony, soon after the Restoration, sent Mr. Winthrop, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, to England with a petition to the king, soliciting a charter under the royal signature. Mr. Winthrop was possessed of fine talents and address, and he succeeded in obtaining a charter granting the most ample privileges, and establishing a form of government over the colony of the most popular kind. It was obtained on the 20th of April, 1662, and continued to be the fundamental law of Connecticut for one hundred and fifty-eight years. The colony of New Haven was included in this charter; but the inhabitants refused their consent to the union,

till the grant of Charles II. to his brother, Duke of York and Albany, of lands from the Connecticut river to the Delaware Bay, made them apprehensive of being united to some other colony, with a charter less favourable to liberty. The new proprietary of this territory despatched a fleet to reduce the Dutch in New Netherlands, and take possession of their patented lands, which embraced the whole of New Haven and a large part of Connecticut. On hearing of the arbitrary disposition of the commissioners appointed to this work, the people of New Haven thought it expedient to unite with Connecticut in endeavouring to secure the privileges granted by its charter; and thus the two colonies were permanently united. In 1684, the eastern line of New York was fixed by commissioners from the two provincial governments, to run nearly in the course it pursues at the present day. Thus was the colony preserved from the dismemberment of the richest section of its territory; and a question that had long occasioned contention was amicably settled.

On the 6th of July, 1686, the assembly was convened by the governor in consequence of news of a writ of *quo warranto* issued against the company and governor the preceding year. An agent was appointed to desire of the king that the people might be secured in their property and privileges in case the colony were divided. Soon after the commissioners were made the ruling body, and Mr. Dudley appointed their president. Massachusetts had already been deprived of her charter; Rhode Island had submitted to the king's wishes; but Connecticut was resolved neither voluntarily to surrender her charter, nor yet appear to defend it. Some of their friends in England urged the colonial government to comply with the royal requisition, and Dudley advised the same. But the latter was too unwilling to injure the colonies to answer the purposes of James, and Sir Edmund Andros was appointed to supersede him. Andros acted as governor immediately on his arrival at Boston, which was on the 19th of December, 1686. He soon after addressed several letters to the authorities in Connecticut, urging the surrender of the charter; but

these were unavailing. The assembly held another meeting in October, 1687, and about the last of the month, Andros marched into Hartford, with more than sixty regular troops, "demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges, so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening; when the charter was brought and laid upon the table where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and among them men sufficiently bold to undertake whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, quietly possessing himself of the charter, carried it off, and secreted it in a large hollow tree fronting the house of the Honourable Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously lighted; but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who conveyed it away."* Though Sir Edmund failed in his attempt to obtain the charter, he assumed the government of the colony, which he administered with great severity for nearly two years, when, on the accession of William and Mary, Andros was deposed, and the former government re-established.

"But a short time elapsed, before the colonists were again called on to defend their privileges from what they deemed an unjust encroachment. Colonel Fletcher, Governor of New York, had been vested with plenary powers to command the

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut, p. 371, 372.

militia of Connecticut, and insisted on the exercise of that command. The legislature of the colony, deeming that authority to be expressly given to the colony by charter, would not submit to his requisition; but desirous of maintaining a good understanding with Governor Fletcher, endeavoured to make terms with him, until the king's pleasure should be further known. All negotiations were, however, unsuccessful; and, on the 26th of October, he came to Hartford, while the assembly was sitting, and, in the king's name, demanded submission; but the refusal was resolutely persisted in. After the requisition had been repeatedly made, with plausible explanations and serious menaces, Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read in audience of the trainbands of Hartford, which had assembled upon his order. Captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, who was exercising the soldiers, instantly called out, "Beat the drums!" which, in a moment, overwhelmed every voice. Fletcher commanded silence. No sooner was a second attempt made to read, than Wadsworth vociferated, "Drum, drum, I say!" The drummers instantly beat up again, with the greatest possible spirit. "Silence, silence!" exclaimed the governor. At the first moment of a pause, Wadsworth called out, earnestly, "Drum, drum, I say!" and turning to his excellency, said, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!" Colonel Fletcher declined putting Wadsworth to the test, and abandoning the contest, returned with his suite to New York.

It has been observed, that the history of the American colonies has been decidedly undervalued and neglected in England; this must have been the case even with the best educated classes of society; or surely, after such specimens of determined independence of spirit as the history of this colony and of Massachusetts exhibits, the measures which ultimately led to an entire separation would never have received the sanction of the British senate.*

In the year 1700, Yale College was founded. The project

* Hinton.

had been the subject of conversation for two years, and at length eleven gentlemen who had been appointed as trustees assembled at Branford, and laid the foundation of the college. In the year following, the trustees obtained from the general assembly an act of incorporation and a grant of £120 annually. It was originally established at Saybrook; and, in 1702, the first degrees were there conferred. Elihu Yale made several donations to the institution, and from him it derives the name it bears. It was subsequently removed to New Haven, where a succession of able instructors has given it a rank among the first institutions in the country. The attention which was paid by the early inhabitants of New England to the establishment of institutions for the diffusion of education among all classes of the people, has produced the most important results. The general intelligence thus disseminated has proved one of the surest guarantees of the republican institutions to which the citizens have always been so warmly attached; and the leading part taken by the northern states in promoting public instruction, has been the most effective means of securing that powerful influence which they have uniformly exerted in national affairs.



Governor Andros and the Commissioners missing the secreted Charter.



Deputies signing the Act of Union.

CHAPTER XV.

UNION OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.



AS we have stated in a former chapter, when treating of an apprehended invasion of Connecticut by the Dutch, the New England colonies formed a confederacy for their mutual advantage. The motives which led to this union were various, all centring in the general security and common defence of the settlements. The aborigines in their neighbourhood were numerous enough to challenge the united force of all the colonies; the settlers of New Netherlands had become hostile, on account of their occupation of Connecticut; and the High Church party in England had given significant intimations of their discontent at the undisturbed existence of puritanism, even on the western side of the Atlantic.

So early as the year 1633, the English government issued a proclamation reprobating the designs that prompted emigration to New England, and ordering all ships, that were about to proceed thither with passengers, to be detained. This ordinance, however, was suffered to remain unexecuted; and Charles, at a later period, reverted so far to his original policy, as to promote the expatriation of Vane, of whose political and religious sentiments he was well informed. After an interval of hesitation, more decisive measures were adopted.* In 1635, a commission was granted to the great officers of state and some of the nobility, for regulating the American colonies. By this commission, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, were authorized to make laws and constitutions for the colonies of New England; to establish an order of clergy, and assign them a maintenance; and to punish capitally or otherwise all who should violate their ordinances. The same persons were intrusted with a discretionary power to revoke charters. The English grand council of Plymouth actually surrendered their charter to them; and a process of *quo warranto* was commenced in the Court of King's Bench against the charter of Massachusetts, of which no intimation was given to the parties interested, and which was never prosecuted to a judicial issue.

In 1637, the king appointed Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Governor-General of New England, and prohibited all persons from emigrating thither, without a special royal permission, to be granted only to those who had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. This attempt to change the whole political and religious character of the colonies, was defeated by the growing troubles in England, which increased puritan emigration and directed the attention of Gorges to the defence of his master's interests at home. The death of Mason, the coadjutor of Gorges, and the chief instigator of these hostile movements, was another cause of their frustration.

A fleet of eight ships, bound for New England, with emigrants, was detained in the Thames by an order of

* Grahame.

council. Mr. Grahame asserts that Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, were among the intended passengers. This is extremely improbable, so far as Cromwell and Pym are concerned; and it is hardly less so with respect to the others; because, when the restriction was removed, the ships sailed without any of these distinguished men as passengers.

In pursuance of the hostile policy of the king, a requisition from the privy council was transmitted (September, 1638,) to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, requiring the charter to be sent to England, that it might abide the issue of the process of *quo warranto*, that was depending against the colony. In return, the general court petitioned for a fair trial, before they should be condemned; recited the story of their sufferings and sacrifices; and prayed to be heard with their patent in their hands. If it were forcibly withdrawn, they protested that they must abandon the colony. They retained possession of their patent; and before an answer could be returned to their petition, the insurrections which broke out in Scotland directed the whole attention of the king to matters which more nearly concerned him.

The convocation of the Long Parliament afforded the colonists of New England a prospect of exemption from the dangers which had recently menaced them in the arbitrary and hostile proceedings of the king. To promote their interests with the parent state, Hugh Peters and two other persons were despatched as agents, and the mission proved so successful, that in 1643, by a vote of the House of Commons, the inhabitants of all the plantations of New England were exempted from the payment of any duties, upon exports or imports "until the house should make further order therein to the contrary." In return, when the civil war broke out in England, the colonists prohibited the raising of any party for the King of England under the penalty of death. They, however, permitted a trade between their own ports and those in the mother country which were in possession of the royalists. They were also prudent enough to decline the invitation which they received, to depute John Cotton and others of their

ministers to attend, on their behalf, the famous Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Encouraged by the privileges which had been conferred on them, the colonists applied themselves with unremitting ardour to the cultivation of their soil and the gainful pursuits of commerce, ship-building, and the fisheries; and their wealth and population rapidly increased.

The province of New Hampshire, after the death of Mason, being destitute of a regular government, was annexed to Massachusetts, at the request of the people. The inhabitants were represented by their deputies in the general court; and, in consequence of their difference of religious sentiments, they were exempted from the provisions of the law requiring church-membership as a qualification for the elective franchise—a law which still remained in force in the original Bay State.

The attempt to extend the principles of puritanism to the Virginia colony, by sending ministers to exercise their functions among the fugitives from ecclesiastical persecution in Britain, who had sought refuge there, was not attended with success. Sir William Berkeley was too sturdy a cavalier to submit quietly to such an invasion; and notwithstanding the recommendatory letters of Winthrop, “issued a proclamation, by which all persons who would not conform to the ceremonial of the Church of England, were commanded forthwith to depart from Virginia. The preachers, accordingly, returned to New England; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which long subsisted between the two oldest provinces of North America.”*

The design of forming a union of the New England colonies, had been entertained in 1637, immediately after the Pequod war; but in consequence of the demand by Connecticut that each colony should have the right of a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy, it had been delayed. The necessity of uniting in order to resist the aggressions of the Dutch, on the western border, had become so apparent, however, that in 1643, the measure was finally consummated. The colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut

* Grahame.

and New Haven, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive, under the title of the United Colonies of New England.

In the instrument of confederation it was stipulated that the confederates should thenceforth be distinguished by the title of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony should remain a separate and distinct municipal association, and retain exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time, in proportion to the population of the respective communities; that a council, composed of two commissioners from each colony, should be annually convoked and empowered to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and that every determination sanctioned by the concurrence of six of their number, should be binding on the whole. Every state renounced the right of protecting fugitive debtors or criminals from the legal process of the particular community which they had wronged and deserted.

The state of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it; but her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the colony of New Plymouth.

Thus excluded from the benefit of the federal union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to provide for their separate security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and the humane and courteous policy which they pursued, proved remarkably successful.

The main object of the confederacy was security against their still powerful neighbours, the Indians. They, however, were becoming weaker by contentions among themselves. The Narragansetts, under the direction of their chief, Miantonomoh, assembling to the number of a thousand warriors, fell suddenly upon the Mohegans, the allies of the English; but they were defeated, and the chief was taken prisoner.

His captor, Uncas, conducted him to Hartford, where he was formally tried by "the elders," to whom his case had been referred, and sentenced to die. His English judges might have spared their pains, on this occasion, as it is a common practice among the Indians to kill captives taken in war. Uncas, having received the sanction of his allies, conducted his prisoner beyond the jurisdiction of Connecticut and put him to death. Miantonomoh deserved a better fate. His hospitable treatment of Roger Williams should have insured him the protection of every white man in New England.

In 1644, an Act of the Long Parliament gave to Rhode Island, at the instance of Roger Williams, who visited England for the purpose of obtaining it, "a free and absolute charter of civil government." Williams's ancient friendship with Vane, as we have already had occasion to notice, was the principal means of his success in this important affair. But the colony was still menaced with dismemberment, by a grant of the council of state, in England, made in 1651 to Coddington, to govern the islands. This difficulty was removed, however, by a second visit of Williams to England, and the integrity of the state was preserved. The active friendship of Vane was still "the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island."

About the same time, Maine was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The death of Gorges in the civil war of England, and the neglect of his heirs to claim their proprietary rights, threw the inhabitants upon their own resources. Massachusetts offered its protection. Commissioners were sent to settle the government; and notwithstanding the opposition of the governor, Edward Godfrey, the towns severally yielded submission to the powerful state which claimed their allegiance.



Oliver Cromwell.

CHAPTER XVI.

NEW ENGLAND DURING THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE PROTECTORATE.

DURING the domination of the Long Parliament and the Protector, New England, notwithstanding the puritan opinions of the inhabitants, maintained a neutral position with respect to the contending parties in the mother country, and even declined offering any hostile demonstration towards the Dutch colonies in New York, (then called New Netherlands), while war was raging between Great Britain and Holland. Massachusetts declared itself a "perfect republic," determined to resist any aggression which might be attempted on behalf either of the king or his opponents. Their agent in England denied the right of parliament to legislate for the

colony unless it was represented in the legislature, and was supported in that opinion by Vane and his distinguished friends.* "A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted, a few years after, (1652), when the increasing trade of the colonists with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the provincial authorities to erect a mint for the coinage of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on one side; of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other; and with a tree as the symbol of national vigour and increase. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin money; and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered," says one of the New England historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of England, it might well be judged unsafe to send bullion there to be coined; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which would finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament of Cromwell, and even of Charles II. during twenty years of his reign.

In 1646 the dissenters from Congregationalism, the established religion of Massachusetts, petitioned the general court for leave to impeach Governor Winthrop before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, on a charge of having punished some of their number for interfering at an election. He was tried, and acquitted; and this proceeding was so far from impairing his popularity, that he was chosen governor every year after so long as he lived. The petitioners being reprimanded for their alleged attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony, appealed to the government of England, but without success.

* Grahame.

After the abolishment of royalty in England, the Long Parliament sent a mandate to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, requiring the surrender of their charter, and the acceptance of a new charter from the existing government. This demand was evaded. The general court, instead of surrendering the patent, transmitted a petition to parliament against the obnoxious mandate, setting forth, that "these things not being done in the late king's time, or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." The intercession of Cromwell in their behalf was also solicited, and his favour, which was uniformly extended to New England, was not found wanting on this occasion.

Cromwell had been desirous to present the colonists of Massachusetts with a district in Ireland, which was to be evacuated for their reception; and he also offered them a new home in the fertile island of Jamaica; but both these propositions were respectfully declined. His favour, however, was by no means forfeited by this refusal. His ascendancy in England was highly beneficial to the northern colonies. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; Connecticut and New Haven were afforded the means of defence against the Dutch colonists of New York; all the New England states were exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations; and both their commerce and their security were promoted by the conquest which the Protector's arms achieved of the province of Acadia from the French.*

The religious dissensions of Massachusetts had not entirely terminated with the expulsion of Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends. The desire of the government to preserve a certain degree of uniformity of opinion was constantly exposing them to new troubles. In 1651, seven or eight persons, under the direction of Obadiah Holmes, professed the Baptist tenets, and seceded from the congregation to which they had been attached. The excesses of Boccold and his followers at

* Grahame.

Munster, in the previous century, were not yet forgotten ; and the sudden appearance of a body of persons professing similar opinions, in the very midst of the puritans, excited horror and alarm. Admonition and whipping were resorted to as a corrective, and a new law was passed, having direct reference to the teachers of Anabaptist doctrines. This severity appears to have occasioned the retirement of many of the Baptists from the colony for a season. Some of them repaired to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone ; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the provincial authorities.*

The treatment which the Quakers experienced was much more severe. The peculiar doctrines of the Quakers, which are regarded with respect and even admiration by some of the greatest divines of the present day, appear to have been particularly offensive to the puritans ; and the extravagances into which an imperfect understanding of them led some weak-minded persons of the sect, may have rendered them proper subjects of confinement or restraint ; but certainly did not make them amenable to capital punishment. In July, 1656, two male and six female Quakers arrived in Boston, where the reproach which their sect had incurred by the extravagances of some of its members in England had preceded them, and they were regarded with terror and dislike by the great bulk of the people. They were instantly arrested by the magistrates and examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. No such indications being found, they were sent out of the jurisdiction and forbidden to return. A law was passed at the same time, imposing penalties on every shipmaster who should bring Quakers or their writings into the colony ; forbidding Quakers to come, under penalty of stripes and labour in the house of correction, and adjudging all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment or exile. The four associated states of New England adopted this law and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of Quaker opinions ; but the

* Grahame.

assembly of that colony replied that "they could not punish any man for declaring his opinion."* The penal enactments of the other colonies only inflamed the zeal of those against whom they were directed. The banished persons all returned, except Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople and delivered her testimony to the Grand Vizier, without molestation, being probably regarded by the Turks as entitled to that reverence which they always accord to insane people. Again the authorities of Massachusetts resorted to imprisonment, flogging, and banishment; and a new law, inflicting mutilation of the ears, was enacted and executed on three individuals. These severities, far from effecting the object of the authorities, brought multitudes of Quakers into the country, whose violent language and extravagant acts were certainly calculated to exasperate any quiet and well-ordered community. One of them, named Faubord, conceiving that he experienced a celestial encouragement to rival the faith and imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, was proceeding with his own hands to shed the blood of his son, when his neighbours, alarmed by the cries of the lad, broke into the house and prevented the consummation of this atrocity. Others interrupted religious services in the churches by loudly protesting that these were not the services that God would accept; and one of them illustrated this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the scriptures were *typical* with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were blind beasts and liars who denied it. Some of the female preachers even proceeded to acts which were gross violations of public decency.†

* Grahame.

† These facts are given on the authority of Grahame, who also says that the modern apologists of the Quakers assert that these acts were committed not by genuine Quakers, but by the *ranters*, or wild separatists from the Quaker body. This he appears to admit; but says that they assumed the name of Quakers and professed their leading doctrines. The provincial authorities, by punishing specific immoral acts and paying no attention to

“Exasperated,” says Grahame, “by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of their radical principle was spreading in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts, at length, in the close of this year, introduced into the assembly a law, denouncing the *punishment of death* upon all Quakers returning from banishment. This legislative proposition was opposed by a considerable party of the colonists; and various individuals, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the Quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty and iniquity of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the assembly; and finally adopted by the narrow majority of a single voice. In the course of the two following years, this barbarous law was carried into execution on three separate occasions—when four Quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any one of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of their brethren in general had associated with the profession of Quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the Quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise. When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most elevated and affecting piety. These executions excited much clamour against the government: many persons were offended by the representation of the opinions in which they might have originated, could have escaped the heavy imputation of punishing errors of opinion with death. Unfortunately, in this respect they were not in advance of the age in which they lived.

severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the Quakers, that effaced all recollection of the strong disgust which the principles of these sectaries had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate Quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates at first attempted to combat the censure they had provoked, and published a vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice attained such general and forcible prevalence as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another Quaker, named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished with the assurance of capital punishment in case of his return, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates with shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after brought to trial. Summoned to plead to his indictment, he



Trial of Wenlock Christison.

desired to know by what law the court was authorized to put him on the defence of his life. When the last enactment against the Quakers was cited to him, he asked who empowered the provincial authorities to make that law, and whether it was not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The governor very inappositely answered, that an existing law in England appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a Quaker, and that there was no law in England that made Quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the Quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment."

The magnanimous demeanour of this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in understanding to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other Quakers who were in custody, were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning—only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed in proportion as the demeanour of the Quakers became more quiet and orderly; and in the year after the restoration of Charles II., the infliction of flogging was suspended by a letter from the king to Governor Endicott, and the other magistrates of the New England settlements, requiring that no Quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporeal punishment in America; but if charged with offences that might seem to

deserve such severity, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the provincial government was more steady and durable than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the Quakers in the course of the following year.

The persecution which was thus happily closed had not been equally severe in all the New England states: the Quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and New Haven. It was only in Massachusetts that the inhuman law inflicting capital punishment upon them was ever carried into effect. At a subsequent period, the laws relating to "*vagabond Quakers*" were so far revived, that Quakers disturbing religious assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporeal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of executing these severities; the wild excursions of the Quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the Quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the support of the clergy; in their scruples as to which, the provincial legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.

During the long period that had now elapsed since the commencement of the civil war in Britain, the New England provinces have continued to evince a steady and vigorous growth, in respect both of the numbers of their inhabitants, and the extent of their territorial occupation. The colonists were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical estate which was the object of their supreme desire, and of civil and political freedom. They were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free from all the duties which other importers were obliged to pay. By the favour of Cromwell, too, the ordinances by which the Long Parliament had restricted their

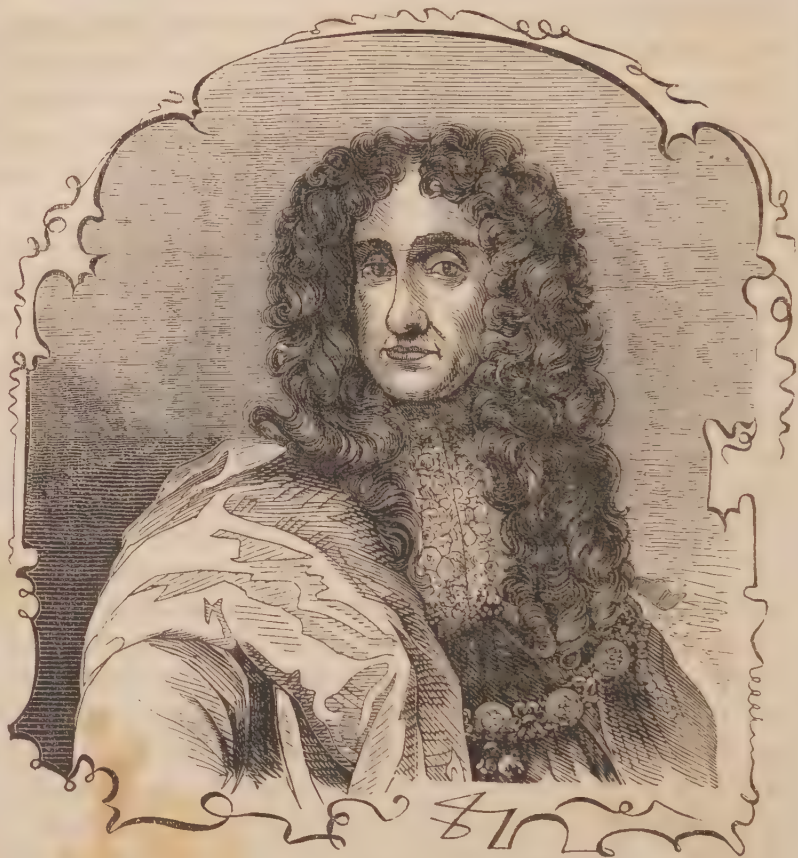
commerce were not put in force ; and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. Almost all the peculiar circumstances which had thus combined to promote the prosperity of New England during the suspension of monarchy, contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects awakened by the Restoration.

There were the strongest reasons to expect an abridgement of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political freedom. Other circumstances combined to retard the recognition of the royal authority in New England. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been successively urged to recognise, first his son Richard as Protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its ascendancy, and subsequently the Committee of Safety, as the sovereign authority in England. But, they had prudently declined to commit themselves by positive declaration. In the month of July, a vessel, on board of which were Generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, arrived with news of the restoration of Charles II. ; but no official communication of this event was received ; and England was represented as being in an unsettled condition. Massachusetts had no inducement to imitate Virginia in a premature declaration for the king ; and while farther intelligence was anxiously expected, Whaley and Goffe were permitted to find shelter in the province.*

* Grahame.



The first Money coined in New England.



Charles II.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS.

THE most authentic tidings were, at last, received that the royal authority was firmly established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented by various royalists, Quakers, and other enemies of its policy and institutions, to the privy council and the houses of parliament (1660). The general

court was immediately convened, and an address voted to the king, in which the colonists justified their whole conduct, professed a dutiful attachment to the sovereign, and entreated his protection and favour, which they declared themselves the more willing to hope for from one who, having been himself a wanderer, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, declaring that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the cultivation and enjoyment of religion. A similar address was made to parliament, and letters were written to Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Seal, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting interposition in its behalf.*

Leverett, the agent for the colony in London, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort to procure a continuance of the exemption from customs, which the colonists had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage over every portion of the empire. The disappointment, however, was softened by a gracious answer returned by the king to the provincial address, which was accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whaley and Goffe. So prompt a display of good-will and confidence excited general satisfaction; a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to incline to the desires of the people. With regard to the regicides, the provincial authorities were not a little perplexed between their acknowledged duty to the sovereign and their desire to screen the offenders from his vengeance. It is supposed that a private intimation was conveyed to them, which enabled them to elude the vigorous pursuit which was immediately set on foot. They were enabled by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from place to place, to end their days in New England. Dixwell, another of the regicides, lived more openly among the colonists.

* Grahame.

But the apprehensions which the colonists had originally entertained of danger to their civil and ecclesiastical institutions, were speedily revived by intelligence that reached them from England of the successful machinations of their enemies at court. It was reported that their commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West Indies was to be cut off; that three frigates were preparing to sail from England in order to facilitate the introduction of arbitrary power; and that this armament was to be accompanied by a governor-general, whose jurisdiction was to extend over all the North American plantations.

This intelligence gave rise to the famous declaration by the general court, in which the nature of the provincial government, its rights and duties were clearly defined and firmly asserted. This act was followed by the public proclaiming of the king as their undoubted sovereign.

In consequence of an order from the court, Simon Bradstreet and John Norton were soon after despatched to England as agents for the colony, (December, 1661). They were received with unexpected favour, and were soon enabled to return with a letter from the king, confirming the provincial charter and promising to renew it under the great seal, whenever this formality should be desired. The royal letter likewise announced an amnesty for treasons committed during the late troubles, extending to all persons not attainted by act of parliament, taking refuge in New England. But it contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colonists. It required the repeal of all ordinances passed under the commonwealth; the taking of the oath of allegiance by all persons; the administration of justice in the king's name; the toleration of the Episcopal church; and the omission of any test of religious faith in the choice of governor and assistants, and in the qualification of voters.

However reasonable some of these requisitions may now appear, the greater number of them were highly disagreeable to the persons to whom they were addressed. In fact they were regarded as menacing the very existence of their civil and

religious institutions. The only one that was complied with was that which directed the judicial proceedings to be carried on in the king's name. The letter was published in compliance with the royal command, and the other matters were reserved for advisement. So unpopular did this result of the mission of Bradstreet and Norton render these gentlemen, that they were overwhelmed with reproaches; and while the firm consciousness of having done his best in the public service sustained the former through this severe trial, the latter sunk under it, and died of a broken heart (1662).

The Restoration proved highly favourable to the interests of Rhode Island in one respect. The charter granted to this colony by the Long Parliament had been suspended by the same authority. The agent of the colony, John Clarke, now succeeded in obtaining a charter, which assured to the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence the amplest enjoyment of religious liberty, and the most unlimited concession of municipal jurisdiction. The supreme power was vested in an assembly, consisting of a governor, deputy-governor, ten assistants, and representatives from the towns. No oath of allegiance was to be exacted from the citizens; and no man was to be molested for his religious opinions. This charter was received with great joy by the inhabitants, and has remained the fundamental constitution of that state until a very recent date.

The inhabitants of Connecticut also sent their deputy to England, on the restoration of the exiled sovereigns, as we have already had occasion to say in connection with the early history of the colony. They were fortunate in the choice of the man to whom they committed this important duty: John Winthrop, the son of the eminent person of the same name, who had presided with such distinguished honour and success over the province of Massachusetts. Winthrop, deriving a hereditary claim on the kindness of the king, from a friendship that had subsisted between his own grandfather and Charles I., employed it so successfully as to obtain for his constituents a charter, in most respects similar to that which

had been granted to Rhode Island,* but differing from it in requiring the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance.

The consequences which would naturally result from the liberal character of these charters, appear not to have been distinctly understood by the British government at the time; but the anxiety to recall them, which was subsequently exhibited, shows that their importance was ultimately appreciated in its fullest extent.

Among the acts of the restored government of England, one of the most flagrant was the sacrifice of a noble champion of human rights, who had commenced his political career as governor of Massachusetts, Sir Harry Vane. We copy the account of this atrocious transaction from a British historian.†

“The house of commons demanded the trial, or rather the execution, of Lambert and Vane, state prisoners since the Restoration. It is necessary to repeat here, that they were excepted from the act of oblivion, that both houses at the same time petitioned the king for their lives, and that the king promised his compliance. The new parliament disdained the moderation of the convention, and clamoured for their blood. They were accordingly brought to trial in a few days after the prorogation. Neither had sat in judgment upon Charles I.: their crime was their having served the usurpation—now the style and title of the commonwealth. Lambert, a brave soldier, but a weak man, confessed himself guilty, made abject supplication for the royal clemency, and was suffered to reach the end of his natural life in the island of Guernsey, either wholly unthought of, or remembered only to be despised.

“Vane had the reputation of wanting personal firmness. He defended himself on his trial with undaunted resolution, and never gave more shining proof of the elevation of his talents and his principles. The indictment charged him with treason against the person and government of Charles II.; and the overt acts to sustain it were his official acts, as a public servant of the commonwealth. His defence was, first,

* Grahame.

† Continuation of Mackintosh's *England*, Vol. xvii., p. 18.

that he acted under the authority of the parliament, then the supreme, sole, and established governing power of England; next, that the authority of the parliament was legal and supreme, and the cause which it vindicated just and sacred before God and man. The judges decided that Charles II. was King of England *de facto* as well as *de jure*, whilst he lived a wandering exile, repudiated even by foreign courts; and the pretence of this revolting iniquity was, that there was then no person in England assuming the style and title of king. The verdict of guilty against Vane was, under the circumstances, a matter of course. He offered a fruitless bill of exceptions, founded on the king's pledged faith to the late parliament. Charles broke his faith, and thereby left one of the darkest stains upon his personal character.

“On the 14th of June, Sir Henry Vane was led on foot to the scaffold at Tower Hill. There are preserved minute particulars of his demeanour and treatment. He was clad in a black suit and mantle, with a scarlet waistcoat showing itself at the breast, his head uncovered, his eye bright, his colour unchanged. It was remarked that he showed the solemn calmness of a mere spectator of the scene. He proceeded to address the people from written notes, but was soon interrupted and reviled by the Lieutenant of the Tower. The sheriff snatched his notes from his hand, whilst the lieutenant ransacked his pockets for papers, and trumpets were sounded to drown his voice. He appealed from men to Heaven, and submitted to his fate. His last words, as he knelt before the scaffold, were, ‘Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country.’

“The death of Vane has been ascribed to his having produced the minute of council in evidence against Strafford; and Echard, in his perfidious compilation, ventures to declare the death of Vane on the same spot where Strafford died, a judgment of God. But Charles had not virtue enough to inherit either the remorse or vengeance of his father, for the sacrifice of that famous minister; and his own letter to Clarendon,



Execution of Sir Henry Vane.

shows that he broke his faith from fear and hatred of the virtue and intrepidity with which Vane defended his life and vindicated his principles on his trial.

"The king and his chief minister came to the determination of 'putting out of the way' a man in whom the genius of the commonwealth survived. Vane belongs in a peculiar manner to that epoch. It has been remarked, as anomalous and extraordinary, that a diplomatist, an administrator, and statesman, of versatile accomplishments and superior genius, should indulge in the wildest mysticism as a religionist: but the simple and obvious truth is that he was more than ordinarily imbued with the spirit of his age. With the visionary fervour of his religion he combined the first principle to which he would have been led by the light of reason and philosophy—that of religious toleration. In this, however, he but shared a virtue of the independents. All sects are ready to preach toleration when they are the party oppressed. The independents alone have passed that sure ordeal of principle, the possession of power. The liberty of conscience, which they asked when they were weak, they gave when they became strong."

We should add to this account that the people of England were so outraged at the injustice of Vane's trial and condemnation, as to occasion serious alarm to the court party, who were fain to make their peace by restoring to his family the titles and estates, which they have ever since enjoyed. The late head of the family, the Duke of Cleveland, was true to the principles of his illustrious ancestor; and although elevated to the rank of the highest aristocracy, was an earnest advocate for popular rights.

For many years previous to the period at which we have now arrived, sincere endeavours had been made by Christian missionaries to reclaim the aboriginal inhabitants of New England from the savage state, and to impart to them the blessings of civilization and religion. The most eminent and successful of these missionaries were John Elliot and Thomas Mayhew. Elliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a most humble, pure, and zealous Christian, laboured diligently to overcome the difficulties of the Indian language, and made an Indian grammar, and a translation of the scriptures. Having prevailed upon his converts to adopt the habits of civilized life, he procured from the general court a grant of land for their use in the neighbourhood of Concord, and soon formed a number of flourishing little towns, the residence of "praying Indians." The women in the new settlements learned to spin; the men to dig and till the ground; and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write. When they had founded their town of *Natick*, on Charles river, they desired Elliot to frame a system of municipal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The provincial government also appointed a court, which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, tendered the assistance of its judicial mediation to all who might be willing to refer to it the adjustment of their more difficult or important controversies. It was not till 1660 that the first Indian church was founded by Elliot, in Massachusetts.



Elliot instructing the Indians.

There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

While Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in Massachusetts, Mayhew, with a few coadjutors, was diligently prosecuting the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, and the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent.

When Mayhew was subsequently lost in a voyage undertaken in order to enlist the sympathies of the mother country in the cause of the Indians, his aged father supplied his place. The benevolent and disinterested labours of these pious men were blessed with complete success, so far as they extended. Those within the sphere of Mayhew's influence preserved their friendship for the whites inviolate. Although when isolated from the other tribes, they were necessarily destined gradually to dwindle away, a remnant still remains to inherit the blessings dispensed by their early friend. The settlements of Elliot, being situated in the theatre of King Philip's war,

were destined, as we shall have occasion to observe in the sequel, to a far different fate.

The policy of Charles II., ever characterized by feebleness and corruption, was particularly weak and corrupt with reference to the colonies. The declaration of rights by Massachusetts, although proceeding from so small and remote a colony, disconcerted the counsels of the king. The monarch and his advisers knew well the inflexible firmness of puritanism; and they were apprehensive that any harsh measure, or even severe language, proceeding from the court, might drive the colony into a declaration of independence, and an alliance with France or Spain; or any measure which enthusiasm or despair might dictate. So it was resolved to temporize and pursue any future despotic designs with caution and deceit.

The navigation acts framed by parliament, in blind compliance with the cupidity of British merchants, and benefitting neither the colonies nor the people of the parent country, we have already noticed in the history of Virginia colonization. They were now applied to the New England colonies which had been exempted from their operation under the commonwealth. They created, for the present, more discontent than inconvenience, and served rather to disclose than to effectuate the restrictions designed to be imposed on the colonial trade. These restrictions were a copious and continual source of controversy between the two countries.* The colonies had been accustomed in their infancy to a free trade; and its surrender was required with the more injustice and submitted to with the greater reluctance, because England could neither afford a sufficient market for the produce of the colonies, nor a supply for their wants. Even in the southern colonies, where the governors were under the direct influence of the crown, the act of navigation was very imperfectly executed; and in New England, where the governors were elected by the people, it appears for a considerable time to have been entirely disobeyed. While these commercial restrictions, therefore, were producing no benefit to the parent

* Grahame.

state, being felt as a common wrong by all the colonies, they were gradually driving them into union, and preparing them for a common resistance of the power from which they had emanated.

The enemies of puritanism, of course sufficiently numerous about the court of Charles II., were constantly spreading rumours of disloyalty and intended rebellion on the part of the northern colonies; and in consequence of these rumours, and perhaps from his desire to provoke a quarrel with Holland, the king was preparing to despatch an expedition for the reduction of the Dutch settlement at New Netherlands, which was to be accompanied by a body of commissioners, empowered to hear and determine *according to their own discretion* all complaints and disputes that might exist within New England, and to take every step *that they might judge necessary* for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation. The commissioners appointed by the king were Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. The intelligence of this measure, conspiring with the reports which had long prevailed of the projects entertained by the court against the liberties of the colonists, created a strong sensation in New England. They knew that pretexts for oppression might easily be found. The disputed titles to Maine and New Hampshire, in which Massachusetts and the heirs of Gorges and Mason were the respective claimants, would, of course, be considered; and many complaints preferred by royalists, Quakers, and Episcopalians, of abuses in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Massachusetts. The investigation and adjustment of these complaints and controversies, were the principal reasons assigned for the commission. But, doubtless, the main object of concern to the English court was the resumption of the too liberal charters, and the suppression of the puritan institutions of the colonies (1663).

When intelligence of the intended visitation was received, the general court of Massachusetts appointed a day of solemn fasting and prayer; committed the charter to four of the

members for safe keeping ; and passed an ordinance forbidding the landing of officers and soldiers from ships, except in small parties.

On the arrival of the royal expedition at Boston, in the following year (1664), the commissioners presented their credentials to the governor and council, and demanded, in the first instance, that a troop of provincial militia should be embodied, to accompany the English force in the invasion of New Netherlands. Endicott, the governor, deemed it necessary to convoke the general court for this purpose, and the commissioners, unwilling to submit to the consequent delay, proceeded with the fleet to the scene of action, desiring the reinforcement to follow, and intimating to the governor and council, that they had much important business to transact with them on their return : and that, in the meantime, the general court would do well to bestow a fuller consideration than they seemed yet to have done on the letter which the king had addressed to them two years before.

The general court, on assembling, voted the required subsidy of two hundred men, who, however, had not embarked, when news of the reduction of New Netherlands was received, and their aid was unnecessary. The subjects proposed in the king's letter then came up for consideration ; and a law was passed extending the elective franchise to persons who were not church members. They next addressed a petition to the king, representing the difficulties which they had encountered in establishing their settlement, the confirmation which their privileges had received from the late and the present king, their own recognition of the royal authority, and their loyal disposition. They complained of the appointment of Maverick, their known enemy, and of the discretionary power given to him and the other commissioners ; and they intimated that any infringement of their liberties by the new power commissioned by the king, might drive them to seek new and more distant habitations. This letter was accompanied by several private communications, addressed to Clarendon and other English noblemen, desiring their friendly mediation.

Clarendon recommended submission ; and the king, in his answer, reproached the colonists with making groundless complaints, and justified the commission as the only proper method of rectifying provincial disorders.

Meanwhile, the commissioners having completed the conquest of New Netherlands, to which the name of New York was now given, proceeded to the discharge of their civil functions in New England. The grant of the newly-acquired province to the Duke of York, had raised a question of boundaries between its territory and that of Connecticut, which the commissioners adjusted to the perfect satisfaction of the latter colony. A claim of the Duke of Hamilton, and other persons, arising from grants by the Plymouth council, was also disposed of with a similar result. As the acts of the commissioners in no way conflicted with the interests of the colony, they met with no opposition ; and in their report they praised the dutifulness and obedience of Connecticut.

In Rhode Island, the commissioners were favourably received ; but Plymouth treated them coldly, declined their promise of a new charter, and with many thanks and professions of loyalty, chose to retain their ancient privileges.

On the return of the commissioners to Massachusetts, their pretensions were resisted at every step. Their conferences with the general court were anything but amicable, and their attempt to assume the judicial government of the colony was defeated by the authorities and derided by the people.

Suspending for a time their operations at Boston, the commissioners repaired to New Hampshire and Maine, and setting aside the claims of Mason and Gorges, as well as the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a new system of government, directly dependent on the crown, in each of these provinces. This proceeding, however, was rendered nugatory immediately after their departure from the country, by the provinces returning to their former state of dependence on Massachusetts.

On the return of the commissioners to Boston, the general court declared that the measures they had pursued tended to

the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference, which was refused with an asperity of reproach that put an end to all farther communication. The king soon after recalled these functionaries, expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanded the general court of that province to send deputies to answer in his presence the charges preferred against the colony.

The general court evaded this order by pretending to doubt the authenticity of the royal mandate; and at the same time, aware that their recent proceedings must be regarded as an open defiance of the British government, they offered addresses expressive of their loyalty; and to demonstrate that they were willing to afford substantial evidence of this feeling, even while ready to defend to the utmost their chartered rights, they presented a shipload of masts to the king, and a supply of provisions to his fleet in the West Indies. Charles, knowing the determined temper of the Massachusetts people, thought proper to accept their presents very graciously, assuring them that their zeal for the royal service was acceptable, and he deferred, without for a moment abandoning, his design of remodelling the institutions of New England.

The system of government, says Grahame, that prevailed in Massachusetts, coincided with the sentiments of a great majority of the people; and even those acts of municipal administration that imposed restraints on civil liberty, were revered on account of their manifest design, and their supposed efficiency to promote an object which the people held dearer than civil liberty itself. A printing-press had been established at Cambridge for upwards of twenty years; and the general court had recently appointed two persons to be licensers of the press, and prohibited the publication of any book or other composition that had not received their censorial approbation. The licensers having sanctioned the publication of Thomas à Kempis's admirable treatise, *De Imitatione Christi*, the court interposed, and, declaring that "the book was written by a Popish minister, and contained some things

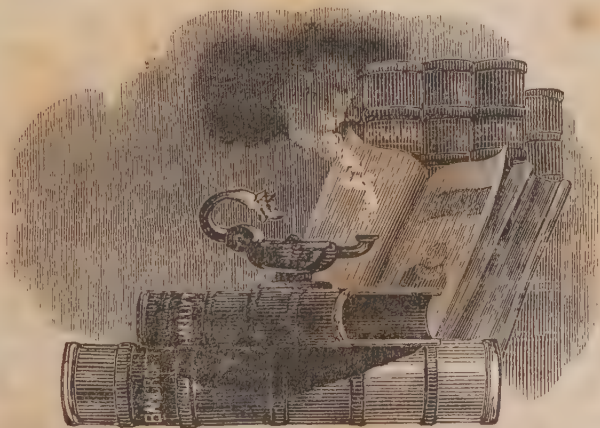
less safe to be infused among the people," recommended a more diligent revisal to the licensers, and in the mean time suspended the publication. In a constitution less popular, a measure of this nature would have been regarded as an outrage upon liberty. But the government of Massachusetts expressed, and was supported by, the sentiments and opinions of the people; and the general respect which its administration commanded was the reason why the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine, rejecting the constitution which they had received from the royal commissioners, again solicited and were received into the rank of dependencies on its jurisdiction.

All traces of the visitation of the commissioners having been thus effaced, and the apprehensions that their measures had excited, forgotten, the affairs of the New England colonies continued for several years to glide on in a course of silent but cheerful prosperity. The navigation act not being aided by the establishment of an efficient custom-house, and depending for its execution upon officers annually elected by their own fellow-citizens, was completely disregarded. The people enjoyed a commerce practically unrestricted: a consequent increase of wealth was visible among the merchants and farmers, and habits of industry and economy continuing to prevail with unabated force, the plantations underwent a progressive improvement, and many new settlements arose. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period, from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the substantial structure and interior comfort of all the private dwellings.

Nothing had contributed more to promote the commerce and security of New England, than the conquest of Nova Scotia by Cromwell; and the cession of this province by Charles II. to France, with limits so indefinite as to open a source of continued discord between the English colonists and their neighbours, was regarded as a most untoward circum-

stance (1667). Agents had been sent to England to remonstrate against the grant; but in vain. The French regained possession of their ancient settlement; and both New England and the mother country had afterwards abundant cause to regret the admission of a restless and ambitious neighbour, possessing paramount influence over the Indian tribes, and often exerting it with terrible effect in the wars of the succeeding century.

The population of New England at this time is uncertain. Mr. Bancroft supposes it to have been fifty-five thousand in 1675. Of these he gives seven thousand to Plymouth, fourteen thousand to Connecticut, twenty-two thousand to Massachusetts, and four thousand each to Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. The people were chiefly engaged in agriculture, the fisheries, and commerce. In Maine and New Hampshire, ship-building, and the cutting, sawing, and exportation of lumber, were at this early period, as they still are, favourite pursuits. That spirit of hardy enterprise, which a century later attracted the attention and drew forth the encomiums of Burke, was even then a striking trait in the New England character.





CHAPTER XVIII.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.



THE attempts to Christianize the Indians of New England have already been noticed. Many of them, by the efforts of Elliot and the Mayhews, had been won from heathenism and the customs of savage life, to a knowledge and love of the Christian religion, and a preference for some of the habits of civilization. Still the great mass of the aboriginal population remained heathens. Mr. Bancroft estimates the Indian population in New England, west of the St. Croix, at about thirty thousand. Of these, five thousand were in Maine, three thousand in New Hampshire, eight thousand in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and fifteen hundred in Connecticut. He supposes the white population west of the Piscataqua to



KING PHILIP.



have been fifty thousand—double that of the Indians. Among the praying Indians, some were educated, and one took a bachelor's degree, in 1665, at Harvard College. We omitted to notice, in its proper chronological order, the founding of this venerable institution, which dates back as far as 1636, when a year's rate of the whole colony was voted by the general court for its establishment. Two years later, John Harvard, who was seized with consumption, soon after his arrival in the colony, on his death-bed bequeathed half of his estate, and all his library, to the institution, with little foresight, probably, of the imperishable fame connected with the bequest.



Harvard bequeathing his property to the College.

The treaty made by the Pilgrim Fathers with Massasoit had been observed for more than fifty years. That powerful chieftain, dying, had left the government in the hands of his son, Alexander, whose ill-treatment at the hands of the whites, which had probably occasioned his death, may in part have led to the implacable hostility of his brother and successor, Philip of Pokanoket. This chief, as well as most of those who were in alliance with him, had sternly rejected all persuasions to Christianity; and if he nursed in his bosom a

strong vindictive feeling towards the colonists, it is certain that there were many reasons for it. The broad territory which had once been the possession of his fathers, had dwindled away, till a narrow region round Mount Hope Bay was all that had been spared by the gradual but irresistible encroachments of the colonists. Personal insults had been offered to himself and his family, and he had been compelled to surrender his arms and pay tribute. Finally, his secretary, Seusoman or Sassamon, an Indian, who after professing Christianity, had apostatized and entered his service, had played the spy upon him, giving information of his intended movements. It was through his treacherous letters that the colonists learned that Philip and his countrymen had at length resolved to adopt measures for their destruction. "He could write," says the historian, "though the king, his master, could not read." Fearing the consequences of what he had done, the renegade returned to the protection of the settlers, and was soon after slain by two of the Indian leaders. The perpetrators of this deed were arrested, tried, and executed by the colonists.

Philip was alarmed by the condemnation of his counsellors ; and finding that the war would inevitably be forced upon him, he resolved to be the first in the field. His tribe, the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, having sent their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security, commenced hostilities at Swansey. They menaced and insulted the inhabitants, and after killing some of the cattle in the fields, they broke open and rifled the houses. One of the Indians being shot by the English, who were highly exasperated at such proceedings, the former, in revenge, killed eight of the settlers. This was the beginning of King Philip's war, June 24th, 1675.

It is said that Philip was hurried into the war by the ardour of his men, some months before he had intended to commence hostilities. He had many serious disadvantages to contend with. He had not succeeded in uniting all his countrymen in opposition to the colonists. A large proportion of them were

the allies of his enemies. The praying Indians would gladly have remained neutral, and such was the wish of Elliot; but Philip attacked them and drove them into hostility, although they were still distrusted by the whites. The Indians were poorly supplied with provisions, and had no strong holds or fortified places to which they could retreat; while the English had the advantages of union, plentiful supplies of arms and provisions, garrisoned towns, and a superior knowledge of the art of war.

The superstitious among the English declared that "strange sights and sounds foreboded, in many parts of the colonies, the woes that were near; the singing of bullets, and the awful passing away of drums in the air; invisible troops of horses were heard riding to and fro; and in a clear, still, sunshiny morning, the phantoms of men, fearfully flitting by!" These and other terrible omens did not, however, prevent the people from making vigorous efforts to resist the enemy.

Their usual modes of warfare were practised by the Indians. Creeping cautiously through the woods which surrounded the scattered towns, they would suddenly start up from their lurking-places in the dead of night, or during the stillness of the summer Sabbath, and rush upon the unguarded villagers with their wild war-whoop, and before the fighting men could be embodied so as to make head against them, the village would be burnt, its inhabitants massacred, and the Indians gone to their distant retreats in the woods. Such a system of warfare was peculiarly distressing, from the extent of country over which the settlements were spread. All that could be done was to pursue the Indians to their retreats.

Expedition after expedition was sent against them, but they retreated into the remote swamps and were safe. When the soldiers returned to the colony, they would again emerge from their hiding-places, and have recourse to their system of surprise, massacre, and retreat. Parties on their way to church, or around the family fireside, were suddenly attacked and slaughtered in cold blood. The towns of Taunton, Namas-ket, and Dartmouth, were visited with fire and destruction.

In July, a party of English attacked Philip at Pocasset, and drove him into a swamp, which they surrounded. But the wily savage escaped into the western part of Massachusetts, the country of the Nipmucks, whom he incited to take up arms against the colonists. This tribe soon after set fire to the town of Quaboag, and massacred many of the inhabitants.

After this success, the little army of the colonists marched into the country of the Narrangansetts, who, although professedly neutral, were known to give shelter to the enemy. They were forced into a treaty, accompanied by a promise to deliver up the hostile Indians who should retreat to their territory. This treaty was concluded on the 15th of July. There was now a prospect of a speedy termination to the war. But it was only just begun. A sort of frenzy, seemed to have seized all the Indians of New England. The eastern tribes took up the hatchet, and those on Connecticut river also joined in the war on the side of Philip. The towns of Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield, and Sugarloaf Hill, bore witness to their treachery and cruelty. In October, the Springfield Indians deserted the alliance of the English, and,



Burning of Springfield.

after burning three-quarters of that town, joined King Philip. The treaty with the Narrangansetts was of short continuance; for on the 9th of September, 1675, the commissioners of the

three colonies, convinced of their treachery, declared war against them, and ordered a body of one thousand men to be sent into their territory.

The time chosen for the operations of this force was the depth of winter, and their commander was Josiah Winslow. The abode of the Indians was on an island of about five or six acres, situated in an impassable swamp; the only entrance being upon a long tree, lying over the water, "so that but one man could pass at a time; but the water was frozen; the trees and thickets were white with their burden of snow, as was the surface of the earth; so that the most inconsiderable movement of the Indians could be seen. Within the isle were gathered the powers of the Narragansett tribe, with their wives, families, and valuable things; the want of leaves and thick foliage allowed no ambush, and the savage must fight openly beside his own hearth-stone. It was the close of day when the colonists came up to the place; a fort, a blockhouse, and a wall that passed round the isle, proved the skill, as well as resolution, of the assailed; the frozen shores and water were quickly covered with the slain, and then the Indians fought at their doors and around their children, till all was lost, and a thousand of them fell."*

In this engagement, the English loss was about two hundred and thirty. It ended the offensive operations of the Narragansetts, who soon after removed to the Nipmuck country. Many battles were subsequently fought in quick succession, and the Indians were hunted from place to place, until but a shadow of their former greatness remained.

The war was now drawing to a close. Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts, venturing from his hiding-place, was captured. Tempted by an offer of life, if he would deliver up Philip, and submit his own people to the English, he proudly refused. He was condemned to die, and by a refinement of cruelty, by the hands of three young Indian chiefs. On hearing his sentence, he said, "I like it well; for I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have spoken anything unworthy of myself."

* Carne. Life of Elliot.

Philip himself had been driven to take shelter among the Mohawks. But he was soon compelled to fly from his retreat, and ventured once more to visit the burial-place of his fathers, Mount Hope. His wife and son accompanied him, and they were snatched from his side by a party of English, who narrowly missed taking Philip himself prisoner. He was soon after shot by a traitorous Indian, August, 1676. His young son, the only survivor of the family, was transported to the West Indies, and died in slavery. Thus was the race of Massasoit requited for his long-continued friendship to the whites.

The Mohegans had remained faithful to the English during the war. Rhode Island had participated in the sufferings of Massachusetts; but Connecticut had escaped. Although the contest had lasted but fourteen months, six hundred of the inhabitants of New England had perished, twelve or thirteen towns were entirely, and many others partially, destroyed, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. The loss of property and expenditures amounted to half a million of dollars. The advance of the colonies in wealth and population was retarded a full half century.

The eastern Indians, supplied with arms and encouraged by the French, continued in arms nearly two years longer; peace not being restored till April, 1678.

The expense of this war had been borne by the colonies, without recourse to the mother country; and this was made a subject of reproach by the king's ministers, as implying pride and insubordination. The project claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, and Edward Randolph, the agent of Mason, and an emissary from the privy council, was sent out to demand from Massachusetts, the relinquishment of her jurisdiction over those colonies. He arrived in the summer of 1676, before Philip's war was terminated; and the colonists thus found themselves compelled at the same time to defend themselves against the sovereign in England, and the savages at their fire-sides. Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as agents to England

to support the interests of Massachusetts. The result of the legal proceedings in England was, that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased ; but it was preserved in Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had offered to purchase Maine, in order to unite it with New Hampshire, and bestow both on his son, the Duke of Monmouth ; but before he had completed the bargain, the agents of Massachusetts purchased the Gorges title for twelve hundred and fifty pounds ; and they continued to hold it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king. The inhabitants of New Hampshire were desirous to remain attached to Massachusetts ; but they were compelled to submit and receive a royal governor, the first that ever exercised power in New England. The office was conferred on Edward Cranfield, who, like Randolph, was a rapacious adventurer, intent on making a fortune, by urging the claims of Mason to the soil, which the people had purchased from others, and improved by their own labour. After involving himself in controversies and altercations with the settlers and their legislative assembly, in which he was continually foiled, he finally solicited his own recall. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire resumed her connection with Massachusetts, and retained it until the British revolution of 1688.

The enforcement of the navigation acts became now a source of controversy between Massachusetts and the crown. In order to compel obedience to these laws, a forfeiture of the charter was threatened ; and the general court, after declaring that the acts of navigation were an invasion of their rights, so long as they were not represented in parliament, gave them legal force by an act of their own. This preserved their consistency, and saved the charter for the time ; but it was not long before the corrupt court of Charles II. commenced the work of depriving the cities and corporate towns of England of their charters, and Massachusetts could no longer hope to be spared. New agents were despatched to England, however, to avert the danger ; but in 1683, a *quo warranto* was issued ; and the agents, Dudley and Richards returned to

Boston, followed by Randolph, the old enemy of the colony, with the dreaded writ. At the same time the crown urged submission by threats and promises. But the general court remained inflexible. The legal process was then advanced with all possible expedition. At length, in Trinity term, 1684, judgment was pronounced by the Court of King's Bench against the governor and company of Massachusetts, "that their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be annulled;" and in July, 1685, an official copy of this judgment was received by the secretary of the general court.

"Thus," says Grahame, "was the system of liberty that had flourished in Massachusetts, overthrown by the descendant of the princes whose tyranny had led to its establishment; after having been defended by the children of the original settlers, with the same resolute, unbending virtue that their fathers had exerted in founding and rearing it."





James II.

CHAPTER XIX.

NEW ENGLAND UNDER JAMES II.



URING the reign of James II. the colonies suffered much oppression from the mother country. At the latter part of Charles's reign, the notorious Colonel Kirke, whose brutal and sanguinary excesses have secured him an immortality of infamy in the history of England, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth; and it was determined to abolish the representative assembly of the colonists, and invest the legislative and executive powers in the governor

and council. The death of Charles, however, interrupted the commission and instructions of this minion, who was reserved to contribute, by his atrocities in England, to bring hatred and exile on Charles's successor. Soon after James II. had ascended the throne, he appointed a temporary commission to administer the government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth, which provinces were by the commission consolidated into one government. Joseph Dudley, one of the deputies from Massachusetts to England, who had deserted his constituents, and sided with the crown, was appointed governor. The general court, then in session, protested against the commission as likely to injure the liberties of Massachusetts; but expressed their willingness to submit to it, if necessary, until an appeal to the crown could be made. The commissioners were too mild, in the opinion of certain of the king's revenue collectors in New England, who, headed by one Randolph, recommended to the king the institution of a more severe system of administration.

James needed no such hints. He had already devised an arbitrary form of government, at the head of which, as a substitute for Kirke, whose services were required in England, he placed Sir Edmund Andros. Many tyrannical regulations were now introduced, one of which was that no printing-press should be allowed in the colony.

In December, 1686, Andros landed at Boston, and immediately commenced following the example set him by his sovereign in England; and the pupil surpassed his master. Rhode Island and Connecticut now trembled for their safety. On the accession of James, the Rhode Islanders transmitted their congratulations, and begged of him to protect their charter. They were soon after notified of a writ of *quo warranto* which had been issued against their charter. The assembly resolved not to oppose the royal will, and surrendered the patent; "humbly prostrating themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." On receipt of this declaration, the king charged Andros to extend his administration to

Rhode Island, and in the same month with his arrival at Boston, he visited the province, dissolved the provincial corporation, broke its seal, and assumed the government. Five of the citizens were appointed members of his own council.

Connecticut, in an address to the king, had also vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. A writ, similar to that against Rhode Island, was issued in this case, and Randolph, ever the enemy of American liberty, volunteered his services to carry it across the Atlantic. In January, 1687, the assembly and governor of Connecticut petitioned the secretary of state that if their government must be taken from them, they might be incorporated with Massachusetts. In pursuance of orders, Andros went, in October, with his suite and more than sixty armed men, to Hartford, where the assembly of Connecticut was then sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government to be dissolved. The manner in which the assembly evaded this requisition and secreted their charter, has already been narrated in a former chapter.*

Having now acquired the supreme power, Andros proceeded to exercise it with a rigour and injustice that rendered his government universally odious. The taxes were continually augmented, and the fees of the public functionaries reached an enormous height. Many alterations were made in ecclesiastical affairs, all tending to the benefit of the Episcopal Church, and consequently, to the injury of the mass of the colonists who were dissenters. Andros often remarked that the only difference between the inhabitants and slaves, was, that they were neither bought nor sold; and Randolph, at the summit of his wishes, boasted, in letters to his friends, that the rulers in New England were "as arbitrary as the Grand Turk."

Although the trial by jury was not abolished, Andros selected the juries, and, to suit his wishes, had the guilty acquitted or the innocent punished. To add extortion to tyranny, he questioned the titles to all the land, asserting that the titles granted under the charter were as defective as the former government. To have them amended, new patents

* See Vol. I., p. 206.

from the governor were requisite, and writs of intrusion were issued against all who refused to apply for such grants and pay the large fees that were demanded for them. Many of the landed proprietors had deeds from the Indians, but these he asserted were no better than scratches of a bear's paw. The insolent governor treated all the inhabitants as traitors and rebels, and said that he was authorised to grant his majesty's most gracious pardon to all who should apply for it. None, however, applied.

Town-meetings were held to be seditious, and a passport from the governor was necessary before leaving the colony. Sir William Phipps, in favour at the court of James, exerted himself strongly in behalf of his country, and the king, finding the provincial affairs growing desperate, at last offered the post of governor to Phipps. He refused to accept the office under the falling tyrant, and Andros continued to fill it. Meanwhile the Indian hostilities were renewed by the intrigues of the French. The colonists offered them peace; but, backed by the French, they refused all offers, and Andros was compelled to march against them in the depth of winter. He merely restrained the incursions of the savages, inflicting but little permanent injury upon them, and losing a great many of his men. The inhabitants ascribed this expedition to a deliberate purpose to destroy the troops he conducted, by cold and famine. At length the smothered rage of the people broke forth; letters from Virginia, having communicated to the inhabitants some vague reports of the proceedings of the Prince of Orange in England. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection broke forth in Boston; martial music summoned the people together; in a few hours, the revolt become so universal, and the force of the people so overpowering, that the government abandoned all attempts to resist the popular will. Andros, Dudley, and fifty of the more obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned. In the beginning of the outbreak, Andros had sent a party of soldiers to capture Simon Bradstreet, a veteran of near ninety years, who had exercised the office of governor at the

time when the old charter was abrogated. The selection of this venerable man as a victim of tyranny by Andros seems to have designated him to the colonists as a suitable leader, in their present movement. When he came forward to the town-house, where the people were assembled, he was received with a shout of welcome. It was the parting knell of Andros's tyranny. A committee of safety was appointed, who deposed the royal governor and his minions, appointed Bradstreet in his place, reinstated the former magistrates, and re-established the ancient constitution. Andros and the other prisoners were to be detained in prison until the directions of the Prince of Orange and the English Parliament with respect to them, might be made known.

When the tidings of the revolution in Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined to follow so noble an example. Captain Wadsworth drew the old charter from its hiding-place in the oak, and it was again proclaimed the law of the province. Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter which they had so formally and unequivocally resigned, and now they again declared it to be in force, without hesitation. New Plymouth resumed its old government; but the assembly of New Hampshire petitioned King William that they might still be united to Massachusetts. Their request was, however, refused, and a separate governor was appointed for that province.

Mature reflection convinced the inhabitants of Massachusetts that it was impracticable to establish the former charter, so formally vacated by the parent state, who could alone restore it. A convention of the people resolved that though the charter might be restored, it could not be resumed.

The popular movement which terminated the dominion of Andros, was not confined to New England. An insurrection similar to that in Boston, took place in New York, where the Dutch signified, in a very unequivocal manner, their loyalty to the new king, who was their own countryman. The history of this outbreak, which was headed by Jacob Leisler, will be given in a subsequent chapter.



William III.

CHAPTER XX.

NEW ENGLAND UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

AFTER intelligence now arrived in the colony from the mother country, by which the settlement of English affairs and accession of William and Mary were fully confirmed. Three days afterwards, May 29th, 1689, they were proclaimed throughout the province, with "sincere congratulation and extraordinary solemnity." A letter was soon after received, addressed by the king and queen, "*To the Colony of Massachusetts,*" sanctioning the acts of the inhabitants, and confirming the present magistrates until some

other form of government should be determined upon, and directing that Andros and his associates should be sent to England for trial. They were accordingly sent ; and Mather and other additional agents were sent for the prosecution of the charges against Andros, and, above all, to solicit the restoration of the charter. Ere they knew whether their affairs were likely to come to a favourable issue, they were again involved in a war with the French and their Indian allies. Attacks were made in the conclusion of the present year (1689), by considerable bodies of the Indians, on the settlements and forts ; which, proving successful in some instances, were followed by brutal massacres.

One of these is all that we shall particularly notice, as the savage proceedings were nearly all conducted in the same manner. Thirteen years before, Major Waldron had seized four hundred Indians at Dover, after they had entered into a treaty and were come to trade. Two hundred of them were sold into slavery, and some others hanged at Boston. Revenge rankled in the bosoms of the Indians, who had determined that Waldron should now pay the forfeit of his treachery. He commanded five garrisoned houses at Dover, and thinking himself secure, he had neglected to keep a strict watch. The Indians observed and profited by this carelessness. Two squaws were to go and lodge for the night in each fort, and as soon as the people were asleep, they were to open the forts and admit the enemy. The plan was carried into effect ; the Indians rushed into the forts, destroying all who opposed them, and committing the greatest cruelties. Major Waldron and twenty-two others were killed, and twenty-nine taken as prisoners into Canada and sold to the French, where most of them remained in captivity till death.

At the beginning of 1690, Count Frontignac sent three expeditions from Canada against the colonies. Schenectady was attacked (February 8th), and sixty men, women, and children were massacred, and twenty-seven taken prisoners ; Salmon Falls settlement was pillaged and burnt (March 18th), thirty inhabitants being killed and fifty-four taken prisoners ;

and the fort and settlement at Casco was also destroyed (May 17th). Connecticut was applied to for aid, and a general congress of the colonies called at New York, for the purpose of successfully resisting the Indian encroachments.

The fort at Pemaquid had been taken by the Indians, and the French privateers from Acadie were destroying shipping on the coast; the general court of Massachusetts determined to send a fleet of eight small vessels, with seven hundred and fifty men, under Phipps, against Port Royal. This expedition sailed on the 28th of April, 1690, and the garrison capitulated after a short resistance. The treasure, acquired here, more than repaid the whole expense of the expedition. Phipps having taken possession of the whole sea-coast, from Port Royal to the New England settlements, returned.

Emboldened by success, the people of Massachusetts formed a design of reducing all Canada to the subjection of the British crown. Phipps was made leader of this expedition; but he did not arrive at Quebec until October 5th, when the town could have been taken only by an immediate attack; but by unskilful delay, the time for such an attempt was irretrievably lost. The English were worsted in various sharp encounters, and compelled at length to retreat; and the fleet, after having sustained great damage in the voyage homeward, returned to Boston. The expedition involved Massachusetts in an enormous expense, and cost the lives of a thousand of her people. Bills of credit were issued to pay the troops, and Phipps soon after embarked for England.

In May, 1692, he returned to the colony with the new charter. By this instrument, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia, were united under one jurisdiction; the appointment of the governor, deputy governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was reserved to the crown; the councillors were to be chosen by the house of assembly, and presented to the governor for his approbation; the governor was empowered to convoke and dissolve the assembly at pleasure, to nominate civil and military officers, and to have a negative on all laws and acts of the general

assembly and the council. All laws enacted in the province were to be sent to England for the approval of the crown. Liberty of conscience and of divine worship was expressly granted to all persons except Roman Catholics.

To render a charter so obviously unacceptable to the colonists, less unpopular, the ministry waived the right of appointing a governor, and desired the provincial deputies to name the person whom they considered most likely to be well received by their countrymen. They named Sir William Phipps, and he was appointed. This act of courtesy served to mollify the ill-humour of the people, who justly esteemed Phipps as their real friend.

The strange infatuation which was so prevalent in all Christian countries, about this period, the belief in witchcraft, extended itself to the New World, and beginning in Salem and extending to the neighbouring towns, some nineteen persons were executed for the supposed crime. Many more were imprisoned; but were soon afterwards set at liberty.

The French and Indian depredations still continued. On the 25th of January, 1692, the town of York was attacked and nearly destroyed; seventy-five of the inhabitants were killed, and about the same number taken into captivity; and on the 10th of June, an army of French and Indians made a furious attack upon Wells; but were defeated by Captain Convers, with great loss. Governor Phipps, this year, built a very strong fort at Pemaquid. It was called Fort William Henry, and sixty men were placed in it as a garrison.

On the 11th of August, the Indian tribes in the vicinity of Fort William Henry made a treaty of peace with the English, whereby they renounced all connection with the French. The Count Frontignac now sent an expedition against the Mohawks. They took three hundred of the Indians prisoners; but fifty were again recaptured by a party from Albany. The French lost eighty men killed and thirty wounded. Oyster River settlement was soon after attacked, and between ninety and one hundred persons taken.

The year 1696 was signalized by active operations on the borders. The French took and demolished the fort at Pemiquid, and the English took Fort Bourbon, on Nelson's Bay, and sent the garrison prisoners to France. Towards the close of this year, Frontignac led a large army against the Five Nations; but his provisions failing, he was compelled to return with but little success.

The year 1697 carried terror throughout the northern and middle colonies. The French government sent out an immense armament, for the purpose of conquering the whole country, from New Jersey to Canada, for the French crown. The Marquis of Nesmond received the command of the expedition, which, fortunately for the colonies, sailed too late. He did not arrive at Placentia until the last of July; and before he could commence hostilities, after refitting his fleet, the peace of Ryswick was proclaimed, and the colonists freed from danger.

"Perhaps no country in the world," says Grahame, "was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy; sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every kind were extremely strict, and not less strictly executed; and being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess alike dangerous and discreditable to the perpetrator. We are assured by a well-informed writer, that at this period, there was not a single beggar in the whole province: and a gentleman of unquestioned veracity, who had resided in it for seven years, declared, that during all that period, he had never heard a profane oath, nor witnessed an instance of inebriety. Labour was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so widely extended, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country."



Queen Anne.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.



Y the decease of King William, in 1702, the Princess Anne of Denmark, daughter of James II., became the sovereign of Great Britain. She appointed Joseph Dudley to be governor of Massachusetts, in which colony he arrived on the 11th of June. On his arrival commenced those disputes between the governor and the general court, upon the demands of the one, and the rights of the other, which lasted to the time of the revolution. He demanded that the court should provide a house and fixed

salary for the governor, lieutenant-governor, and other high officers; but the court declined acceding to this demand, and at the same time presented him with £500, out of the treasury, observing the settling a salary for the governor was a new thing for them, and, in their opinion, contrary to the constitution.

War now broke out in Europe, and Dudley held a conference with the eastern Indians, June 20th, 1703, who assured him that they had not the most distant design of engaging in hostilities; that the union was "firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon." The conference broke up, and six weeks afterwards, a party of five hundred French and Indians, in small parties, attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, killing and capturing one hundred and thirty persons, and burning all before them.

In the night of February 28th, 1704, a body of three hundred French and Indians, made a violent assault on the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts. They killed forty-seven, took one hundred and twelve prisoners, and set fire to the town.

In 1707, an expedition was planned against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, then in the hands of the French. It returned without effecting its object; but in 1710, the New England troops, assisted by a British fleet, succeeded in reducing the place, when in compliment to Queen Anne, it was called Annapolis. General Nicholson now went to England to solicit the employment of a force against Canada, and an armament was ordered, proportional to the magnitude of the enterprise. When all preparations were completed, Nicholson, with an army of militia and Indians, to the number of four thousand men, left Albany on the 28th of August, and commenced his march towards Canada. The troops at Boston, under General Hill, embarked on board the fleet, which comprised sixty-eight vessels, carrying six thousand four hundred and sixty-three soldiers. This force sailed on the 30th of July, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the 14th of August. The weather now became stormy, and the colonial pilots offered their services; but the British captains would trust



Wreck of the Fleet.

none but British pilots, who ran nine transports among the rocks, where they were dashed to pieces; and of seventeen hundred officers and soldiers on board, one thousand were lost. The grand design was consequently relinquished; the admiral sailing direct for England, and the provincial troops returning home. Nicholson, hearing of the disasters on the St. Lawrence, retreated with the land army, and abandoned the enterprise. The treaty signed at Utrecht, in 1713, put an end to hostilities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Governor Dudley was succeeded in the government of Massachusetts by Colonel Shute, who had served under the celebrated Duke of Marlborough.

Disputes between the governors and the general court, concerning a bank, and the salary of the governor, occupied the attention of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, until the year 1744, when hostilities again commenced between France and England. During that time, Shute, Burnet, Belcher, and Shirley, successively filled the office of governor.

To guard against the incursions of the French, three hundred men were sent to the eastern frontier, and two hundred to the western. The ordinary garrisons were reinforced, and ninety-six barrels of gunpowder were sent to the several townships, to be sold to the inhabitants at prime cost. In the spring of this year, a supply of munitions of war, sent by the British government, was received in Boston, consisting of twenty heavy cannon and two mortars, with stores. About the same time, the general court ordered a range of forts to be built between Connecticut river and the New York boundary line.

The French had built a fortress at Louisbourg, on Cape Breton, which, from its great strength and advantageous position, was a source of continual dread and discomfort to the colonists. French vessels from the East and West Indies found there a safe retreat in time of peace. It was an important rendezvous in war; and many privateers were fitted out there for the destruction of commerce and the fisheries. From its close proximity to Nova Scotia, it endangered that province; and it became an object of New England policy to attempt its reduction. This was an extremely hazardous undertaking, as the works had been constructed at an expense of nearly six millions of dollars, and were deemed almost impregnable. New England traders often visited the city, and one of them, Mr. Vaughan, of New Hampshire, conceived that it might be taken. In an interview with Governor Shirley, he succeeded in inspiring him with his own ardour and enthusiasm. He sent proposals to England; but before receiving an answer, he laid his project before the members of the general court. It was at first rejected; but by the eloquence and perseverance of Vaughan and his friends, it was at last carried by a majority of one. Letters were immediately sent to the different colonies, requesting men and funds. In Massachusetts, forces were promptly raised. The command of the whole expedition was given to William Pepperell, of Kittery, who sailed on the 24th of March, from Nantucket, with several transports, under convoy of the

Shirley Snow. He arrived at Canseau, on the 4th of April, where he was joined by the troops of New Hampshire and Connecticut, swelling the number of his army to four thousand men. They were detained here three weeks, waiting for the ice, which surrounded the island of Cape Breton, to be dissolved. While at Canseau, Commodore Warren, with the *Superbe* of sixty guns, and three forty-gun ships, joined the expedition. Soon after, the general sailed with the whole fleet, and landed on the 30th of April, at Chapeaurouge Bay.

The next object was to invest the city. Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, at the head of a detachment of the New Hampshire troops marched in the night to the north-east part of the harbour, where they burned the ware-houses containing the naval stores, and destroyed a large quantity of wine and brandy. The wind drove the smoke into the faces of the French soldiers, on the battery before the town, who spiked the guns and fled. These guns were afterwards drilled and used against the town. A French war-vessel of sixty-four guns, carrying military stores and five hundred and sixty men, for the relief of the garrison, was captured, and the French were thereby thrown into perturbation. The first summons to surrender was disdainfully answered ; but the siege was pressed with activity by the land and naval forces, and the garrison had been so mutinous before this occurrence, that the French officers dared not make a sortie. A battery erected upon a high cliff at the end of the island greatly annoyed them, and discouraged by these adverse events and menacing appearances, Duchambon, the French commandant, determined to surrender. Articles of capitulation were signed on the 16th of June. After the surrender of the city, the French flag was kept hoisted, and several rich prizes were thus decoyed. Two East Indiamen and one South Sea ship, estimated at £600,000, were taken by the squadron, at the mouth of the harbour.

The intelligence of this success of the colonial arms spread rapidly through the country, and diffused universal joy among the people. Their commerce and fisheries were now secure, and their maritime cities relieved from all fear of an attack from



Siege of Louisbourg — Capture of a French Ship off the Harbour.

the great source of former dread and discomfort. For his conduct in this affair, Pepperell was knighted. Fired with resentment at their loss, the French prepared a great expedition, to recover their former possessions; whilst the colonists, elated with success, contemplated nothing less than a conquest of all the French dominions in America. But owing to various delays, the troops were not ready till the end of summer, when it was judged too late for an attempt on Canada, and it was resolved to proceed against Crown Point.

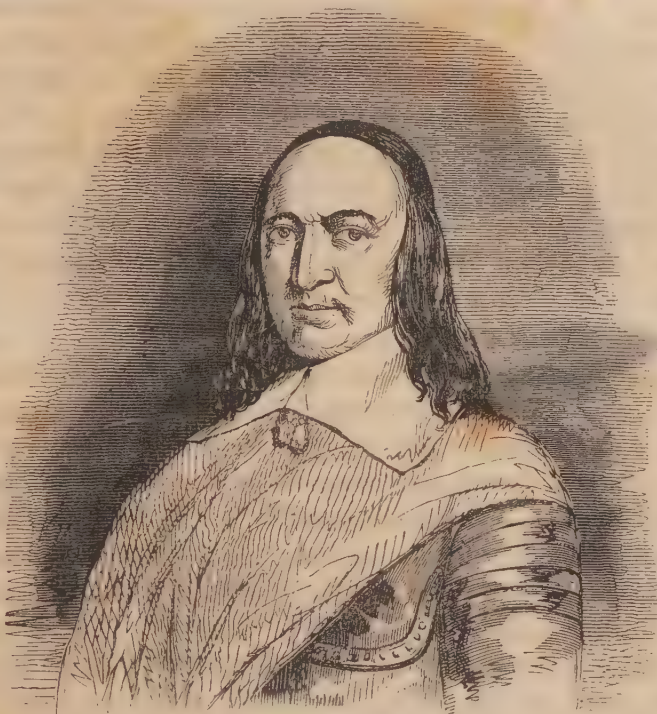
Intelligence was soon afterwards received of the arrival, at Nova Scotia, of a large fleet from France, under the command of Duke D'Anville. It consisted of about forty ships of war, besides transports; and brought over nearly four thousand veteran troops, with their officers, and all kinds of military stores in abundance. The object of this great armament was to retake and dismantle Louisbourg, to take and garrison Annapolis, to destroy Boston, and distress the British sugar islands. Preparations were made for resistance; but the arm of Providence saved the colonists. Storms and shipwrecks were followed by pestilence; and the death first of one commander of the expedition, who was suspected of poisoning himself, and afterwards the actual suicide of another, determined the remaining officers to return to France. A more remarkable instance of preservation seldom occurs.

In the summer of 1747, another unsuccessful attack was made on Nova Scotia by the French. In November, a great tumult was raised in the town of Boston by an attempt on the part of Commodore Knowles to impress several of the citizens into the British naval service. Much of the Boston spirit was shown on the occasion; the people were released, and the fleet sailed, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

A treaty of peace, between England and France, was signed at Aix la Chapelle, on the 7th of October, 1748. By the articles of this treaty, Cape Breton was given up to the French, in a compromise for restoring the French conquests in the Low Countries to the empress queen of Hungary and the States General, and for a general restitution of places,

captured by the other belligerent powers. After some unimportant disturbances, a treaty was signed with the Indian tribes, in June, and another at Casco Bay, in September. Although the colonists were hurt at the conduct of the English ministers, in giving up Cape Breton, which they very justly termed "their own conquest," to the French, yet they were not again disturbed with Indian hostilities, until the French war of 1756--1763, which brought all Canada to the subjection of the British crown.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into these provinces from England were estimated by Neal at £100,000. The exports, says Grahame, by the English merchants consisted of a hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing 112 lbs.) of dried codfish, which were sold in Europe for £80,000, and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations, and to the West Indies, New England sent lumber, fish and other provisions, valued at £50,000 annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was now established in New England; an advantage for which this country was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish Presbyterians to her shores about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was, from an early period, carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other sea-port towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels, as they built them, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the same ports in which the cargoes were disposed of. The manufacture of tar was promoted for some time in New Hampshire by a law enacted in the assembly of this province in the beginning of the eighteenth century, which allowed the inhabitants to pay taxes in tar, rated at twenty shillings per barrel. A great part of the trade of the other American colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England.



Governor Stuyvesant.

CHAPTER XXII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW YORK.



NEW YORK is distinguished from the other American colonies whose history we have considered, both by the race of Europeans who first settled it, and by the mode of its annexation to the dominions of Britain. In all the other provinces, Delaware and Pennsylvania excepted, the first colonists were Englishmen; and all the permanent settlements resulted from the enterprise of English subjects, impelled by the spirit of commercial adventure or religious zeal. But the territory

of New York was originally colonized from Holland; and its incorporation with the rest of the British dominions in America was accomplished by conquest and the forces of the state, not by settlement and individual enterprise. It is a singular fact, that this military conquest proved the means of establishing a colony of Quakers in America; and the sword of Charles II., in conquering an appanage for his bigot brother, prepared a tranquil establishment in New Jersey and Pennsylvania for the votaries of peace, toleration, and philanthropy.

The prior but unacknowledged right of England to all the lands discovered by Cabot, had, as yet, produced no other permanent occupation than a feeble settlement on James river, when Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, set sail from the Texel, in search of a north-west passage to India. After a fruitless search, he steered for Cape Cod, and entered Chesapeake Bay, where he remarked the infant settlement of the English. He afterwards anchored off the Delaware, and thence proceeding to Long Island, sailed up the Manhattan river, on whose banks the chief fruits of his enterprise were to be gathered.

The Dutch, conceiving that they had acquired sufficient title to the adjacent territory from Hudson's expedition, named it Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands; and gave to the river on whose shores their new dominions lay, the name of its discoverer. The favourable reports of the country, as given by Hudson, being confirmed by subsequent voyagers, an association of Dutch merchants determined to establish a trading-settlement within its limits; and the states general promoted the enterprise by granting to its projectors the exclusive trade of the river.

Encouraged by this act of favour, the adventurers sent out a colony the same year (1614), erected a fort on the western bank of the river, near Albany, and intrusted the government to Henry Christaens. This feeble settlement was scarcely established, when Captain Argal, with a Virginian squadron, on his return from the useless conquest of the French posses-

sions in Acadie, invaded the place, and obliged the governor to surrender his command, and to stipulate alliance to England, and subordination and tribute to the government of Virginia. The States of Holland, fearing to offend a new and powerful ally, whose friendship they could not well dispense with, forbore to notice Argal's hostile encroachments. But the year after, a new governor, Jacob Elkin, being sent out with a reinforcement of settlers, the claims of the English to the stipulated dependence was defied; and the payment of tribute successfully resisted. For the better security of their resumed independence, the Dutch colonists now erected a second fort on the south-west point of Long Island, and afterwards built two others, the one at Good Hope (now Hartford), on Connecticut river, the other at Nassau, on the east side of Delaware Bay. They continued for a series of years, in unmolested tranquillity, to mature their settlement, increase their numbers, and by the exertion of their peculiar national virtues of patience and industry, to subdue the difficulties incident to an infant colony.

In 1620, the States of Holland established the West India Company, and in pursuance of their favourite policy of colonizing by means of exclusive companies, they determined to commit to it the administration of New Netherlands. This determination was carried into effect the following year; and, under the management of the company, the new settlement was soon both consolidated and extended. Their capital city was built on Manhattan Island, and received the name of New Amsterdam. The precise extent of territory as claimed by the Dutch, has been differently represented by their own writers—some of whom explicitly declared that it extended from Virginia to Connecticut. Whatever might have been its titular extent, the planters hastened to enlarge their occupation far beyond their immediate use; and by their intrusions into the Delaware and Connecticut territories, laid the foundation of their future disputes with the colonists of these parts. Their first settlement had been made without any equitable remuneration to the Indian proprietors of the land; but when

they extended their appropriations to Connecticut and Delaware, they were careful to facilitate their admission by purchasing the territory from its savage owners. The Dutch company had watched with attention the proceedings of the English Puritan exiles at Leyden, and viewed with alarm their projected migration to the banks of the Hudson. To defeat this design, they bribed the Dutch captain with whom the Puritans sailed, to carry them farther north, so that their plantation was eventually formed in the territory of Massachusetts. This colony, having now attained some strength (1627), the government at New Amsterdam sought to cultivate a friendly correspondence with them; and for this purpose despatched their secretary, Rosier, with a congratulatory communication to the governor of Plymouth. The English, from whose memory the fraud which deprived them of a settlement on Hudson river had not banished the recollection of Dutch hospitality at Leyden, received with much courtesy the congratulations of their successful rivals, on the courageous struggle they had maintained with the difficulties of their situation.

During the administration of Wouter Van Twiller, the first governor appointed by the West India Company, the Dutch colonists appear to have enjoyed a state of calm and monotonous ease, which served but indifferently to prepare them for their impending contentions with the hardy settlers of New England. Van Twiller was succeeded, in 1637, by William Kieft, a man of enterprise and ability, but choleric and imperious in temper, and better fitted to encounter with spirit, than to stem with prudence, the sea of trouble that began on all sides to invade the possessions of the Dutch. Their history for many subsequent years, is little else than a chronicle of their struggles and contentions with the English, the Swedes, and the Indians. Kieft's administration commenced with a protest against the advancing settlements of Connecticut and New Haven, with a prohibition of the trade which the English were carrying on in the neighbourhood of Good Hope. His reputation for ability, and the sharpness of his remonstrance,

excited at first some alarm ; but soon suspecting that their imperious rival had no title to the country from which he would exclude them, and encouraged by promises of assistance from the other New England colonies, the English inhabitants of Connecticut disregarded his remonstrances, and maintained their settlements ; and even compelled the Dutch garrison to evacuate Good Hope, a few years after. The Dutch complained bitterly of this aggression ; but enervated by a long period of tranquillity, or distrusting the validity of their claims to the territories they had recently occupied, they made no active exertions to recover them. An encroachment which their title enabled them conscientiously to resist, was soon after repelled by Kieft, with a vigour and success widely different from the general tenor of his conduct and fortune.

In 1639, some persons from New England removed to the eastern part of Long Island, where they peaceably resided, unmolested by the Dutch, whose settlements were confined to the opposite quarter of the island. The English settlers, receiving a considerable accession to their numbers, ventured to take possession of the western quarter ; but from this station they were promptly dislodged by Kieft (1642), who drove them back to the eastern end of the island, where they built Southampton, and subsisted as a dependency of Connecticut, till they were united to the state of New York, on the fall of the Dutch dominion in North America. In the same year that the warlike governor had thus dislodged the intruders, he equipped two sloops, which he despatched against a company of English settlers, who had advanced into Delaware ; a territory claimed by the Dutch, although included in the charter granted to Lord Baltimore by Charles I. These emigrants were easily removed ; but there remained on the territory a different race of settlers, who, without any legal claim to the lands they occupied, possessed a force that proved of more avail to them than the formal title of the English. These were a colony of Swedes and Finns, who emigrated to America in 1627, and who, landing at Cape Henlopen, were so much charmed with its aspect, that they gave it the name

of Paradise Point. They purchased from the Indians all the lands between the cape and the falls of Delaware, and quietly pursuing their agricultural occupations, they lived on friendly terms with the natives, and possessed their colonial acquisition without interruption, till Kieft assumed the government of New Netherlands. One of his first proceeding had been to protest against the intrusion of the Swedes; but to all his remonstrances they paid little regard. A war, as it has been called, subsisted between them for several years; but though attended with a plentiful reciprocation of rancour, it was productive of no bloodshed; and this state of harmless hostilities subsided into an unfriendly peace.

Meanwhile numberless causes of dispute were continually arising between New Netherlands and the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. The English, who were formerly the aggressors, now became the complainants, charging the Dutch with enticing servants to rob and desert their masters, and with selling arms and ammunition to the Indians. To all these complaints Kieft returned no other answer than haughty reproaches, and menaces of vengeance and war; and it was partly from apprehension of his designs that the New England colonies were induced to form their federal union of assistance and defence. Kieft, with more politeness than sincerity, congratulated the united colonies on the league they had formed; and when, in the course of the same year, he applied to New Haven for assistance against the Indians, they freely contributed supplies of provisions for man and cattle, to supply the scarcity resulting from Indian devastations.

So unskilled were the Dutch in the art of Indian warfare, that they were obliged to engage the services of Captain Underhill, who had been banished from Boston for his religious eccentricities. This commander, with one hundred and fifty men, succeeded in making good the defence of the Dutch settlements; and in 1646, a general battle was fought on Strickland's Plain, in which the Dutch with great difficulty kept the field, while the Indians withdrew unpursued. In the next year, Kieft was succeeded by the third and last of the Dutch

governors, Peter Stuyvesant, a brave old officer, and one of those magnanimous spirits by whom the republican service of Holland was, in that age, remarkably adorned. By his justice, prudence, and vigour, he effected a peace with the Indians, which remained unbroken during the whole of his administration.

In 1650, Stuyvesant went to Hartford, and demanded from the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, a full surrender of the lands on Connecticut river. Several days were spent in controversy on the subject, and articles of agreement were finally signed, by which Long Island was divided between the parties; and the Dutch were permitted to retain only those lands on the Connecticut which they held in actual possession. On the Delaware, Stuyvesant exerted his most vigorous and successful efforts to defend the claims of his country against the English and Swedes. He, at length, after many disputes and remonstrances, succeeded in conquering without bloodshed, all the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. Part of the Swedes went back to Europe; but others, taking the oath of allegiance to Holland, quietly mingled with the Dutch, and pursued their former avocations.

In 1656, it was decreed by the West India Company, and ratified by the States General, that the colonists of New Netherlands should, in future, be ruled by a governor nominated by the municipal authorities of Amsterdam, and by burgomasters, and a town council elected by the people themselves. The Dutch governor soon after addressed a letter to the commissioners, replete with Christian benevolence and piety; and proposed to them that a friendly league and sincere good will might henceforward unite the colonies of England and Holland. The commissioners replied with austere civility, recommending the continuance of peace, but declining either to ratify the former treaty or to execute a new one.

Meantime, Stuyvesant had made attempts to improve his conquest of the Swedes, by extending the Dutch settlements in Delaware; but his success in this quarter was near to a close. Fendal, the governor of Maryland, claimed the

territory occupied by the Dutch and Swedes, as included within Lord Baltimore's grant; and finding Stuyvesant resolute in maintaining the title of the country, he procured a remonstrance to be transmitted, in the name of Lord Baltimore, to the States General and the Dutch West India Company, who publicly denied the pretensions of the English, but at the same time transmitted private orders to Stuyvesant to avoid hostilities, if they should seem likely to ensue, by retiring beyond Lord Baltimore's alleged frontier. Stuyvesant sent an embassy to Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, to propose a treaty of mutual trade between the two colonies, and an alliance against the Indian enemies of both. Berkeley received the ambassador with much courtesy, and despatched Sir Henry Moody to New Netherlands, with the articles of a commercial treaty; but he forbore every expression that might imply assent to the territorial pretensions of the Dutch.

Charles II., seeking every occasion for a quarrel with Holland, laid claim to the territory of New Netherlands, and without regarding the rights of its actual occupants, he granted a charter to the Duke of York for all the lands lying between the Connecticut and the Delaware. As soon as the duke had obtained this grant, he conveyed to Sir William Berkeley and Sir George Cartaret, all that portion now included in the state of New Jersey.

Rumours reached the colonists of New England and New Netherlands of the king's intention to send out a fleet, which was to take possession of the Dutch colony for its new owners; and also bring out commissioners empowered to investigate and determine on all subjects of dispute in the provincial districts. This latter article of intelligence gave the New Englanders more uneasiness than the former produced satisfaction. It excited strong apprehensions that the military force no less than the civil department of the expedition, was designed against their liberties. Stuyvesant perceived these symptoms of uneasiness in the New England settlements, and conceiving the idea of effecting a treaty of neutrality, if not of alliance, with his old enemies—he made a voyage to Massachusetts,

where Governor Endicott entertained him with great state, forgetting ancient feuds, as each recognised in the other, a brave and venerable champion in his country's cause. His negotiation succeeded no farther in this quarter, than to produce a tardiness in the obedience of Massachusetts to the royal commander's proclamation for raising troops in aid of the expedition against New Netherlands. Stuyvesant next repaired to Connecticut, where his attempts at negociation were interrupted by the intelligence that the British fleet was approaching his own dominions; and he hastened home, to place the province in a state of defence.

The invading force was commanded by Colonel Nichols, who had studied the art of war; Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, with a considerable body of troops, repaired on the first summons to join the English armament; but orders of the same tenor were so tardily obeyed by Massachusetts, that her troops were not ready to march until the capital of New Amsterdam had been reduced. Had Stuyvesant been able to infuse a moderate share of his own military ardour into the souls of the sluggish Dutchmen of the province, the enterprise would not have been terminated so speedily or so gloomily. But they had become too much enervated by a long interval of peace, and were altogether of too inert and easy a disposition to desire a contest with so formidable a fleet as now appeared off their town. The veteran governor's eloquence was wasted upon men who had not resided long enough in the country to feel any very strong patriotic affection for it; and who, regarding their subjugation as certain, deemed it wiser to surrender their city entire to the pollution of hostile occupation, than to see it defaced by the enemy's cannon. He then addressed a letter to Nichols, courteously desiring to know the purpose of this hostile demonstration. Nichols replied that he was commanded by his royal master to take possession of the British territory which had been usurped by the Dutch, and that he must therefore demand the instant surrender of the place; offering, at the same time, security of life, liberty, and estate, to all who should submit to this

requisition; but threatening the severest extremities of war to all who should resist his authority. The governor was filled with indignation at the insolence and injustice with which his country was treated; and summoning the burgomasters, he exhorted them to resist with valour, this outrage upon their rights and possessions. But they, lacking his own spirit, desired to see the commander's letters, and fearing that the easy terms of surrender would only increase their desire for inglorious capitulation, the sturdy governor, transported with indignation, tore the letters to pieces and scattered them upon the ground. A subsequent appeal to the British commander's sense of justice producing no salutary effect, Stuyvesant at last reluctantly concluded a capitulation, by which it was stipulated that the Dutch garrison should march out with the honours of war; that the inhabitants should be at liberty to sell their estates and return to Holland, or retain them and remain in the settlement; that they should enjoy all their former personal privileges, and be allowed a free trade to Holland:—the most favourable terms, perhaps, ever granted to a capitulating city.

The entire population of the province at the time of its surrender has never been accurately ascertained. The metropolis contained about three thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly one-half preferred to return to their native land, since their beloved colonial city was now to lose its Dutch aspect as well as its name. The remainder continued in the colony, and among them, the noble governor, Stuyvesant, who survived a few years the fortune of his little empire, and left descendants who held high rank in the city for many years after, and who were frequently elected to the magistracy of New York in the following century. The city of New Amsterdam, as also the whole provincial territory, received the name of New York. Fort Orange, now called Albany, surrendered shortly after to the English; and in October, 1664, the government of Britain was acknowledged over the whole region, including the settlements of the Dutch and Swedes in Delaware. The next month the commissioners determined the boundary between

New York and Connecticut, and disallowing the claims of the latter province to Long Island, it was annexed to the new province. But in this allotment, Connecticut received a much larger share of territory than it was entitled to, and a fairer adjustment of the limits was effected at a subsequent period, not without much violent dispute.

Colonel Nichols was the first English governor of New York, and his administration was wise and salutary. A treaty was effected with the Five Nations; a court of assizes established, consisting of the governor, council, and justices of the peace; the provincial code of laws revised and improved; the city of New York incorporated, and placed under the administration of a mayor, sheriff, and aldermen; and many other excellent enactments made.

In 1666, Lord Chancellor Clarendon informed Governor Nichols of the declaration of war with Holland, and accompanied it with the assurance that the Dutch were preparing an expedition for the recovery of New York. In consequence of this intelligence, Nichols exerted himself with great activity to put the city in a state of defence; heavy taxes were laid upon the inhabitants, and the governor magnanimously sacrificed his private property for the public service. But the Dutch made no attempt to recover their former possession in America; and in July, 1667, it was ceded to England in exchange for the colony of Surinam.

The heavy burdens which the preparations for the war had pressed upon Governor Nichols, obliged him to resign a command highly honourable to himself and advantageous to the people over whom it had been exerted. The king presented him with a token of his high esteem, which, though meagre enough in its intrinsic value, was prized by the modest loyalist as an expression of his sovereign's favour. He was succeeded by Colonel Lovelace, whose quiet temper and moderate disposition well suited the tranquillity that prevailed in this colony during the greater part of his administration, which lasted for six years. The second war with Holland, in 1672, together with the news of the Duke of York's profession of the Catholic

faith, produced a discontent in the colony, which led a large number of the inhabitants to leave it; many of whom, accepting the invitation of the proprietors of Carolina, formed a settlement in that province. A small fleet sent out from Holland, approached New York, at the time when the governor was absent, and the city under the command of Colonel Manning. This officer, whose conduct has shown him to be a traitor, basely surrendered the place to the Dutch, refusing the proffered aid of the English inhabitants, and obstructing their preparations for defence. Before the fleet was in sight, he struck his flag, and forbade a gun to be fired, on pain of death. The conquerors showed so much moderation, that the Dutch inhabitants were elated with triumph, and the English had no cause of resentment but in the conduct of their pusillanimous commander. The inclinations of the one party, and the fears of the other, induced the whole to submit; and the Dutch were not so long in regaining their former supremacy as the English were in wresting it from them. But the triumph of the one, and the mortification of the other, were not long to endure. Early in the following spring (1674), the controversy was terminated by the intelligence of the treaty of Westminster, by which New York was restored to the English, and all other conquests made during the war, returned to their former possessors. The validity of his former charter being questioned, the Duke of York took out a second this year. It empowered him to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish, and to administer justice according to the laws of England, allowing an appeal to the king in person. It prohibited trade without his permission, and imposed the usual duty on exports and imports. It is singular, that in neither of his charters, was the brother of the king granted such extraordinary rights and privileges, as were conferred on Lord Baltimore. The Duke of York retained the government of the colony, under this charter, until he ascended the throne of England as James II.

Sir Edmund Andros was the first governor under the new charter, and he thus commenced a career which has given

him a conspicuous place in the annals of nearly every colony, for the twenty years following. The duke had instructed Andros to exercise humanity and gentleness, to administer justice according to the forms observed by his predecessors, and to respect private rights and possessions in receiving the surrender of the province from the Dutch. But his choice of a governor was a most unhappy one. The same tyranny which afterwards characterized his administration in the New England colonies, also marked his course here. He embroiled himself in a dispute between a clergyman named Renslaer and the magistrates of Albany, requiring of the latter to find bail to the amount of £5000 each, to answer charges preferred against them by Renslaer, and throwing one of them, Leisler, into prison, for refusing to comply. Andros perceived that he had stretched his authority farther than he could support it; but by subsequently conducting himself with more prudence, he was able to preserve peace for some time longer. The seeds of popular discontent were sown; a strong desire for more liberal institutions had taken deep root in the colony; and in the close of the next year (1677), Andros was obliged to visit England, to obtain instructions adapted to the new scene that was about to open.

The people anxiously awaited the return of Andros. The rates imposed by the Duke of York were limited in duration to three years: this period was on the point of expiring, and the colonists had hoped that the financial embarrassments of the government would induce the duke to consent to their desire of having a representative assembly. The proprietary, however, thought he made a sufficient sacrifice to the advantage of the colonists when he proclaimed that the former rates should continue for three years longer. The province was pervaded by discontent when Andros returned with this unwelcome edict; and subsequent acts so inflamed the rage of the people, that the duke was led by their complaints to recall Andros. Dyer, the collector of the revenues, continued to execute his official duties, until the colonists, finding that their doubts of the legitimacy of the duke's power of taxation

was sanctioned by the opinions of the most eminent lawyers in England, broke forth with great violence, accused Dyer of high treason, cast him into prison, and subsequently sent him to England for trial.

The duke soon after yielded to the importunities of the colonists for a representative assembly (February, 1682), and granted them the same frame of government which was enjoyed by the other English colonies. Colonel Dongan, afterwards Earl of Limerick, was nominated first governor under the new administration.

Colonel Dongan arrived at the seat of government in August, 1683, and immediately issued writs to the sheriffs, directing them to convene the freeholders for the purpose of electing representatives in the assembly. This body was soon after convened at New York, much to the satisfaction of the people. One of its first ordinances was an act of naturalization, extending equal privileges to all citizens and new emigrants of whatever country. The Dutch and English of the colony were from this time firmly compacted into one national body, and their union strengthened by frequent intermarriage. The next year, the long-disputed subject of the boundary between New York and Connecticut, was amicably settled by a treaty with the provincial authorities.

The administration of Dongan was chiefly distinguished by the attention which he bestowed upon Indian affairs; and especially his treaty with the Five Nations. This Indian confederacy has been so famous in the annals of our country, that it will be well here to consider its organization and early history. It had long existed in the neighbourhood of the colony, and indeed claimed an origin derived from the remotest antiquity. Its members reckoned themselves superior to all the rest of mankind; and a system of wise and politic measures had acquired them a degree of power and importance never attained by any other of the North American tribes. They had adopted the Roman principle of incorporating the people of conquered nations with themselves; so that some of their wisest sachems and hardiest warriors were derived from

defeated foes. Each nation had its separate republican constitution, in which official power and dignity were claimed only by age, procured only by merit, and retained only during the continuance of public esteem.

They possessed, to an unusual degree, the Indian virtues of fortitude in the endurance of pain, and strong attachment to liberty. All the neighbouring tribes paid tribute to them; and none could make war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations. In 1677, the confederacy possessed two thousand and one hundred and fifty fighting men: and it is easily to be seen that a nation of this strength, with the boldness and hardihood of character which is always attributed to them, could hardly fail to render themselves formidable to the white settlers.

The Five Nations were engaged in a war with the powerful tribe of the Andirondacs, at the time the French first settled in Canada, and had driven their enemies before them; when Champlain, who conducted the French colony, joined the Andironacs, and by superior conduct, and the use of fire-arms, defeated the Five Nations in several combats, and greatly reduced their numbers. The settlements of the Dutch on the Hudson river, at this critical juncture, furnished the Five Nations with a supply of arms and ammunition, and thus enabled them to renew the war with so much spirit and determination, that they succeeded in completely annihilating the tribe of the Andirondacs. Hence originated the hatred entertained by the confederacy against the French, and their grateful attachment to the people of New York.

In the winter of 1665, a party of French despatched against the Five Nations, by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, lost their way amidst wastes of snow, and after enduring extreme misery, arrived in the greatest distress at Schenectady, where Corlear, a Dutchman of some consideration, touched with compassion at their misfortunes, received them kindly, supplied them with provisions, and by employing influence and artifice with the Indians, induced them to save their unfortunate enemies. Courcelles expressed much gratitude for

Corlear's kindness, and the Indians never resented his benevolent stratagem. Peace was concluded between the French and Indians in 1667, and continued with little interruption until Colonel Dongan's administration.

The French, meantime, had advanced their settlements along the St. Lawrence, and in 1672, built Fort Frontignac, on the north-west bank, near Lake Ontario. The Jesuit priests were actively engaged among the Indians, giving them religious instruction, and acquiring an influence by which many of them were led to remain neutral, while the larger number became the auxiliaries of the French, in time of war. Colonel Dongan sought to establish peace with his powerful neighbours, and in July, 1684, he, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, Governor of Virginia, concluded with the Five Nations a definitive treaty of peace, embracing all the English settlements, and all tribes in alliance with them. In accordance with their customs, hatchets, corresponding to the number of the English colonies, were solemnly buried in the earth by the Indians.* This treaty was long and inviolably adhered to.

De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, invaded the country of the Five Nations the same year; but famine and disease reduced his army, and he was compelled to sue for peace and return in disgrace. His successor, De Nouville, led a larger army into the territory, but with no better success, being defeated with heavy loss.

On the death of Charles II., in 1685, the Duke of York ascended the throne of England, with the title of James II. The people of New York now solicited a new constitution, which had been promised them by the newly-created king when he was as yet only Duke of York:—but, not ashamed to violate his former promises, he returned a calm refusal, having already determined to establish in New York the same

* On the occasion of this treaty being renewed some years after, the sachem who acted as orator for the Indians, thus addressed the provincial envoys: "We make fast the roots of the tree of peace and tranquillity, which is planted in this place. Its roots extend as far as the utmost of your colonies: if the French should come to shake this tree, we would feel it by the motions of its roots, which extend into our country."

arbitrary system which he designed for New England. The next year additional taxes were imposed, and the existence of a printing press in the province was forbidden. The French ministers had the address to conclude with the king a treaty of neutrality for America, which proved highly disadvantageous for the colony, providing that neither party should give assistance to Indian tribes at war with the other. This did not prevent the French from exciting hostilities between their Indian adherents and the Five Nations; but it compelled the English to refrain from assisting these, their ancient allies. Such a change of treatment on the part of the proprietary, produced a corresponding change in the sentiments of the colonists, who now became turbulent and discontented.

In 1687, Andros was re-appointed governor of New York; and having a year before been appointed to the supreme command of New England, he remained at Boston, as the metropolis of his jurisdiction, and committed the domestic government of New York to Nicholson, as lieutenant-governor. The appointment of this tyrant, and the annexation of the colony to the neighbouring one, were measures particularly odious to the people.

In July, 1688, the Five Nations being at war with the French, a party of twelve hundred warriors made a sudden descent on Montreal, burned and sacked the town, killed one thousand of the inhabitants, carried away a number of prisoners, whom they burned alive, and then returned to their own country, with the loss of only three of their number. Had the English followed up this success of their allies, all Canada might have been easily conquered: a single vigorous act on the part of the English colonies would have sufficed to terminate for ever the rivalry of France and England in this quarter of the world.

Meantime, the discontent of the people of New York had greatly increased; and the news of the accession of William and Mary, and the successful insurrection at Boston, served to heighten it. Still it might have subsided without any violent outbreak of popular violence, had not the local

authorities of New York indicated a hesitation to comply with the general revolution of feeling in the colony. The lieutenant-governor and his council refrained from proclaiming William and Mary, and sent a haughty letter to General Bradstreet, at Boston, demanding the immediate release of Andros. The more prudent citizens of New York were disposed calmly to await the issue, which must inevitably have been in favour of the new sovereigns,—but the more numerous body of the people apprehended some craft from Nicholson and his associates in office, and forming a party, they placed at its head Jacob Leisler, a man of headstrong temper, restless disposition, and very narrow capacity. He had already resisted the payment of customs on some goods which he had imported, and alleged that there was no legitimate government in the colony.

Nicholson having begun to make preparations for defence against a foreign invasion (June, 1689), Leisler took command of some trained bands, marched to the fort, took possession, and expressed his determination to hold it until the decision of the sovereigns should be known. He despatched a messenger to King William, and succeeded in interesting the government at Boston in his favour. The report being raised that an English fleet was approaching to assist the insurgents, all classes in New York immediately joined the party of Leisler; while Nicholson, fearful of sharing the fate of Andros, fled to England. Soon after Leisler's assumption of power, a letter came from the British ministry, directed "to such as for the time take care for administering the laws of the province," and giving authority to perform the duties of lieutenant-governor. Regarding this as addressed to himself, Leisler assumed the office, issued commissions, and appointed his own executive council. A convention composed of deputies from the several towns and districts assembled at New York, and adopted various regulations for the temporary government of the province.

But these proceedings had many opponents among the colonists. The inhabitants of Long Island solicited Con-

necticut to annex their insular settlements to its jurisdiction, while a number of gentlemen, jealous of the elevation of a man of inferior rank to the supreme command, retired to Albany, seized the fort there, declaring that they held it for King William, and disavowed all connection with Leisler. Milbourne, a son-in-law of Leisler, was despatched to Albany to dislodge them. They gave up the fort to him, and retired to the neighbouring colonies; and Leisler, to revenge himself for their defection, confiscated their estates. The colonists of New York were thus unhappily divided, and animosity and malignity existed between the factions for nearly two years. The quarrel, however, exhibited no symptoms of national antipathy, as the Dutch were divided between the two parties, and no blood was shed by either during the continuance of the controversy. The miseries of foreign war and hostile invasion were now unhappily added to the calamity of internal dissensions.

The condition of the French in Canada had been suddenly raised from the brink of ruin to a state of comparative security, by the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the parent state, under a skilful and active old general, Count de Frontignac, who now assumed the command of the French settlement, and speedily retrieved the affairs of his countrymen. He effected a treaty of neutrality with the Five Nations, and then despatched a body of French and Indians against New York, in the depth of winter. This party wandered for twenty-two days, through deserts rendered trackless by the snow, when approaching the village of Schenectady, benumbed, famished, and fatigued, they sent forward a messenger to deliver to the inhabitants their submission as prisoners of war. But arriving at a late hour of an inclement night, and finding that the inhabitants were all in bed, without even the precaution of a public watch, they determined to massacre the people from whom they were just before about to implore mercy. The inhabitants rushed from their beds as the savage war-whoop burst upon their ears, and at their doors met the murderers with uplifted tomahawk. The light of the burning

village, which was soon fired by the Indians, disclosed the helpless inhabitants to the savages, who, frantic with slaughter, cut down all who fell in their way. Sixty perished in that dreadful night; of those who attempted to escape by flight, twenty-five lost their limbs from the severity of the season; while a few made their perilous way to Albany through a violent snow-storm.

It was at this period that a force was raised in New York and Connecticut to march against Canada, and avenge the many barbarities perpetrated against the English settlers. The army proceeded as far as to the head of Lake Champlain, whence they were obliged to return for want of boats to convey them farther. To co-operate with them, a fleet of thirty vessels, under Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston into the St. Lawrence, and, landing troops, made an attack upon Quebec; but the garrison was too strong for him, and the enterprise was abandoned.

Leisler's messenger to King William was graciously received by his majesty; but the representations of Nicholson induced the king to make no express recognition of Leisler's authority; and in August, 1689, Henry Sloughter was appointed governor of New York. Leisler refused to surrender the fort to Sloughter, but sent two persons to confer with him. These the governor arrested as rebels, which so terrified Leisler that he attempted to escape by flight; but was apprehended, with many adherents, brought to trial, and convicted of high treason. Their plea of zeal for King William availed them nothing: and though Sloughter for some time refused to sign his death-warrant, the faction opposed to Leisler overcame his scruples by a detestable expedient, and procured a warrant for the execution of both Leisler and Milborne. Their estates were, of course, confiscated; but on application of their heirs to the king, they were restored, and the provincial attainder reversed. In July, 1691, Sloughter's short administration was terminated by his sudden death. It had been a turbulent and feeble one, and the only act of any benefit to the province during its continuance, was the renewal



Treaty with the Five Nations.

of the treaty with the Five Nations. To test their friendship, and confirm it by calling it into exercise, Major Schuyler advanced against Montreal at the head of three hundred Mohawks. No very decisive action took place, but the expedition served to rouse the spirit of the Indian allies, who continued an irregular warfare on the French during the winter. These continued assaults so exasperated Count Frontignac, that he condemned to the most cruel death two Mohawk warriors, who had fallen into his hands. One of them availed himself of a knife, thrown into the prison by a Frenchman, more humane than his commanders, to save himself from the torments which French ingenuity had prepared for him. The other "scorned so mean a retreat from glory," and vaunted in his death-chant of his constancy, which all their torments could not shake, and that he was amply consoled by

the reflection that he had inflicted on many Frenchmen the pangs which he was now prepared himself to endure. He sustained for some hours with heroic fortitude the most atrocious barbarities, when at length his sufferings were terminated by a mortal blow, entitled by human cruelty the *coup de grace*.

Colonel Fletcher succeeded Sloughter as governor of New York in 1692. He was a brave and active soldier, but avaricious and passionate. He was governed by the superior information and advice of Schuyler in affairs pertaining to the Indians, who were thus preserved as allies to the colony. Fletcher laboured zealously to assimilate the language and religion of the colonial inhabitants, and remove as far as possible the indications of its Dutch origin. At two successive meetings of the assembly, he recommended to them to provide for the establishment of English school-masters and clergymen in the province, and in a subsequent session they in part complied with this recommendation. But having refused an amendment added by the council, giving to the governor the power of rejection or refusal, Fletcher was so enraged that he commanded their immediate attendance on his presence, and in an angry speech prorogued them to the next year. The peace of Ryswick, which took place in 1697, gave repose to the colonies, but left the Five Nations exposed to the hostilities of the French. Count Frontignac prepared to direct his whole force against them; and was only prevented from executing his purpose by the energy and decision of the Earl of Bellamont, who had succeeded Fletcher in the government of the colony in 1698. This governor supplied the Five Nations with munitions to defend themselves against the French, and by a well-timed threat to Count Frontignac, succeeded in effecting a treaty of peace with him soon after.

Lord Bellamont was instructed to put an end to piracy, which under Fletcher had increased to an alarming extent along the American coasts; and the government having declined to furnish the necessary naval force, the governor united

with Lord Chancellor Summers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and some others in a private undertaking against it. A vessel of war was fitted out, and placed in command of one Kidd, who was represented as a man of honour and integrity, and well acquainted with the persons and haunts of the pirates. He received a commission as a privateer, with directions to proceed against the pirates, and hold himself responsible to Lord Bellamont. But instead of attacking the pirates, he formed a new contract with his crew, turned pirate himself, and became the most infamous and successful of them all. After continuing his depredations for three years, he burned his ship, and returned to Boston, where he was seized and sent to England for trial. His crime was punished capitally: and the noblemen who had procured his commission were charged with participating in his crimes and sharing his plunders. But no exertions of their enemies could fix the imputation upon them, as, at every examination, Kidd declared them innocent.

The civil feuds excited by the elevation of Leisler were not extinguished by his death; and they burst forth with new violence on the occasion of his son's making application for indemnification for the losses sustained by his family. His claims were favoured by Lord Bellamont, and the assembly now consisting chiefly of the friends of Leisler, they voted the sum of £1000 for his benefit. This measure, however, did not quiet the faction.

Lord Bellamont's wise and just administration was terminated by his death, in 1701. He was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, grandson of the great Chancellor Clarendon, but not possessed of one of the virtues of his ancestor, being mean, profligate, and unprincipled. During his administration, party spirit ran high in the colony: Cornbury was a violent supporter of the anti-Leislerian faction. He was also an over-strenuous advocate for the Established Church, and persecuted with great severity the members of other denominations. The assembly having raised several sums of money for public purposes, and intrusted the expenditure of it to him as governor, he appropriated most of it to his own private use. He also ran in debt

with citizens of the province, and evaded payment by the privileges of his office. His frequent acts of violence and misconduct so disgusted the people, that in 1708 the assemblies of New York and New Jersey petitioned Queen Anne to remove him. She accordingly superseded his commission the next year, by the appointment of Lord Lovelace to succeed him. Cornbury was immediately seized by his creditors in the colony and thrust into prison, where he remained until the death of his father, by elevating him to the peerage, entitled him to his liberation. He then returned to England, and died in 1723. The administration of Lovelace was of brief duration, and distinguished by no remarkable occurrence. It was terminated by his sudden death; when General Hunter was appointed to succeed him.

The new governor arrived in the colony in 1710, bringing out with him nearly three thousand Germans, a part of whom settled in New York, and the remainder in Pennsylvania. The assembly had obtained permission from Queen Anne, during the former administration, to appoint their own treasurer in case of special appropriations. This right was the cause of frequent and unsatisfactory disputes with the governor, who prorogued the assembly on their refusal to admit an amendment of a money bill, proposed by the council, and at their next session dissolved them. Extensive preparations were made in 1709 for an attack upon the French in Canada; but the promised assistance from England not arriving, the enterprise was abandoned. Two years after, the project was resumed: and an unsuccessful attempt was made against Quebec, which brought the colony into debt. The assembly passed several bills to defray the expenses of the expedition, and the Council, persisting in amending them, another contest ensued between the two bodies; the assembly was again dissolved, and at the next session the same act was repeated. The people at length became weary of this contention, and at the next election took care to choose members who were known to be favourable to the governor; in consequence of which the utmost harmony, and a cordial co-operation, existed between

the two branches of the colonial government for a period of several years.

In 1719 Governor Hunter quitted the province, and the duties of his office were discharged by Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council, until the arrival of William Burnet, who was appointed to succeed him. Burnet was the son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet, and is described as "a man of sense and polite breeding, a well-read scholar sprightly, and of a social disposition. He studied the art of recommending himself to the people, had nothing of the moroseness of a scholar, was gay and condescending, affected no pomp," and took much pleasure in the practice of chancery. He was well apprised of the danger to be apprehended from the French upon the north-western frontier, and soon penetrated their design of forming a line of posts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. He erected a fort at Oswego on Lake Ontario, in hopes of defeating their design. But the French were not thus to be foiled. They erected Fort Frontignac at the outlet of Lake Ontario, and another fortification at Niagara, commanding the entrance into it: they also launched two vessels upon the lake. Burnet privately assembled the sachems of the Five Nations, and having represented to them the transactions of the French at Niagara, they besought succour from the English against the governor of Canada, who, said they, "encroaches on our land, and builds thereon." This favourable opportunity was seized on by the governor to procure from them a deed surrendering their country to his majesty, to be protected for their use, and confirming their grant of 1701.

The assembly elected in 1716 had been on such good terms with the governor, that he continued it till 1727, when the dissatisfaction of the people at being so long without the exercise of their elective rights induced him to dissolve it. That which next met consisted almost exclusively of his opponents. The court of chancery, established by the governor and council without the consent of the assembly, and always unpopular in the colony, was rendered doubly so by some of its decisions,

which led to a declaration by the assembly that it was a "manifest oppression and grievance." In consequence of this, the governor immediately dissolved the house; but on its next session it passed an ordinance to remedy certain abuses in the practice of chancery, and to reduce the fees of the court.

Burnet being soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, was succeeded at New York by colonel Montgomery, whose short administration was not distinguished by any remarkable event. He died in 1731, when Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council, became acting governor. His administration was feeble and inefficient; and during its continuance the French erected at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of the English colonies, a fortification which served as a rallying-point for hostile Indians.

William Cosby, who succeeded Rip Van Dam, was at first a very popular governor; but having attacked the liberty of the press by instigating the prosecution of Tenger, the printer of a newspaper, for publishing an article derogatory to his majesty's government, he lost the favour and confidence of the people. Tenger was ably defended by Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, and acquitted by an impartial jury. For this valuable service, the magistrates of the city of New York presented Mr. Hamilton the freedom of their corporation in a gold box.

George Clark succeeded as governor in 1736. The contest about the disbursement of funds, which had ended twenty years before in the victory gained by Governor Hunter over the house, was now revived, and a new series of angry reproaches, and summary dissolutions on the part of the governor, ensued. In one of their sessions, the assembly voted an address to the governor, which, after stating some of the vital principles of government, and enumerating some of the recent misapplications of the funds of the colony, concludes in these words: "We therefore beg leave to be plain with your honour, and hope you will not take it amiss when we tell you that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums unfit to

be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid; nor continue what support or revenue we shall raise, for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeably to; and by the grace of God we shall endeavour not to deceive them."

Clark wisely determined not to contend with men so resolute in maintaining their rights, and therefore thanking them for their address, he assured them that he would co-operate in all measures conducive to the welfare of the colony. But harmony did not long subsist between them, and in 1740, the assembly having supported the rights of the people with firmness and decision against every attempted encroachment of the executive, the governor construed their attachment to liberty into a desire for independence; and even charged the colonies with a design to throw off their dependence on the crown.

George Clinton, who succeeded Clark in 1743, seems to have retained the popularity with which most of the governors commenced their administration, by giving his assent to a bill which limited the duration of the colonial assemblies. In return for this favour, the people readily furnished recruits and subsidies for a vigorous prosecution of hostilities against the French, who were then at war with England. The Indian allies of France made frequent incursions upon the towns of New York, burning and plundering some, and spreading such terror in the colony, that other towns were deserted by their inhabitants. The assembly in 1746 determined to unite with the other colonies in an expedition against Canada, in which England was to assist by a naval force. But the fleet did not arrive at the time appointed, and the season for military operations was passed before the other colonies had completed

their preparations. Further efforts were for a while rendered unnecessary, by a treaty concluded early in the next year, which gave the colonists peace and security until the recurrence of hostilities several years after, when all the colonies united their forces in a war which terminated the French dominion in Canada, and of which a connected history will be given hereafter.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the whole population of the colony did not exceed one hundred thousand—less than one-half the number now contained in the city of New York alone. The Indian wars, which had raged with little intermission on the frontiers from the first establishment of the colony, were an effectual check to the extended settlement of the interior. This is evident from the rapid increase of the population, when these unfavourable circumstances had ceased to exist.

The provincial organs of government in New York were the governor, the council and the assembly. The governor, appointed by the king, was commander-in-chief by sea and land, and received from the provincial revenue a salary of about £1500, together with perquisites amounting to about as much more. The councillors were appointed by the crown, but might be suspended by the governor. They received no salaries, but acted as a privy council to the governor, besides performing the same legislative and judicial functions as the English House of Lords. The members of the assembly (elected by freeholders possessing lands or tenements improved to the value of forty pounds) had a daily allowance for their attendance: and to them was committed the enacting of the laws, which were to be communicated to the English privy council, and might be annulled by the king at any time. The governor could prorogue or dissolve assemblies, appoint judges, and grant ecclesiastical benefices, and could also grant land to be held of the crown by soccage tenure.*

* Grahame.



Charles II. gives New Jersey to the Duke of York.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW JERSEY.



NEW JERSEY was first settled, by the Danes, in 1618, at a place called Bergen, situated at the mouth of the Hudson, and about three miles west of New York. Shortly afterwards several Dutch families settled in the vicinity of New York. In 1625, a company was formed in Sweden, under the patronage of Gustavus Adolphus, for the purpose of planting a colony in America: and, in 1731, a party of Swedes and Finns emigrated, and purchased of the Indians tracts of land on both sides of the Delaware, but planted their first colony on its western shore.

No attempt, to colonize this portion of the continent, was made by the English, till the year 1640, when they commenced a settlement at Elsingburg. This colony was soon broken

up by the Swedes, in concert with the Dutch. The Swedes erected a fort on the spot, from whence the English had been driven, and thus acquiring command of the river, they claimed and exercised authority over all vessels that entered it, even those of the Dutch, their late coadjutors. They continued in possession of the territory on both sides of the Delaware until 1655, when they were conquered by the Dutch. The latter consequently possessed themselves of the territory comprising New York, New Jersey, and Delaware.

But this extensive territory was also claimed by the king of England. And, in 1664, Charles II., having granted it to the Duke of York, sent over a fleet to wrest it from its possessors, which, after reducing New York, proceeded to the settlements on the Delaware, whose inhabitants immediately submitted. In the same year the Duke conveyed all the lands between the Delaware and Hudson rivers, to Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. These possessions were called **NEW JERSEY**, in honour of Carteret, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for Charles I., in his contests with the parliament. The new proprietors formed a constitution for the colony, just and liberal in its provisions, securing equal privileges, and liberty of conscience to all; and they appointed Philip Carteret governor, who on his arrival, in 1665, fixed the seat of government at Elizabethtown.

There is one striking circumstance in the early history of New Jersey, which we cannot pass over in silence, and that is, that no violence was committed on the unoffending natives. The proprietors made no provision in their concessions for bargaining with the Indians; yet, Governor Carteret on his arrival thought it prudent to purchase their rights; and the result of so equitable a measure was highly favourable to the prosperity of the colony: for the Indians parting with the lands to their own satisfaction, became, instead of enemies, serviceable neighbours; and there is no instance on record of unprovoked violence being committed by them on the English settlers of New Jersey.

The governor, soon afterwards, sent agents into New Eng-

land and other places, to publish the proprietors' terms and to invite persons to settle there; and the proprietors, still buoyed up with the hope of revenue from their province, used every means to circulate the intelligence of its advantages both in Europe and America. A government so liberal and just in its principles could not fail to attract considerable attention in those days of political and religious intolerance; and accordingly vessels freighted with settlers and stores, to reinforce the numbers, and supply the wants of the colony, were continually arriving. Thus the province of East New Jersey increased in settlements, and continued to grow till the invasion of 1673, when the Dutch obtained possession of New York and New Jersey was reunited to the province of New Netherlands. But the treaty of 1674, between Charles II.; and the States General, settled all general difficulties of this kind; and New Jersey again reverted to the English.

Previous to this, however, those settlers who had purchased their lands of the Indians, before the English took possession of it, refused to pay rent for it to the government. In 1672, the discontented party rose in rebellion, and the governor was obliged to return to England, stripped of his functions, which the colonists conferred on a natural son of Sir George Carteret, by whom their pretensions had been abetted. It was impossible for the proprietors to impute blame to their governor, or hesitate to replace him. He returned in 1674, and bringing with him some new concessions and privileges granted by the proprietors, he succeeded in restoring his authority and the public peace.

When the treaty of London re-established the authority of England in New Jersey, the Duke of York appointed Edmund Andros governor over his possessions, extending from the west bank of the Connecticut, to the farthest shore of the Delaware, because he deemed his former grant of New Jersey annulled by the conquest. Andros took possession of his charge in November, 1674. Lord Berkeley, dissatisfied with an estate which brought him neither profit nor honour, granted all his claims in the colony to Edward Byllinge, who some

time after, agreed to resign his interest in the province of New Jersey to his creditors, and for this purpose appointed as trustees, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas. Penn and his associates perceiving the disadvantage of a joint proprietorship, divided the territory with Carteret; and thus, the province became partitioned into East and West Jersey, the deed for which was signed by both parties, July 1st, 1676. But West Jersey was retained by the duke, as a dependency of New York; whilst the other was resigned solely to Carteret. These arrangements created much confusion of jurisdiction, and an uncertainty of property, which long distracted the people, and finally ended in annihilating the rule of the proprietors.

In 1676, Carteret, desirous of promoting the commercial interest of his province, began to clear out vessels from East Jersey; but he was steadily opposed by Andros, who claimed jurisdiction over both the Jerseys, insisting that the conquest by the Dutch divested the proprietors of all their rights. He, therefore, in 1678, extended his tyrannical sway over these provinces, imposed taxes on the people, and imprisoned all who would not submit to his authority. The inhabitants made repeated and energetic complaints to the Duke of York; who, at length tired of their importunities, agreed to refer the matter to commissioners, who decided in favour of the people. It was on this memorable occasion, that the following document, containing the arguments in support of the views of the colonists, was drawn up by William Penn and others, chiefly Friends. It is a noble specimen of the combined mildness and firmness, which characterize that sect in the pursuit of liberty.

“To all prudent men,” says the remonstrance, “the government of any place is more inviting than the soil. For what is good land without good laws? The better, the worse. And if we could not assure people of an easy, and free, and safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly prosperity; that is, an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and

freedoms, by a just and wise government,—a mere wilderness would be no encouragement, for it were a madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure. We humbly say, that we have lost none of our liberty by leaving our country ; that the duty imposed upon us is without precedent or parallel ; that, had we foreseen it, we should have preferred any other plantation in America. Besides, there is no limit to this power : since we are, by this precedent, taxed without any law, and thereby excluded from our English right of assenting to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess ? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed governments, but never raised one to any true greatness.”

The commissioners pronounced their judgment, in conformity with the opinion of Sir W. Jones, “that as the grant to Berkeley and Carteret had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the legality of the taxes could not be defended.” In consequence of which, the duke resigned all his claims on West Jersey, and confirmed the province itself in the amplest terms to the proprietors ; and soon after granted a similar release in favour of the representatives of Sir George Carteret in East Jersey. Thus the whole of New Jersey rose to the rank of an almost independent state, maintaining only a federal connexion with the British crown.

West Jersey was now become populous by the accession of numerous companies of settlers. And Byllinge, who had been chosen governor by the proprietors in England, appointed Samuel Jennings to be his deputy. Jennings arrived in the province in the latter end of the year 1680. In November, 1681, he convened the first representative assembly : and during its session were enacted the “Fundamental Constitutions,” and other laws, for the preservation of property and the punishment of criminals.

Frequent disputes arising between the proprietary govern-

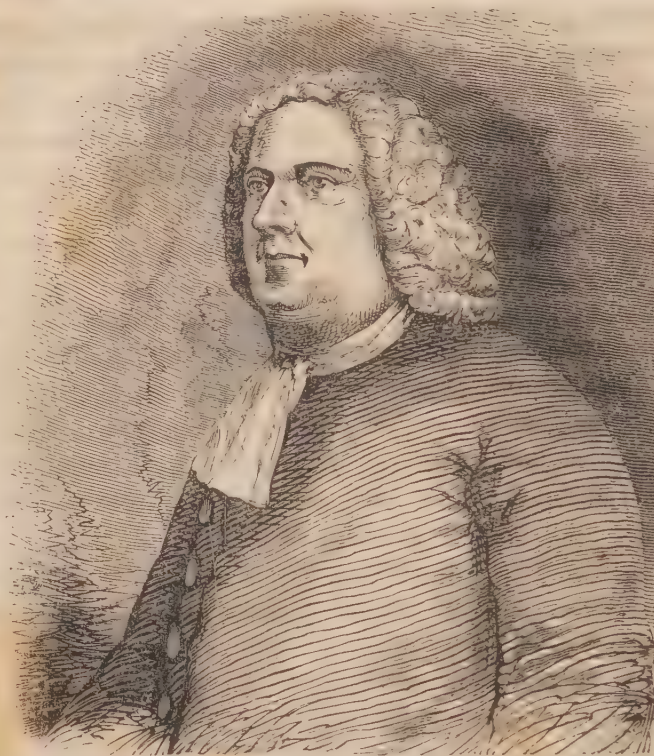
ment of East Jersey, and the colonists, the trustees of Sir George Carteret, apprehending they should derive little emolument from retaining the government under their control, offered their rights in the province for sale, and accepted the proposals of Penn, and his eleven associates, who were thence called "the twelve proprietors." In 1682, the new proprietors published an account of the country, together with a fresh project for a town, and their method of disposing of their lands. This plan was very popular, especially with the Scotch, of whom many emigrated, and among them George Keith, afterwards surveyor-general. The twelve proprietors did not long hold the province to themselves, but by particular deeds, each took a partner, and these, together with the other twelve, were subsequently called "the twenty-four proprietors." To them the Duke of York made his third and last grant of East Jersey, bearing date, March 14th, 1682. Among the new proprietors was Robert Barclay, author of the celebrated "Apology for Quakers;" and his colleagues, by an unanimous vote, conferred on him the office of governor for life, with the extraordinary permission to appoint a deputy, instead of his residing at the scene of his authority.

From this period, owing to the number of proprietors, and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, so much confusion was introduced into the titles of lands, and uncertainty as to the rights of government, that both the Jerseys were in a continual state of disturbance and disorder:—until 1702, when the proprietors, wearied with contention, surrendered their rights of government to the crown of England. Queen Anne reunited the two divisions under the old name of New Jersey, and appointed Lord Cornbury governor, who also exercised authority over New York. Although they had surrendered their privileges, yet, on the arrival of the new governor, we find them jointly struggling against his encroachments; and he, if his merits had been equal to his high birth and connexions, would have proved a formidable antagonist. But Lord Cornbury, instead of promoting unanimity, basely abetted the animosities. And, from the period of his ap-

pointment, till his dismissal from office, the history of New Jersey consists of little else than a detail of his contests with the colonial assemblies; and exhibits the resolution with which they opposed his arbitrary proceedings, his partial distribution of justice, and fraudulent misapplication of the public money. After repeated complaints, the queen yielded to the universal indignation; and he was superseded, in 1709, by Lord Lovelace.

In 1738, the inhabitants of New Jersey, by petition to the king, desired that they might in future have a separate governor; their request was granted. And the office was first conferred on Lewis Morris, Esq., under whom the colonists enjoyed peace and prosperity. The population now amounted to 40,000. In the same year the college, called Nassau Hall, was founded at Princeton.

The situation of New Jersey, remote from the Canada border, gave it a complete exemption from the direful calamities of Indian and French warfare, which afflicted the northern colonies; while the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, whom they always treated with mildness and hospitality, were ever willing to cultivate a friendly relation with the Europeans. This province furnished no further materials for history of any importance, till it united with the other colonies in the great struggle for national independence. In this later period of her history it will be seen that New Jersey more than compensated for the immunity which she had previously enjoyed, by becoming the theatre of hostile operations during the most dark and distressing period of the war. In these perilous times her patriotism was put to the severest test, and was ever found to be of the true temper, daring and enduring all things with heroic self-sacrifice.



William Penn.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COLONIZATION OF DELAWARE AND PENNSYLVANIA.



THE date of the first European settlement upon South, or Delaware river, cannot now be ascertained with any precision. It was planted according to some authorities as early as 1627, but it is certain that a Swedish factory existed, shortly after the year 1632, near the confluence of the Delaware, on the eastern bank. About this time we find a governor of the

Dutch colony of New Netherlands, making a remonstrance on the subject, and asserting that the whole South river had been in possession of the Dutch for many years. The Swedes, however, quietly pursued their operations, which did not extend beyond the purchase of some small tracts of land from the Indians, without heeding either the assertions or threats of their rivals. In order to keep in awe the Dutch, who frequently molested them, they built forts at Christiana, Lewistown and Tinicum. This last place they made the seat of government. The Dutch, in opposition, built a fort at New Castle, in 1651, against the erection of which, Printz, the Swedish governor, formally remonstrated. Risingh, his successor, with a suite of thirty men, under arms, made an apparently friendly visit to the commander of the fort at New Castle, where observing the weakness of the garrison, he treacherously took possession of it, and, after enjoying the hospitality of the soldiers, he proceeded to disarm them, and compelled them to swear allegiance to his sovereign.

Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, procured a fleet from Holland, and in 1655 returned Risingh's visit. He first reduced the fort at New Castle, then that at Christiana creek, where Risingh commanded; and afterwards the others. Such of the Swedes as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to Holland were allowed to remain where they were, and adopt the Dutch government, laws and manners, whilst the remainder were sent to Europe. The Dutch held the whole territory until in 1664 the English conquered the colony of New Netherlands. The settlements were considered as a part of New York, until William Penn, in two purchases, one made in 1682, the other at a later period, obtained all the land lying on the Delaware between New Castle and Cape Henlopen from the Duke of York. This tract, forming the "Lower Counties of the Delaware," constituted a part of Pennsylvania for twenty years. In 1703, the Lower Counties were separated from Pennsylvania, and erected into a separate colony, under the name of Delaware. This is one of the smallest States of the union; but some of the

bravest soldiers of America, and many of those statesmen who have at all periods down to the present moment exerted a great influence in the affairs of the nation, were natives and representatives of Delaware.

Pennsylvania was founded in the year 1681 by the justly celebrated William Penn. His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, effected the conquest of the island of Jamaica, and annexed it to the British crown, during the protectorate of Cromwell. He also faithfully served the Stuart family, and after the restoration, enjoyed high favour at court. He entered his son, for whose advancement he naturally entertained ambitious hopes, as a gentleman commoner at Oxford. Hearing the Quaker sentiments highly extolled by an itinerant preacher, young Penn, with several others, espoused the cause with so much warmth as to be expelled from the university. This was a grievous disappointment for his father, who sent him to travel with some young men of quality in France. Here he appeared to have lost something of his previous lively sense of religion; but having gone into Ireland, after his return, to inspect an estate belonging to his father, he met with the same Quaker preacher who had before made a proselyte of him, and he now again embraced Quaker principles with greater zeal than ever. He would not even take his hat off before the King. For this inflexibility he was disowned by his father. As a preacher, he gained many proselytes, and though frequently imprisoned and continually persecuted, he persevered with such integrity and patience, that his father at length became reconciled to him.

In 1670, he was tried at the Old Bailey for street preaching, and pleaded his cause so well in person, that he was honourably acquitted. Although he was enriched by the death of his father, he still continued his labours and sufferings in the Quaker ministry, and, aided by Barclay and Keith, he formed the Society of Friends into order.

Having an interest in New Jersey, Penn's attention was directed towards American colonization; and, learning that a certain region was unoccupied between the possessions of the

Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, he petitioned Charles II. for a tract of land, lying west of the Delaware, and northward of Maryland. His petition was urged on the ground of a debt incurred by the crown to his father, and its prayer was granted. A charter, making conveyance of such a territory, was signed and sealed by the king. It constituted William Penn and his heirs true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, saving to the crown their allegiance and the sovereignty. It gave him, his heirs, and their deputies, power to make laws, with the advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they should not be repugnant to the laws of England.

Penn now advertised for purchasers. Many single persons and whole families of Quakers soon after resolved to remove to the new colony, and a company of merchants purchased twenty thousand acres of this land at the rate of twenty pounds per thousand acres. In May, 1681, he despatched Markham his relative with a few associates to take possession of the newly acquired territory, and with him he also despatched a letter to the Indians, assuring them of his pacific intentions, towards themselves, and providing that, if any difference should happen between them, it should be settled by arbitrators, an equal number being chosen by both parties. In the autumn three ships arrived in the colony with emigrants. In April 1682, Penn published "the Frame of government for Pennsylvania."

In May the code of laws for the government of the colony, which had been framed by Penn and the adventurers in London, was also published, and is highly creditable to the framers. To prevent the Duke of York, of whom Penn appears to have been suspicious, from making future claims on the province, he obtained from that nobleman his deed of release for it; and as an additional grant, he procured from him also, his right and interest in that tract of land which was at first called the "Territories of Pennsylvania," and afterwards the Three Lower Counties on Delaware. This additional grant of the Duke of York occasioned much joy in the "Lower Counties," the English rejoicing in their deliverance from the sway

of the Duke of York; and the Dutch and Swedes being glad to renounce a connexion originating in the conquest first of one and afterwards of both their races.

Penn, having completed his arrangements, embarked for America in August, accompanied by a large number of emigrants, chiefly of the Society of Friends. He arrived next day at New Castle on the 24th of October, 1682*; and, the people were assembled at the Dutch court-house, where Penn first greeted his new subjects. After the formalities necessary for obtaining legal possession of the colony, he explained to them his objects in coming among them, and renewed the commissions of the existing magistrates. The population of the colony, meanwhile, rapidly increased, and, in 1682, two thousand persons, chiefly Quakers, had settled on the banks of the Delaware, from the falls at Trenton, to Chester.

A large number of German Quakers, who had been converted by Penn and his associates, by a well-timed removal from their native land to the new colony, escaped the desolation of the Palatinate. Shortly after, a number of emigrants arrived from Holland, principally Quakers, converted by Penn. These settled at Germantown. Penn had selected the site of an extensive city, and laid out the plan on which it was to be built, and before the end of the year it contained eighty dwellings. After this business had been settled, the proprietor entered into a treaty with the Indians, and purchased the land from them as the rightful owners. The time appointed for the ratification of this treaty had now arrived, and, under the elm at Kensington, the Indian sachems, at the head of their warriors, awaited in arms the arrival of the Quaker deputation. Penn soon after came upon the ground, his train unarmed, and each carrying various articles of merchandise, which, on their approach to the sachems, were spread upon the ground. After making a speech, Penn delivered to them the price agreed upon, and also desired their acceptance of the additional articles displayed on the ground, as a friendly present. He then delivered to the principal chief the parchment deed,

* Penn's Letter — Chalmers — Proud.



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

which they promised to keep for three generations, and solemnly pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.

After Penn had landed at New Castle, he had repaired to Chester, where, on the 4th of December, he called an assembly, which, when met, consisted of seventy-two delegates. Its session lasted but three days; but in that short time it transacted more business than many modern legislatures would have taken three months to despatch. An *act of settlement* was passed, changing, in some degree, the nature of the constitution. With this modification, the frame of government previously made public, was ratified and accepted. An *act of union* was also passed, annexing the three Lower Counties to Pennsylvania, with a very great amount of other business. In March, 1683, a second assembly was held at Philadelphia, and, during its session, Penn created a second frame of government, different in some particulars from the first, to which he readily procured the assent of the assembly. This assembly also established other salutary regulations, tending to the peace and good order of the colony. The colony increased most rapidly, and, within four years from the date of the grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia two thousand inhabitants, and three hundred houses; the population of the whole province being six thousand.

The persecutions of the Quakers in England still continued, and Penn resolved to return to that country, that he might induce them to emigrate to America, and also support his rights in the controversy with Lord Baltimore, respecting the proprietorship of Delaware. Having appointed five commissioners to administer the government in his name, he took his departure. Soon after his arrival in England, his own patron and his father's friend, the Duke of York, ascended the throne. Penn continued to reside in the neighbourhood of the court, and performed services for it, as long as James the Second was permitted to wear the crown; and, for two

years after his fall, the affairs of the province were administered in the name of James II. This policy, in the end, proved equally prejudicial to his reputation in England, and his interest in America. Penn was four times imprisoned: the king took from him the government of the province, and appointed Colonel Fletcher governor of Pennsylvania and New York. King William at length became convinced, from the strictest scrutiny, that Penn's attachment to the Stuart family was merely personal, and that his gratitude was not likely to occasion any detriment to him, and the proprietor was soon reinstated in the royal favour. Being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, he appointed William Markham to be his deputy governor. In 1696, the assembly passed a third frame of government, which was signed by the governor, the object of which was to correct certain breaches of the charter government, against which the second frame had not sufficiently guarded.

In 1699, Penn, accompanied by his family, again visited his colony, with the intention of ending his days in the society of his people. Negro slavery and Indian intercourse had crept into the colony, and their effects were abundantly visible in the altercations which ensued between the proprietor and the assembly. Penn prepared three bills, and presented them to the assembly; but the two most important were negatived, and the third, relative to the trial and punishment of slaves, was the only one sanctioned by the legislature. With his own sect, he was more successful; and the final abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, was ultimately owing to Quaker influence.

Penn was disheartened, and determined to return to England; but it would have been impolitic to leave the province whilst affairs were in such a state of confusion. He therefore prepared a new constitution in 1701, which was readily accepted by the assembly. This fourth frame of government introduced many important changes. It gave to the assembly the power of originating bills, which had previously been possessed by the governors only, and that of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the

governor it reserved a negative on the acts of the assembly, the right of appointing his own council, and the executive power. Although this charter gave general satisfaction in the province of Pennsylvania, yet the "*Three Lower Counties*" refused to accept it; and, in the following year, they established a separate assembly at New Castle, acknowledging, however, the same governor.

After this fourth charter was accepted, Penn returned to England, assigning as a reason his having learnt that the ministry intended to abolish the proprietary governments in North America, which made it absolutely necessary for him to appear there in order to oppose a measure so derogatory to his interests.

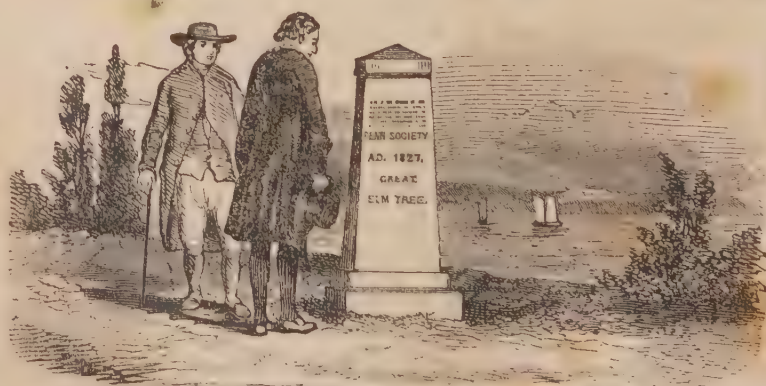
While in England, he was pursued by complaints from America, against Governor Evans. This governor exerted himself to establish a militia system, which though popular in Delaware, was odious in Pennsylvania; and he also announced the approach of a hostile invasion, which caused many individuals, and among these four Quakers, to take up arms. This report proving false, the assembly impeached Evans, and his secretary Logan.

Penn therefore removed Evans, and appointed in his stead, Charles Gookin, whose age, experience, and mild character, seemed well suited to satisfy the people over whom he was to preside. But having complained once, they seemed to have acquired a love of complaint, and not only were more hostile to Gookin than they had been to Evans, but began to scan very narrowly the conduct of Penn himself. Finding that the provincial affairs still went wrong, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year, addressed the assembly in a letter replete with calm solemnity and dignified concern. Had all other knowledge of Penn and his deeds been lost, this letter alone would have enabled us to write the character of its author. Its effect was apparent at the next election, when the enemies of Penn were rejected by the voters. But before this change could have been known to him, he was attacked by a succession of apoplectic fits which ultimately terminated his useful and eventful life.

By pursuing the course commenced by Penn, the colony gradually increased in wealth and population, without any of those fearful Indian invasions which so much retarded the increase of the other colonies. The only subject of disquiet in the colony, for many years, was a dispute between the governors and the assembly, on the subject of exempting the lands of the proprietary from general taxation—a claim which the inhabitants resisted as unjust. After much altercation on this subject, the assembly deputed the celebrated Benjamin Franklin to London, as their agent to petition the king for redress. In the discussion before the privy council, Franklin acceded to an arrangement making the assessments fair and equitable; and a bill, signed by the governor, for levying these taxes, received the royal approbation.

About the commencement of the revolutionary war, a new constitution was adopted, excluding the proprietary from all share in the government. His claim for quit-rents was afterwards purchased for 570,000 dollars.

Pennsylvania was the last colony settled, excepting Georgia, and her increase in wealth and population was more rapid than that of any of the others. In 1775, she possessed a population of 372,208 inhabitants, collected and raised in less than a century.



The Treaty Monument, erected by the Penn Society on the spot, in Kensington, where the Elm Tree stood, under which the Treaty was made.



The Earl of Clarendon.

CHAPTER XXV.

COLONIZATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.



THE colonization of Carolina appeared to have been destined to form another link in the chain of religious persecutions which caused vast numbers of the inhabitants of the old world to seek an asylum in the new.

Had Coligny been able to maintain his establishment, Carolina would have been peopled by Huguenots flying from the troubles and persecutions to which they were subjected, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, in their native land.

In 1630, Sir Robert Heath, attorney general of Charles I., obtained a patent for the region south of Virginia, bounded on the north by the 36th degree of north latitude, and extending to Louisiana, which territory he named Carolina. Not making any settle-

ments, Heath did not fulfil the terms of the contract, and his patent was declared void.

Sometime between 1640 and 1650, the religious intolerance in Virginia, caused many of the inhabitants of that colony to flee beyond her limits. These settled on that portion of North Carolina which lies north of Albemarle Sound. Their cattle and swine procured subsistence in the woods, and multiplied rapidly, and the climate being mild and the soil fertile, they lived in ease and abundance. Happily they had the protecting tyranny of no sovereign to aid them in their attempt to colonize, nor any legislatures three thousand miles off, to make laws for them. They prospered and were happy. Several families from Massachusetts settled soon after near Cape Fear, but their lands and fisheries proved unproductive, and they were obliged to apply to the parent colony for assistance, which was cordially extended to them.

After so many unsuccessful attempts to colonize, a final settlement was effected through the exertions of the earl of Clarendon, and other courtiers of Charles II. The king granted them all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The territory was bestowed on these personages, their heirs and assigns, for ever, saving the sovereign allegiance due to the crown; and the charter also invested them with as ample rights and jurisdictions within their American palatinate, as the Pope enjoyed within his own dominions. This charter appears to have been drawn up by the parties to whom it was granted; and it seems to have been substantially copied from the earlier charter of Maryland, which was the most liberal in the communication of privileges and powers that had ever yet been granted. It gave the proprietaries the ownership of the lands, and jurisdiction over all who had settled on them. Those persons who had settled in Albemarle, were placed by the proprietaries under the government of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia.

Berkeley visited the colony, and, having confirmed and granted lands to the settlers, he appointed Drummond, a man

of superior prudence and abilities, their first governor, and then returned to Virginia, leaving them peacefully following their various pursuits. For a while the inhabitants were satisfied; but when the day on which the quit-rents were due, approached, they manifested great dissatisfaction with the tenure by which they held their lands.

In 1666, they elected the first assembly ever constituted in Carolina; and from this body a petition was sent to the proprietaries, begging that they might hold their lands on the same terms with their Virginian neighbours. This request was readily granted, and Stephens, the governor, was ordered to carry this regulation into effect. A new constitution was made, providing for an annual election of an assembly by the colonists, the appointment of the governor and half the council being reserved to the proprietaries, whilst all taxation was regulated by the assembly. The first assembly under the constitution met in 1669.

In this year, the celebrated John Locke prepared a constitution for Carolina, at the request of the Earl of Shaftesbury; but that distinguished man was not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of those persons for whom he legislated, and his system was found to be inapplicable to the wants of the colonists.

Several gentlemen of Barbadoes, dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, determined to remove to America; and they accordingly established a new colony to the southward of Cape Fear, along the banks of the river Charles, in the district called the county of Clarendon. John Yeamans, a respectable planter of Barbadoes, was made governor, and, with his appointment, received the rank of baronet. In 1670, William Sayle, who, some years before, had made a survey of the coast, was sent out with a colony; and, after moving about for some time, he settled at the confluence of Cooper and Ashley rivers, which settlement he named Charleston. In this year, also, John Locke was created a landgrave of the new colony, and Yeamans received the same dignity. Many of the settlers at Clarendon removed to Charleston, and this

latter was soon erected into a separate colony, under the name of South Carolina. The remains of the Clarendon settlement were united with Albemarle, and the two formed the foundation of the state of North Carolina. Their scattered condition, disadvantageous local position in some cases, and civil dissensions, greatly retarded the increase in population of this northern colony.

In 1677, the dissatisfaction of the colonists with their ruler led to a rebellion, headed by Culpepper, who had formerly excited commotions at Ashley river, and whose experience in such matters rendered him the fittest person for such an affair, then in the colony.

After two years of successful revolt, during which period Culpepper held the government, Eastchurch arrived in the colony, and, finding affairs desperate, he applied for assistance to Virginia. Alarmed at this, the insurgents despatched Culpepper and Holden to England, to offer submission to the proprietaries, on condition of having their past deeds ratified.

Culpepper would have fared but poorly, however, had not the Earl of Shaftesbury thought proper, for some unaccountable reason, to sustain him. He was at length justified, and was preparing to return to the colony, when he was arrested, at the instigation of the other proprietaries, and accused of having acted as collector without their authority, and of having embezzled the king's revenue. Here matters would have taken a serious turn, had not Shaftesbury again interposed to save the culprit.

The proprietaries now resolved to use conciliatory measures, and sent out Seth Sothel, who had purchased Lord Clarendon's interest in the colony, that, by his authority and interest, he might restore order and tranquillity. Until Sothel arrived in the colony, one Harvey was to act as governor. He could effect nothing with the insurgents, and, with the news of his inefficiency, the proprietors received an account of the capture of Sothel by the Algerines. Wilkinson, with a new council, was appointed to govern the colony; but the insurgents fined and imprisoned their opponents, who at length

fled to Virginia. In 1683, Sothel arrived in the colony, and his first acts showed his dangerous character. He oppressed the innocent, and received bribes from the guilty. Driven to despair, in 1688, after having borne his tyranny nearly six years, they deposed and imprisoned him, and were about to send him to England for trial. At his own request, however, he was tried in the colony, found guilty, and sentenced to abjure the colony for one year, and the government for ever.

The southern province of Carolina, meanwhile, under the government of West, who was appointed in 1674, enjoyed more tranquillity and prosperity than their neighbours at Albemarle. The puritans were more numerous, but the cavaliers possessed all the offices of honour or emolument. To keep each of these hostile parties from aggression, required a man of great wisdom, courage, and moderation; and such a man was Joseph West. During the early part of his administration, many English dissenters, and Protestant emigrants from Catholic states in Europe, resorted to the colony.

It was discovered that Oyster Point, where Charleston now stands, would be a more desirable location than that at which the settlers then resided, and accordingly they removed to that place, where, in 1673, some Dutch settlers from the colony of the New Netherlands had established themselves.

In 1680, a war broke out between the colonists and the Westoes tribe of Indians, which war proved very profitable, in a pecuniary way, to the colonists, who sold the prisoners they took, as slaves, to the West Indian planters. The profits made in this transaction, enabled the governor to purchase peace of their enemies.

This policy was not agreeable to the proprietaries, who displaced West, and made Morton governor, in 1683. In this year, one Ferguson brought to the colony an emigration from Ireland, which mingled with the earlier inhabitants. A Scottish nobleman, Lord Cardross, also led out a colony from his native country, which settled on Port Royal Island, but he claimed equal powers with Governor Morton, which claim was

disallowed by the colonial government, and Lord Cardross returned to Britain, leaving his colony behind.

Having instigated the Indians to attack the Spaniards at Augustine, those settlers made hostile demonstrations against the Port Royal colony, which very soon removed to Charleston. This happened in 1683. Afterwards they returned to their first residence until 1686, when the Spaniards again attacked and laid waste their settlement. Morton resigning his office in 1683, West was elected governor, and until the following year, when Sir Richard Kyrle, an Irishman, was elected governor by the proprietaries. The practice of inveigling and kidnapping Indians was continued without restraint. Kyrle died soon after arriving in the colony, and Colonel Quarry was appointed to succeed him; but as he gave encouragement to pirates, he was superseded in 1685, by Morton. For a year, they lived quietly, when Morton, in endeavouring to fulfil the instructions of the proprietaries, rendered himself again obnoxious to the people, and he was succeeded by Colleton, in August, 1686.

About this time, some thousands of refugees, driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, sought homes in the new world, and many came to Charleston.

Although Colleton's administration commenced happily, yet, in 1687, he attempted to enforce the payment of the quit-rents, and at once rendered himself odious to the people. They rose against him, imprisoned the secretary of the province, and, without professing any object, they completely overturned all government in the colony. Colleton was powerless, and knew not how to act under the circumstances, as all despatches from him to the proprietaries, and from them to him, were intercepted by the insurgents.

All was anarchy, and a leader only was wanted to appropriate to himself the power they had overthrown; and such a leader soon presented himself in the person of Seth Sothel, who suddenly appeared in the colony, and, in the double capacity of proprietary, and the champion of the people against proprietary pretensions, claimed the government.

This happened in 1690. He convened an assembly, before whom Colleton was impeached, tried, and banished from the colony. Sothel, however, acted the tyrant here even more rigorously than he had done in North Carolina, and the people soon united with the proprietaries, and banished him from the colony. He retired to Albemarle, where, in 1694, he died.

The revolution in England had excited little attention in either of the colonies of Carolina, and William and Mary were proclaimed sovereigns, without any manifestation, on the part of the people, either of joy or displeasure. In North Carolina, after Sothel had left the colony, Philip Ludwell had been appointed governor; and now, by a singular coincidence, he succeeded that tyrant in the government of the southern colony. Nothing of importance happened in the northern settlement until 1710, when they received an accession to their numbers, by the arrival of some German settlers at Roanoke. In the southern colony, Governor Ludwell, in obedience to the commands of the proprietors, was desirous of allowing the French settlers the same privileges which the English enjoyed; but he was resisted by the assembly and people, and applied to the proprietaries for further instructions. The answer he received, was an order to vacate his office in favour of Thomas Smith. During his administration, the captain of a Madagascar vessel, which touched at Charleston on her voyage to Britain, presented Smith with a bag of seed-rice, which he prudently distributed among his friends for cultivation; who, planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this circumstance, Carolina dates the introduction of one of her chief staples.

In 1695, Archdale, one of the proprietaries, and a Quaker, arrived in the colony, with full power to hear and finally determine on the spot, the complaints and controversies with which the province was distracted. He arrived in Charleston in August, 1695, and, by a wise administration, he quieted the public discontents, and gave such general satisfaction as to receive a vote of thanks from the assembly of the province.

He then went to North Carolina, tranquillized that colony, secured the good will and esteem of the Indians and Spaniards, and returned to England at the close of the year 1696. Archdale nominated Joseph Blake as his successor, who governed the colony wisely for four years.

Blake died in 1700, and with his death terminated the short interval of tranquillity which had commenced under Archdale. Under Blake's successors, James Moore and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the colony was harassed with Indian wars, and involved in debt by an unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards at Augustine. Henceforward, every kind of misrule distracted the colony, until 1729, when the proprietary interests were sold to the crown.

The first Indian war, which signalized this period, broke out in 1703, the Spaniards having instigated the Indians to commence hostilities. Governor Moore soon finished the affair, by killing and taking prisoners about 800 of the Indians.

In 1706, the Spaniards attacked Charleston, but were repulsed by Governor Johnson, leaving one ship and ninety men in the hands of the English.

In 1712, the outer settlements of the northern province were attacked by about 1200 of the Coree and Tuscarora tribes of Indians. A sudden attack, in which one hundred and thirty-seven of the colonists were massacred in a single night, gave the first notice of the intentions of the Indians. A powerful force was despatched to the field of action by the southern colony, under Colonel Barnwell, who, after overcoming the most incredible obstacles in his march through a wilderness of 200 miles, suddenly attacked and defeated the Indians in their encampment, killing 300 of their number, and taking 100 prisoners. The Tuscaroras then retreated to their town, fortified by a wooden breastwork. Barnwell surrounded them, and after killing, wounding, or capturing 1000 Indians, he made peace. The inhabitants of the forest, burning for revenge, soon broke the treaty, and the southern colony was again applied to for aid. Colonel James Moore, with forty white men and 800 friendly Indians, was sent to their aid, and

finding the enemy in a fort near Cotechny River, he surrounded them, and after a week's siege, took the fort and eight hundred prisoners. After suffering these defeats, the Tuscaroras removed north and joined the "Five Nations," making the sixth of that confederacy.

The Tuscarora war ended, the Yemassee commenced hostilities against the southern colony. On the 15th of April, 1715, they began their operations by murdering ninety persons at Pocotaligo, and the neighbouring plantations. The inhabitants of Port Royal escaped to Charleston. The colonists soon found that all the southern tribes were leagued against them, but they relied upon the assistance of those tribes who inhabited the country west of them. In this they were mistaken, for these Indians were either enemies, or remained neutral. Thus with about 1200 men, all that were fit for bearing arms in the colony, Governor Craven had to contend against seven thousand armed Indians. With this force, Craven cautiously advanced into the Indian country and drove them into Florida. The colony offered the lands vacated by the Indians to purchasers. Five hundred Irishmen soon settled on them, but by the injustice of the proprietaries, they were compelled to remove, and the frontier was again exposed.

After the settlement of South Carolina, that colony had a separate assembly and governor, but remained under the jurisdiction of the same proprietaries; but when, in 1729, these persons sold their shares to the king, they were entirely separated.

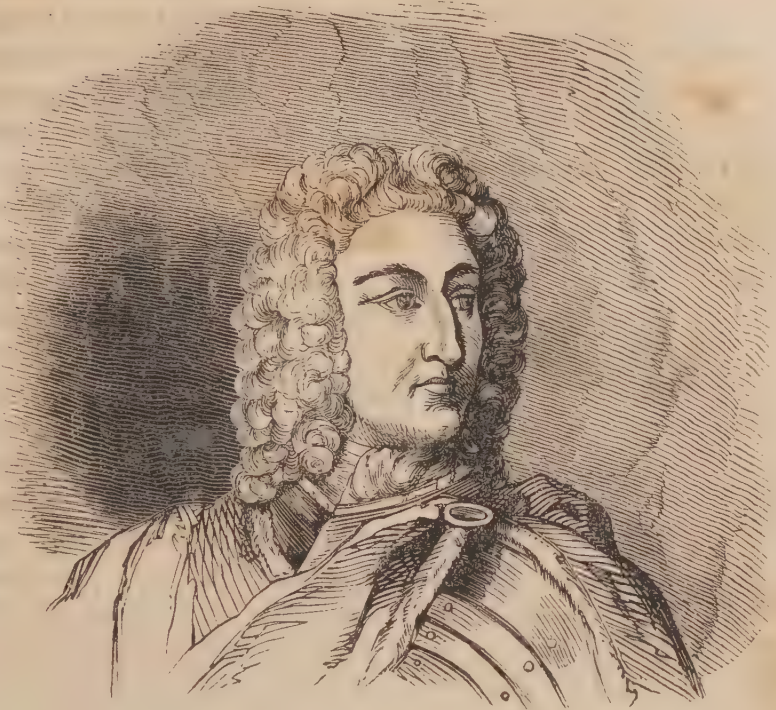
For nearly a century after their first settlement, both colonies had their population confined to the seacoast; but in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was discovered that the lands of the interior were by far the more fertile, and from that time, the tide of emigration set westward. Numbers of emigrants from the more northern colonies, Pennsylvania particularly, attracted by the fertility of the soil, removed into the Carolinas, and the lands were soon in a high state of cultivation.

"Carolina," says Grahame, "by its amazing fertility in

animal and vegetable produce, was enabled, from an early period, to carry on a considerable trade with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, which, at the close of the seventeenth century, are said to have depended in a great measure on that colony for the means of subsistence. Its staple commodities were rice, tar, and afterwards, indigo." Oldmixon, whose history was published in the year 1708, observes, that the trade of the colony with England had recently gained a considerable increase; "for, notwithstanding all the discouragements, the people lie under," he adds, seventeen ships came last year loaded from Carolina with rice, skins, pitch, and tar, in the Virginia fleet, besides straggling ships."

At the commencement of the Revolution, the population of North Carolina amounted to a quarter of a million, whilst South Carolina possessed nearly 248,000 inhabitants.





General Oglethorpe.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GEORGIA.



THE youngest of all the states which engaged in the war of independence, was Georgia. The tract of land now forming the state of Georgia, had been originally included in Heath's patent; but no settlements were made under that instrument, and it was declared void. The final settlement of the colony was owing principally to national rivalry and ambition. Another cause

for its colonization was the desire of the settlers at Charleston to interpose a barrier between them and the Spaniards at St. Augustine, who, they were fearful, would attempt to substantiate their boundless claims by force of arms. Individual patriotism, also, had a share in promoting the settlement of Georgia. It was requisite for the interest of Great Britain and the security of Carolina, that a plantation should be established somewhere between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers—the territory included between those rivers being entirely destitute of white inhabitants. The Spaniards would probably, ere long, have attempted to annex it to Florida by a settlement, and the French would include it in the advances with which they were peopling the valley of the Mississippi. A settlement in this territory would have been particularly valuable to the French, as they could easily communicate, from it, with their sugar islands, and these latter need not then depend on the British colonies for food.

In the year 1732, a charter was granted to Sir James Oglethorpe, and several other noblemen and gentlemen of England, who proposed to remove to the colony the insolvent and imprisoned debtors, who were pining in poverty and want. The charter granted the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, and which, in honour of the king, was called Georgia. The trustees were vested with legislative power in the colony for twenty-one years, when the government was to pass into the hands of the king. This example of public spirit and philanthropy was warmly applauded throughout the kingdom, and elicited numerous donations from all classes of people; and, in the space of two years, the House of Commons had voted, at different times, the sum of £36,000 towards the support of the colony. On the 6th of November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend with 116 persons. They landed at Charleston first, where they were presented with a large supply of cattle and other provisions, by the government of the province. Hence they set out for their new place of abode, which they reached on the 1st of February, 1733.

Oglethorpe fixed on a high bluff on the Savannah river to

which he gave the name of that stream, for a settlement. Here a fort was erected, and a few guns mounted on it for the defence of the infant colony. He immediately formed the settlers into a militia company, and appointed certain days for training the company. The Carolinians continued to send supplies of provisions, and skilful workmen to direct and assist in their labours. Oglethorpe's next measure was the establishment of some definite treaty with the Indians. He gave them presents, and they gave him as much land as he wanted. The Indians promised, with "straight hearts and love to their English brethren," to permit no other race of white men to settle in that country. The chief of the Creek nation then presented Oglethorpe with a buffalo skin, painted on the inside, with the head and feathers of an eagle, and made a speech which appeared to have been prepared for the occasion, the object of which was to request for the Creeks the love and protection of the English. Oglethorpe then committed the government to two individuals named Scott and St. Julian, and ordered Scott to make a treaty with the Choctaw Indians. This was done, and the interest of these powerful Indians secured to the English.

Oglethorpe returned to England, taking with him Tomochichi, the king of the Creeks, with his queen and several other chiefs. They were entertained in London with magnificent hospitality, loaded with presents and attentions from all classes of people, and introduced to the king and the nobility. When they returned, it was computed that they carried with them presents to the value of 400 pounds. After remaining in London four months, they returned with Oglethorpe and a shipload of emigrants. At the expiration of a year from this time, between five and six hundred emigrants had arrived and taken up their abode in this colony. But it was soon found by experience, what might have been expected from a knowledge of the kind of colonists sent over, that the settlement did not fulfil the expectations of the projectors.

The trustees offered land to other emigrants, and more than four hundred persons arrived in the colony from Germany,

Scotland, and Switzerland, in 1735. Among these were some of the associates of Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian missionary. These were not the only persons of a religious character who arrived in the colony during this year. John Wesley had formed, when at college, a pious association of young men, who visited the prisons and made many efforts to reform the vices of their race. Charles Wesley, the brother of the former, and George Whitefield, whose labours are well known to the student of American history, were among the principal members of this society, which was styled in derision, by the college wits, *the Godly Club*. Oglethorpe was introduced to the two Wesleys, and being made acquainted with their character, he prevailed upon them to come to America. With them came to the colony three or four of their associates, and three hundred others, among whom were one hundred and seventy more Moravian Germans. Wesley laboured in this field for some time without much success, when he returned to England. Soon after, Whitefield came out to the colony, and laboured much to establish an orphan asylum, in which design he partially succeeded, the asylum being still in existence, though not in a flourishing state.

Naturally fearful of the close proximity of the Spaniards, Oglethorpe applied himself to the fortification of the colony. In pursuance of this design, he built a fort on the banks of the Savannah, at a place he called Augusta. At Frederica, another fort with four regular bastions was erected; and a third was placed on Cumberland Island, which commanded the entrance to Jekyl Sound, through which alone ships of force could reach Frederica. Ten thousand pounds were granted by Parliament for the construction of these forts and the maintenance of the garrisons.

While the forts were building, the Spanish garrison was reinforced, and the governor of Georgia was informed by the commander of that garrison of the arrival of a commissioner from Havana, who wished a speedy conference with the British governor. This personage required of Oglethorpe, the immediate evacuation, by the English, of all the territories

south of St. Helena Sound, as they were the property of the king of Spain, who would shortly vindicate his claim.

It was in vain for Oglethorpe to attempt to use arguments with a person who relied upon his supposed superiority of force; and he therefore sailed immediately to England, in order to state the condition of affairs to the ministry. In London, the founder of Georgia was promoted to the rank of major general of all the forces in South Carolina and his own colony, with a regiment of six hundred new soldier emigrants for the defence of the colony.

During his absence in England, the Spaniards made many attempts to detach the Creek and other friendly tribes from their alliance; and, at the time of his arrival in Georgia, some of the Creek chiefs were in St. Augustine. When they returned, they found at their town an invitation from Oglethorpe to visit him at Frederica, where he renewed the treaty, and foiled the intrigues of the Spaniards. These now employed an unwarrantable stratagem against the English. Some of Oglethorpe's soldiers had been in the fortress at Gibraltar, where they learned to speak the Spanish language. One of these soldiers they found means to corrupt, and employed him to excite a mutiny in the English camp. He formed a conspiracy, and a daring attempt was made to assassinate the General, whose courage and self-command happily rescued him from danger, and the conspirators were put to death.

In 1740, the trustees rendered an account of their administration, in which it was stated that twenty-five hundred emigrants had been sent to the colony, and five hundred thousand dollars had been expended on it; but such was the character of the emigrants, and so grievous were the restrictions laid upon the colony, that it yet depended upon charitable contributions for support.

War being declared between England and Spain, Oglethorpe led an army of four hundred chosen men, and a body of Indians, into Florida. He took two of the Spanish forts, and laid siege to St. Augustine. The garrison found means,

however, to admit a reinforcement of seven hundred men into the town, with provisions. The Indians soon left the English camp, and many of the soldiers were sick. There was no prospect of starving the garrison out, and Oglethorpe, with great chagrin, raised the siege, and returned to Frederica.

In 1742, an expedition from Havana, consisting of a formidable land and naval force, sailed up the Altamaha, for the purpose of retaliating these aggressions. The army of the invaders consisted of three thousand men. The object of the expedition was not merely the destruction of Georgia, but the entire extermination of all the British settlements in the southern part of North America. Oglethorpe applied to the South Carolinians, who thought it more prudent to keep their men at home, and fortify themselves, leaving Georgia to repulse the invaders herself, if possible. Oglethorpe, thus thrown on his own resources, proceeded in the following manner, as related by Dr. Ramsay :—When the Spanish force proceeded up the Altamaha, Oglethorpe was obliged to retreat to Frederica. He had but about seven hundred men besides Indians; yet, with a part of these, he approached within two miles of the enemy's camp, with the design of attacking them by surprise, when a French soldier of his party fired a musket and ran into the Spanish lines. His situation was now very critical, for he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. Returning, however, to Frederica, he had recourse to the following expedient. He wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and to urge them to the attack. If he could not effect this object, he desired him to use all his art to persuade them to stay three days at Fort Simon's, as, within that time, he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land troops, besides six ships of war; cautioning him, at the same time, not to drop a hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner was entrusted with this letter, under promise of delivering it to the deserter; but he gave it, as was expected and intended, to the commander-in-chief, who immediately put the deserter in irons.

In the perplexity occasioned by this letter, while the enemy was deliberating what measures to adopt, three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had at last sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared on the coast. The Spanish commander was now convinced, beyond all question, that the letter, instead of being a stratagem, contained serious instructions to a spy; and, in this moment of consternation, set fire to the fort, and embarked so precipitately, as to leave behind him a number of cannon, and a quantity of military stores. Thus, by an event beyond human foresight or control—by a correspondence between the suggestions of a military genius and the blowing of the winds—was the infant colony providentially saved from destruction, and Oglethorpe gained the character of an able general. He now returned to England, and never again revisited Georgia. In 1775, he was offered the command of the British army in America. He professed his readiness to accept the appointment, if the ministers would authorize him to assure the colonies that justice would be done them; but the command was given to Sir William Howe. He died in August, 1785, at the age of ninety-seven, being the oldest general in the service. Nine years before his death, the province of Georgia, of which he was the father, had been raised to the rank of a sovereign, independent state, and was now acknowledged as such, by the mother country under whose auspices it had been planted.

The importation of West India rum into the colony being prohibited by the original charter, all the commerce of the colony with those islands was suspended; and it was asserted by the settlers that the prohibition, by the same instrument, of negro slavery in the colony, prevented the successful cultivation of their lands. This latter assertion was, however, disproved by the Moravian settlers, whose lands were always well cultivated, without the least assistance of negroes, or other servants. Many complaints were also made by the settlers against the tenure by which they held their lands. But, whether owing to these causes, or to the indolence and ignorance of the settlers, it is certain that, at the end of ten



Savannah in 1778.

years, the people obtained with difficulty a scanty subsistence. These apparent disadvantages deterred many emigrants from settling in the colony.

It was useless to complain to the trustees, who disregarded all their petitions for a redress of grievances; and the colony languished until 1752, when the charter passed into the hands of the king, and the colony enjoyed the same privileges, and advanced in population and wealth as rapidly, as the neighbouring provinces.

As late as 1778, Savannah was still an inconsiderable town, as may be seen by the above engraving, copied from an English print, the original of which was a drawing taken at that time.



General Wolfe.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.



THE formation and progress of the thirteen original states, have now been traced from their earliest settlement, to the middle of the eighteenth century. Hitherto, each colony was a distinct community; and although, in some

few instances, they had formed political combinations, yet there had occurred nothing calculated to awaken a common feeling in all the colonies, and cause them to unite their energies in the attainment of one common object. The time had now arrived, however, when such a union was to be made; and from 1754, when the French war commenced, the generalizing of their political history is the natural consequence of the progress of events.

Before entering on the narrative of that war, it becomes necessary to give a brief outline of the growth* of the French settlements, and of the relative position of the territories of the combatants, previous to the commencement of hostilities.

According to the rights of discovery, the early visits of Cartier to the river St. Lawrence and the adjacent country, established the claim of France to the territory on its shores, and directed the attention of the French to the advantages to be derived from effecting settlements in those parts.

Although New France had not the smiling and luxurious aspect of Florida or Virginia, yet it opened into regions of vast extent, and presented more than common attraction to curiosity and adventure; and the fisheries on its coasts and the lucrative fur trade of its interior, offered great advantages to an enterprising, commercial nation.

De la Roche, a Breton, was the first who attempted to colonize these regions. He obtained from Henry IV. a patent of the same extensive character as those granted in England to Gilbert and Raleigh. The nation did not approve of his design, and being obliged to take the greater part of his sailors from the jails, his experiment proved a complete failure. De Monts made the next attempt; but Champlain was the real founder of New France or Canada.

He built and fortified Quebec, and finding the southern bank of the river and lakes occupied by two powerful Indian nations, the Algonquins and Hurons, he made an alliance with them. This connection, as we have already had occasion to

* The origin of these settlements is noticed in the third chapter of this work.

remark, was unfortunate.* Another tribe, the Iroquois, was engaged in perpetual war with these nations; and the French resolved to assist their allies in the extermination of the Iroquois, who also united themselves with the English, and they obtained their assistance in the war. Thus, at the outset, the French colony found themselves engaged in hostilities with both the natives and the English. The charter of the company, under whose direction Champlain acted, was soon after abrogated, and from its ashes rose one on a grander scale, which aimed to convert New France into a colony of the first magnitude; but the jealousy of the English could not brook a rival, and they not only drove the French completely out of Acadia, but besieged and took Quebec, so that the colony appeared for ever lost to the mother country. The English ministry were strongly inclined to the preservation of peace with France; and in a convention in March, 1632, agreed to the reinstatement of France in the sovereignty of both Acadia and Quebec.

For thirty years, the attention of the government was directed to the consolidation and improvement of the colony; when Talon, the intendant of New France, displayed a more enterprising spirit than had hitherto been exhibited on the theatre of Canadian affairs. From some dark hints of the Indians, he understood that a yet more mighty river than the St. Lawrence poured its waters into some far distant ocean, which lay in the south and west. This stream, they told him, originated in the north-west. Talon supposed it to be some mighty river, emptying into the Gulf of California, and affording a passage to the golden regions of the East Indies. He strained every nerve in the effort to discover it, and, in the prosecution of his design, he found no lack of bold and fitting instruments. Two of the colonists, Joliet and Marquette, undertook, with two little Indian bark canoes, and three men in each, to explore these unknown regions of America. They sailed onward until they ascertained that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, when, fearful of falling into the hands

* Vol. i. p. 51.

of the Spaniards, they returned. In 1699, M. d'Iberville entered the Mississippi, and founded a colony in Louisiana. The year 1717 witnessed the first attempts to settle New Orleans. This settlement continued to languish until the year 1730, when its affairs began to wear a more prosperous aspect, and the French settlements were extended up the Mississippi. Having possession of the Lakes in the North, and the mouth of the Mississippi in the South, with considerable military strength in Quebec, Montreal, and the other settlements in New France, they conceived the design of restricting the English colonists to the eastern side of the Alleghanies, by a chain of forts along the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi.

In 1753 it became known to the English colonists that the French had crossed the lakes from Canada, and were about to erect forts on the Ohio river. Alarmed at this intelligence, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia despatched a messenger over the mountains, to ascertain the designs of the French and of the Indians. His mission was imperfectly executed, but his report served to confirm the intelligence previously received.

In the meantime the British ministry, anticipating a rupture with France, had sent orders to Dinwiddie to build two forts near the Ohio river, to maintain possession of the territory; and supplies of cannon and powder were sent out for the use of the forts. This measure, however, had been anticipated by the French, who had already gained a footing by establishing forts in the heart of the disputed territory.

As a preliminary to the execution of the orders which he had received from the ministry, Governor Dinwiddie resolved to send a commissioner to the commander of the French forts, to inquire "by what authority he presumed to invade the king's dominions, and what were his designs." This delicate and hazardous commission was intrusted to Major George Washington, then but twenty-one years of age. The reply of M. de St. Pierre, the French commander, when summoned by Washington to retire from the territory, was, "that it did not belong to him to discuss treaties; that such a message should have been sent to the Marquis Du Quesne, Governor



Washington ordering M. St. Pierre to evacuate the French Fort.

of Canada, by whose instructions he acted, and whose orders he should be careful to obey, and that the summons to retire could not be complied with.”* Washington encountered many perils in his journey through the wilderness; and his journal, published in this country and in Europe, gave him, at this early period, a brilliant reputation.

The assembly now resolved to use forcible measures to expel the French from the Ohio territory. A small force was raised, and the command given to Colonel Frey; Washington, now promoted to the rank of colonel, being second in command. He marched with a detachment to the Great Meadows, near which he encountered and defeated a body of French and Indians, commanded by M. de Jumonville, who was killed in the action. He then advanced towards Fort Du Quesne, at the junction of the Ohio and Alleghany, where the French had established themselves. On his way, he encountered a large body of French and Indians, under De Villiers. He retreated and hastily erected a small stockade fort at the

* Sparks's Life of Washington.

Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked, July 4th, 1754. He defended his post from ten in the morning till a late hour at night, when he was compelled to capitulate. The English were allowed to march out of the fort with the honours of war, and to retain their arms, whilst the French consented to retire to Fort Du Quesne. The conduct of Washington in this affair raised him in the esteem of the colony, and acquired for him the appellation of the "Soldier of Virginia."

Preparations for active warfare were about this time commenced in England. The governors of the several colonies had received letters from the Earl of Holderness, secretary of state, recommending the union of the several colonies for defence, and a treaty with the "Five Nations." He also desired them to effect, if possible, the expulsion of the French from the Ohio territory.

A convention of delegates met at Albany, and made a treaty with the Five Nations, and also reported and approved on the 4th of July, 1754, a plan of union of the colonies, constituting a general assembly of delegates from all the colonies, to be presided over by a governor appointed by the crown, who was to be invested with the power of putting a negative on the acts of the council. There were two powerful parties opposed to this union. Massachusetts refused to accede to it, because it conferred too much power upon the crown, and the English government disapproved of the plan on the ground that the union might eventually lead to a concerted system of resistance on the part of the colonies to the supremacy of the mother country. For these reasons the union was not effected. Another plan was proposed by the ministry, but not being accepted by the colonies, it was determined to carry on the war in America with British troops, aided by such reinforcements as the colonies could raise.

Early in 1755, General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry, commanded by Halket and Dunbar, destined to the protection of the Virginian frontier. At the request of the British commander, a convention

of the colonial governors assembled in Virginia, when three expeditions against the French were decided upon. The first, under General Braddock himself, was to march against Fort Du Quesne; the second was directed against the fort at Niagara, the force consisting of American regulars and Indians under Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts; and the third, against Crown Point, was to be executed by militia from the northern colonies.

Many disputes had occurred between the English and French concerning the boundary of their mutual possessions in Nova Scotia. The English claimed the territory to the St. Lawrence; the French allowed them only so far as the boundaries of Acadie. Whilst the convention of governors was sitting in Virginia, three thousand militia of Massachusetts, under Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, sailed from Boston for Nova Scotia. The French fort Beausejour was invested and taken, after a hot siege of a few days, and the name changed by the victors to Fort Cumberland. The fort Gaspareau soon after surrendered, and the English acquired possession of the province. It was deemed necessary to expel the French inhabitants from the province, and they were accordingly scattered throughout the colonies.

When the convention of governors had separated, Braddock proceeded to Fort Cumberland, in the western part of Virginia. After waiting here some time for the remainder of his army, he learned that the French expected a reinforcement of five hundred men at Fort Du Quesne. He therefore selected twelve hundred of his best soldiers, with ten pieces of cannon, and marched forward, reaching the Monongahela by the 8th of July. On the march, and even before coming to America, he had been repeatedly advised to guard against ambushes or surprise. But armed with that haughty spirit which goeth before a fall, he despised both Washington and the provincial troops, as well as the enemy, and refused the offer of Washington to go forward with his provincials and Indians as a vanguard, to look out for hidden enemies. He not only treated this proposal with contempt, but angrily ordered

Washington and his soldiers to form in the rear of the British troops.

When the army was at the distance of seven miles from his intended scene of action, in an open wood, thick set with high grass, the appalling warwhoop of the savages was heard, and a destructive fire poured in upon the van from a thousand enemies. The main body of the army coming up, the firing ceased, and it was thought that the enemy had retreated; but the attack was soon renewed with redoubled fury. The vanguard immediately fell back upon the main body, and terror and confusion spread among the British troops. In attempting to restore order and form his army anew, Braddock received a mortal wound, and all his officers were falling around him. Being mounted on horses, they were easily distinguished and shot by the Indian marksmen. In a little time, Washington was the only officer remaining unhurt. He had two horses shot under him, and four bullets passed through his coat. The English troops now abandoned the conflict in dismay and disorder. The provincials who had been among the last to leave the field, were rallied by Washington after the action and covered the retreat of the army.

About seven hundred of the British were killed or wounded, with many of the Virginian troops, and sixty-four out of eighty-five officers. Petrified with fear, Dunbar, who was forty miles behind Braddock with the baggage and the remainder of the troops, retreated to Philadelphia, with the utmost precipitancy, leaving the entire frontier of Virginia and Pennsylvania exposed to the incursions of a victorious army of vindictive French and Indians. The number of the enemy concerned in this engagement is estimated at about nine hundred.

The other two expeditions met with indifferent success. The troops destined for both were ordered to assemble at Crown Point. The expedition against Niagara, under Shirley, was delayed so long, that it did not reach Oswego till late in August, where the intelligence of Braddock's defeat reached them. Sickness also broke out among the troops, and

successive heavy rains rendered the roads impassable. Consternation spread through the army, and many desertions occurred daily. Shirley left Colonel Mercer at Oswego with seven hundred men, and instructions to build two additional forts for security. He then reconducted his unsuccessful army to Albany.

The body destined for the capture of Crown Point also remained at Albany till August. It consisted of between five and six thousand militia, commanded by William Johnson, a native of Ireland, and member of the provincial council. The French commander, Baron Dieskau, having collected a large army of disciplined troops, was advancing to attack Johnson. The latter, ignorant of the number of the enemy, sent Colonel Williams with one thousand men and three hundred Indians to meet him. They met, and a battle ensued; Williams and Hendrick, the Indian chief, fell in the early part of the engagement, and the remainder were returning to the main body when they met a reinforcement coming to their relief. They nevertheless continued the retreat, hotly pursued by the French, who would have carried the camp, had they made an instantaneous attack.

Fortunately for the English, however, a pause took place, which saved the camp, by giving time for the alarm and confusion to subside. Dieskau had been informed that the English were destitute of cannon. Two pieces of artillery had, however, been brought from Fort Edward. When the attack was made, these were used effectively against the enemy, the Canadian militia and the Indians running into the woods, out of reach of the cannon. The French regulars were unable to take the fort without the aid of their allies, and the attack soon ceased. Johnson was wounded in the engagement, and the French commander received a mortal wound, and was taken prisoner. The French loss in killed and wounded was estimated at one thousand men; the remnant of his army, assembling at some distance, was attacked by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving to the victors the whole

of their baggage and ammunition. But one hundred and thirty English fell in the whole of the eventful day. Although this victory reassured the colonists, who were depressed by the defeat of Braddock, yet Johnson did not pursue his success further, spending the rest of the season in inactivity, and thus losing the grand object of the expedition, the taking of Ticonderoga. He was rewarded with a baronetcy and £5000, for his services.

Notwithstanding these hostile operations in America, war between France and England was not formally declared until the following spring.

The plan for the campaign of 1756 was similar to that for 1755; but terminated as unfavourably for the colonies as the preceding one. At the council meeting of the provincial governors held in New York, it was proposed to raise ten thousand men for an expedition against Crown Point, six thousand for an attack on Niagara, and three thousand to be sent to Fort Du Quesne. Much delay was occasioned by the time required to raise so large a number of men, and an unnecessary quarrel excited by a resolution placing the British officers over the provincial of the same rank, when acting together. Whilst this affair was in agitation, and they were deliberating whether to attack Niagara or Fort Du Quesne, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, invested Oswego, with a body of five thousand French and Indians. After a short siege, the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, well supplied with provisions, was compelled to surrender, and the English works were razed to the ground. In consequence of this disastrous event, all the plans of offensive operations on the part of the British were abandoned. The commanders of the expeditions were ordered not to proceed, but to fortify themselves as strongly as possible. Fort Du Quesne was not attacked; small-pox broke out among the troops at Albany, and all the provincial forces, except one regiment, were sent home. The garrisons were filled with British troops, and no other actions were performed during the remainder of the year.

In the close of the year a strong reinforcement of troops, with a great quantity of military stores, arrived in America, under convoy of two British ships of war. Four thousand men were ordered to be raised in New England, and under the Earl of Loudoun, now placed at the head of affairs in America, the campaign of 1757 promised to be a very active one. Lord Loudoun determined to make but one grand effort, which was to be directed against Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. This place was, however, strongly fortified, and had been lately reinforced by an immense land and naval force, sent out from France; and the English commander, thinking the undertaking desperate, desisted from his design of attacking the place, and returned to New York. Meanwhile, Montcalm determined to make himself master of the forts on Lake George. With an army of nine thousand men he laid siege to Fort William Henry, and pressed the garrison so hard that Colonel Monroe was obliged to send for aid to General Webb, who was at Fort Edward, four miles distant, with four thousand men. His aid was unaccountably withheld, until at the end of six days, Monroe capitulated. No sooner had the garrison marched out, and surrendered their arms, in reliance upon a pledge of protection previously given by the French general, than a furious and irresistible attack was made upon them by the Indians, who stripped them both of their baggage and their clothes, and murdered or made prisoners all who attempted resistance. At least fifteen hundred persons were thus slaughtered, or carried into captivity. This affair has left an indelible stain on the character of Montcalm.

After the fort was surrendered, a reinforcement for Monroe arrived; but it was too late, and the campaign for that year was closed by the return of this detachment to New York.

Thus ended the third campaign in America; happily forming the last series of disasters resulting from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. It left the French in possession of Lakes Champlain and George, and the unbroken communication between Canada



Massacre of the Prisoners taken at Fort William Henry.

and Louisiana. They had complete ascendancy over all the tribes of Indians west of the Alleghany mountains, and around the northern English settlements.

The people of Britain were alarmed and indignant at the state of affairs in America, and the king was obliged to change the ministry. He placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, at the head of the new councils, and a better selection he could not have made. Pitt was popular in both hemispheres, and his requisitions, made in a circular letter, in 1757, were so promptly complied with, that by May, in the next year, Massachusetts had seven thousand, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand troops, prepared to take the field.

Nor were the preparations made in England less extensive. Lord Loudoun was succeeded in America by General Abercrombie, who, early in the spring of 1758, was ready to enter on the campaign at the head of fifty thousand men.

In this campaign, it was proposed to send an expedition against Louisbourg, another to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point, whilst Fort Du Quesne was to be reduced by a third.



William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

On the first expedition, Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax, on the 28th of May, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of General Amherst, and arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June. The garrison consisted of three thousand one hundred men, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, and the harbour was defended by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates. A landing was effected on the 8th of June, and the siege was

commenced with vigour. By the 21st of July the British fleet possessed the harbour, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the governor offered to capitulate. The town was surrendered on the 26th, and all its artillery, provisions, and military stores. Island Royal, St. Johns, and their dependencies, also, fell into the hands of the British.



General Abercrombie's Army crossing Lake George.

Abercrombie mustered his forces at Albany, and on the 5th of July, embarked fifteen thousand men, and a formidable train of artillery, on Lake George, for the reduction of Ticonderoga. They landed on the west side of the lake, and commenced their march. Some skirmishing took place, and Lord Howe was killed. Abercrombie now took possession of a fort within two miles of Ticonderoga, and attempted to storm that post on the 8th. But his troops becoming entangled in a breastwork of felled trees, were exposed to a galling fire from the enemy. They continued the action four hours, when a retreat was ordered. In this action, Abercrombie lost nearly two thousand men, whilst the loss of the enemy, who were covered during the whole action, was inconsiderable.

The desigus upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point being relinquished, Abercrombie sent Colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand men and a few pieces of cannon, against Fort Frontignac. On the evening of the 25th of August, he landed at the distance of a mile of the fort. Within two days, his batteries were opened at so short a distance, that almost every shell took effect, and the French commandant, finding the place untenable, surrendered at discretion, August 27th.

Previous to the surrender, the Indians had deserted, and Bradstreet took but one hundred and one prisoners. He found in the fort, sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, a large number of small-arms, and a vast quantity of provisions and military stores. Bradstreet destroyed the fort and returned to the main army. Fort Frontignac being taken, the garrison of Fort Du Quesne could derive no assistance from it; and the Indians, terrified by the approach of General Forbes with eight thousand men, began to desert in great numbers. Forbes had started in July from Philadelphia, but was not joined by Washington with the Virginia regulars, until he had reached Raystown in September. Major Grant was sent forward with eight hundred men to reconnoitre, before the army marched from Raystown; and the French, with a few Indians, surrounded and attacked them; Major Grant, with nineteen other officers, were taken prisoners, and having three hundred of his soldiers either killed or wounded.

It was late in November, when Forbes reached the fort, which they found deserted, the garrison having abandoned the post and escaped in boats down the Ohio, on the preceding evening. On the 25th of November, he hoisted the British flag for the first time on the fort, and in honour of the popular minister, called it PITTSBURG. The Indians, in pursuance of their customary policy, joined the stronger party; and, having made treaties with them, and garrisoned the fort, Forbes set out on his return to Philadelphia; but he died before reaching that city. In the northern operations of this campaign, the corps of rangers, under Majors Rogers and Putnam, were greatly distinguished. Rogers and his company fought

bravely at Ticonderoga, and Putnam, in a gallant encounter with a vastly superior force, was taken prisoner. He nearly lost his life at the stake, but was taken into Canada, and afterwards exchanged.

The campaign of 1758, had terminated very honourably to the British troops. Of the three expeditions, two had entirely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important acquisition. Pitt had inspired the colonists with confidence, and to this must be attributed the beneficial results of the campaign. He now resolved to signalize the year 1759, by the complete conquest of Canada. Notwithstanding the exhausted state of the colonies, they seconded the exertions of their favourite minister with uncommon zeal. In the next campaign, it was proposed to attack, simultaneously, nearly all the strongholds of the French in Canada, by three powerful armies, which should enter the province by different routes. Major-General Amherst, who had reduced Louisbourg in the last year, succeeded Abercrombie in the command of the army in North America. Brigadier-General Wolfe, who had signalized himself at Louisbourg, was to command the first expedition, ascend the St. Lawrence, and lay siege to Quebec. He was to be convoyed by a strong fleet, which was to co-operate with his troops. The central and main army, under Amherst himself, was to dispossess the French of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then proceed over Lake Champlain, and by the way of Richelieu river to the St. Lawrence, where a junction was to be effected with General Wolfe, before Quebec. Fort Niagara was to be reduced by the third expedition, under General Prideaux, composed of provincial troops and Indians; and after Prideaux had made himself master of that place, he was to embark on Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal.

Although Amherst designed moving against Ticonderoga early in the spring, the summer was far advanced before he could cross Lake George, and it was not till the 2d of July that he reached that fortress. The enemy immediately abandoned the outer lines, and retired into the fort; and after

blowing up the magazine, retreated to Crown Point. Having repaired the fortifications, Amherst followed them; but they immediately quitted this place, and retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Here they had thirty-five hundred men, with provisions, artillery, and four large armed vessels. After unsuccessfully attempting to conquer them, he retired to Crown Point, where he established his winter quarters.



Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga.

Prideaux landed on the 6th of July, within three miles of Fort Niagara, which he besieged in due form. He was killed on the 20th, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. The French being sorely pressed, resolved to attempt to raise the siege by hazarding a battle. In less than an hour they were completely routed, and the fate of Niagara was sealed. On the next day, the 25th of July, a capitulation

was signed, and the garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, were embarked on the lake and carried to New York. The women and children were sent to Montreal.

General Wolfe, not being joined by the other expeditions, was obliged to rely upon his own exertions, which were fully equal for the occasion. Pitt was not mistaken when he gave the command of this most dangerous enterprise to the young and ardent Wolfe, and his three youthful associates, Monckton, Townsend, and Murray. Wolfe embarked at Louisbourg with eight thousand men and a train of artillery, and proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the Island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this place, he was enabled to take a clear view of his difficulties, which to any other mind than his own, would have appeared insuperable. Even he had more cause to fear than to hope. But with every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe, heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement. They were at first successful; but the intrepid Montcalm soon rallied his troops, and aided by a dreadful thunder-storm, repulsed the enemy. Wolfe ordered his troops to recross the river, and returned to the Island of Orleans. In this attack he lost near five hundred men.

On the 3d of September, Wolfe abandoned Camp Orleans, and with the aid of the fleet, landed part of his army at Point Levi, and the remainder still higher up the river. He now determined, by the advice of his three able supporters, to gain the Heights of Abraham, in rear of the city. With incredible labour this was effected in the night, and by the break of day the whole army had reached the summit. When informed that the English had gained the Heights of Abraham, Montcalm could not at first credit the intelligence. When convinced of his error, he made instant preparations for a battle. The dispositions of the two armies made by two of the most able generals in America, could not fail of being masterly. Wolfe commanded the right of the English, and Montcalm the left of the French, and in this quarter the battle



General Wolfe's Army ascending the Heights of Abraham.

raged most fiercely. At about nine in the morning of the 13th of September, the French advanced briskly to the charge, and the action soon became general. The English reserved their fire until the French were within forty yards, and then gave it with terrible effect. Wolfe was wounded in the wrist, in the commencement of the action, but he betrayed no symptom of pain, and wrapping a handkerchief round his arm, continued to encourage his men. He was soon after wounded in the body; but he still continued at the head of his troops. Whilst pressing on with his grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, a third ball pierced his breast. He was now carried to the rear, and

the army, burning for revenge, continued the action under Monckton, who, being soon after wounded, gave the command to General Townsend. Murray now broke the centre of the French army, and the Highlanders, with their broadswords, completed their confusion, and falling on them with resistless fury, drove part of them over the St. Charles, and the remainder into Quebec. On the 18th, the city capitulated to Townsend, and the French power in America was crushed. Montcalm received a mortal wound, and was carried into the city; and Senezurgus, the second in command of the French, also fell in the battle.

General Wolfe, who expired in the arms of victory, was only thirty-three years of age. He possessed those military talents, which, with the advantage of years and opportunity of action, "to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge, the correctness of judgment perfected by experience," would have "placed him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation." After he had received his mortal wound, it was with reluctance that he suffered himself to be conveyed to the rear. Leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who kneeled down to support him, he was seized with the agonies of death; but hearing the cry, "They fly! They fly!" he roused himself and asked "Who fly?" "The French," was the reply. "Then I depart content," said the dying hero, and almost instantly expired. A death more glorious, says Belsham, is nowhere to be found in history. Montcalm was every way worthy to be the opponent of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. When informed that his wound was mortal, he replied, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."

Five thousand men, under the command of Murray, were placed as a garrison in the city, which, at the time of its capitulation, contained about ten thousand souls; and the British fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.



Death of General Wolfe

M. de Levi, the French general at Montreal, made several attempts to retake the city, but without success, and in 1760, Montreal was taken, and all its dependencies. Henceforward Canada became a British province.

The war on the continent being finished, expeditions were sent against the French possessions in the West Indies. Many troops were drawn from the colonies for this service, and Martinico, Grenada, St. Lucie, St. Vincent, and the other Caribbee Islands, were brought under the subjection of the British crown (1762). War being declared between Great Britain and Spain, early in the year, an armament was sent out by the ministers for the reduction of Havana, which was taken, after an obstinate defence. On the 10th of February,

1763, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified. Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, and the other French possessions in the north, were confirmed to Great Britain. The French were allowed to fish off the island of Newfoundland, but under the heaviest restrictions; and the small islands of St. Peter and Miquelon were confirmed to France. The boundary between the English and French possessions was fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and thence, by a line drawn along the middle of that river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea. The river and port of Mobile, and all the French possessions east of the Mississippi, were ceded to Great Britain, except the island and town of New Orleans. All the West India isles which the English had taken from the French, were confirmed to the captors, and the Havana was exchanged with the King of Spain for the Floridas. With such great natural boundaries as these, it would be difficult to find any cause for the renewal of those controversies respecting possessions, which were formerly so harassing to the colonists.





CHAPTER XXVIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.



THE peace of 1763, which restored tranquillity to America, also released Europe from a long and bloody war; in the early part of which the arms of Britain had been signally unsuccessful; but, in the end, everywhere triumphant. The expulsion of the French from their possessions; the treaties made with the Indians, which, now that French intrigues were no longer in operation, the colonists hoped would be lasting; and the accession of George III. to the throne, gave the inhabitants of North America reason to expect a long season of peace, not merely as regarded their former enemies, but that civil peace between the mother country and her offspring, for the continuance of which every true friend of both countries could not too earnestly wish. The young king was in the flower of youth, a season when the people are usually willing to cherish fond anticipations of their monarch, and to yield him a cordial

protection and support. But causes of dissatisfaction and distrust were hidden by these fair appearances.

The new king had appointed new ministers, whose political measures were likely to be unpopular. They had none of the prudence and firmness necessary for the concurrence in, and direction of the public opinion, which always gains for its possessor the confidence of the mass,—a characteristic which so highly distinguished William Pitt, and of which Lord Grenville, who now stood at the head of the ministry, appeared to be utterly destitute. Plans for taxing the colonies had been suggested to both Pitt and Walpole successively ; but those wary ministers declined the experiment. Walpole said “that he would leave that measure to some of his successors who had more courage than he had, and were less friendly to commerce than he was.”

Grenville had the kind and quantity of courage, of which Walpole confessed himself destitute, and he was bold enough to hazard the experiment. The duties imposed by the ministers of George II. on rum, sugar, and molasses imported into the colonies, although they had excited considerable opposition at the time they were enacted, were yet not openly resisted, the payment of them being evaded by smuggling, which was not considered as a crime of much importance by the colonists.

This practice was regarded with great indignation by the British ministry, who hastened to adopt a system of remedial measures, not altogether judicious. They were nevertheless sternly enforced, and all the commanders and other officers stationed off the American coasts, or cruising in the seas of that country, received authority and directions from the crown to act in the capacity of officers of the customs. Unacquainted with the duties of their new offices, being required not only to guard the laws from violation, but to administer them, they rarely executed their orders with discretion and humanity. They treated their fellow-subjects much in the same manner as they had been accustomed to treat their enemies ; and by the confiscation of cargoes, and unreasonable

detention of ships, to the great detriment of their owners, they excited much irritation in the minds of the colonists, and materially alienated their affections from the British government.

In the spring of 1763, a bill was carried through parliament, imposing certain duties on indigo, coffee, silk, French lawns, and many other articles imported into the colonies from the West Indian isles. The duties were so great as almost to amount to a prohibition of fair trade, and they were to be paid in gold and silver. In the same session of parliament, a bill was passed declaring the paper money which had been issued by the colonial legislatures, to support the expenses of the war, not to be a legal tender in payment of debts.

The popular discontent now broke forth to an alarming degree in America, more especially when the news was received of a resolution introduced into parliament by the ministry and passed, declaring "that toward further defraying the expense of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain STAMP DUTIES on the colonies."

Petitions and remonstrances were sent from all parts of the colonies, deprecating the passage of the odious act; but Grenville was too unwise to let the matter drop when he saw how the news of its probable passage was received in America. Wilfully blind to its consequences, he introduced the act into parliament on the 29th of January, 1765, in the shape of fifty-five resolutions for imposing stamp duties on certain papers and documents used in the colonies: and a bill founded on those resolutions, was soon after debated, and after a vigorous opposition, finally passed, March 22d.

The colonists were led, from the universal detestation of the proposed act displayed by the different assemblies, to expect a totally different result. In Massachusetts, so quiet was the populace on receiving the intelligence, that the governor wrote to England that the inhabitants appeared to have been awed into submission. This was, however, but the calm which precedes the storm. In Pennsylvania, previous to the passage of the act, the assembly was distinguished, says a late

historian, above all others, by the temperate, yet firm, dignified, and consistent strain of its debates and proceedings. Now, however, it appeared disposed to submit. It was here generally admitted that the taxation of the colonies by a parliament in which they cannot be represented, would necessarily establish this melancholy truth, "that the inhabitants of the colonies are the *slaves* of the Britons, from whom they are descended."

The majority in America, were doubtless favourable to the plea that the right of domestic taxation was the exclusive privilege of the provincial assemblies; but this belief was first legislatively proclaimed by the passage of certain resolutions introduced by the celebrated Patrick Henry into the Virginia Assembly. The substance of these resolutions was "that the settlers of that colony had forfeited none of the rights of British subjects; that these rights and privileges had been confirmed by two royal charters granted by James I.; that they have always enjoyed the right of being taxed and ruled over by their provincial assembly alone, which right has been acknowledged by the king and people of Great Britain; and lastly, that the general assembly of Virginia, with his majesty, or his substitute, have the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of the colony, and any attempt to place this power in other hands is illegal, unconstitutional, and utterly subversive of British and American freedom."

As a compensation for the loss suffered by the colonies under the stamp act, a provision was made granting the exportation of American lumber into all the ports of Europe. Soon after, another act was passed, providing for the quartering of British troops in America, the provincial assemblies being required to maintain them. But to these proceedings, no attention was paid by the colonists, as all were swallowed up in the alarm excited by the passage of the stamp act.

The British ministers soon found that their opinion respecting the power of the parliamentary acts to overawe the Americans, had been unfounded. In the heat of the debate

on Henry's resolutions in the House of Burgesses, that gentleman went so far as to exclaim, "Cæsar had his Brutus! Charles the First his Cromwell! and George the Third—" here he was interrupted by cries of "*Treason! Treason!*" from every part of the house; but fixing his eye firmly on the speaker, and raising his voice, he finished the sentence with "*may profit by their example!* if this be treason, make the most of it."

On receiving intelligence of the passage of these resolutions, the deputy-governor immediately dismissed the assembly. But the example of resistance was already set, and the flame which was to spread over all the American continent, had already begun to kindle. America was soon divided into two great parties; the Whigs and the Tories. A Whig was an advocate for popular freedom; a Tory an upholder of parliamentary authority.

About the middle of this year, 1765, when nearly all the assemblies had passed resolutions somewhat similar to those of Virginia, denouncing the stamp act in strong terms, the assembly of Massachusetts began to act in the matter.

They had always been active in opposing British taxation, and they seized the present opportunity of consolidating the grievances, uniting the sentiments, and combining the strength of all the colonies in a common cause. Different in the times and modes of settlement, there had hitherto been but little intercourse between them, and even that little had not always been of a peaceful character. With their original differences unsubdued, they presented to the British ministers a number of separate and unconnected communities, the casual murmurs and resistances of which might be easily subdued or disregarded. Their common exposure to the stamp act, and their universal resistance to it, formed a slight bond as it were of union, and this bond the Massachusetts assembly resolved to strengthen. In pursuance of this resolution it was resolved, on the 6th of June, 1765, that it was expedient that a general congress of deputies be held at New York, on the first Tuesday in October. The deputies were to be chosen from the lower

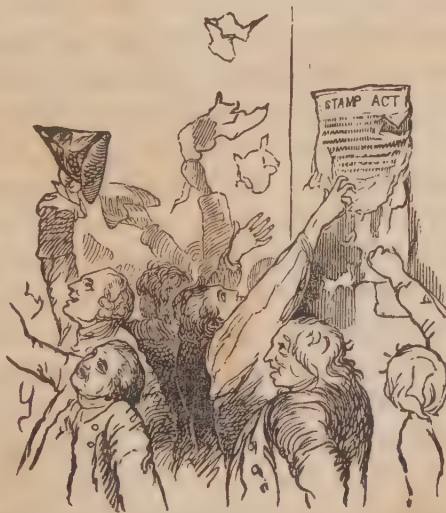
houses of the assemblies of all the colonies, and the object of the congress was to consult on the grievances under which they laboured in consequence of the late enactments of the British parliament. They then chose their own delegates, and sent copies of their proceedings to all the other colonies.

On the day appointed, the congress met at New York, when it was ascertained that delegates from nine provinces were assembled. New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were not represented. The New Hampshire assembly approved of the object; but sent no deputies, although it signified its willingness to join in any measure which the representatives of the other colonies might deem necessary. The legislatures of the other three colonies were not in session between the times of the arrival of the Massachusetts circular and the meeting of the Congress, and could consequently choose no deputies. The principal measure was a declaration of the rights and grievances of the American colonies. The grievance chiefly complained of was the stamp act, which by taxing them without their consent, and by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, was declared to have a direct tendency to deprive them of their birthright of freedom. In accordance with these views, a petition to the king, and a memorial to each House of Parliament, were composed, and signed by the members of the convention, representing, in firm, yet loyal and respectful language, that they were animated not less by attachment to the person, family, and government of the king, than by zeal for the preservation of those principles of liberty which had been incorporated with the first establishment of all the American communities, that as the colonial settlements, on the one hand, had contributed to render Britain the most extensive and powerful kingdom in the world, so the colonists, on the other, esteemed a connexion with Britain their greatest happiness and security; and that while all British subjects are entitled to the privilege of being taxed only by their representatives, the remote situation of the colonies rendered it impracticable that they should be represented; except in their own subordinate legislatures.

In conclusion, they earnestly and humbly entreated the redress of their wrongs, and the restoration of their just rights and liberties. The congress dissolved itself on the 25th of October.

The ministers had supposed that time would allay the excitement, and reconcile the colonists to the stamp act. Subsequent events showed how greatly they had mistaken the character of the future freemen.

Before the meeting of Congress, on the morning of the 14th of August, there appeared hanging from the tree afterwards well known as the Liberty Tree, in Boston, the effigy of Andrew Oliver, brother of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, and the appointed distributor of stamps in Massachusetts.



Stamp Act Riot.

The news spread through the town, and at night, in presence of a vast mob, the effigy was taken down and burned; after which the multitude attacked and demolished the stamp office and the residence of Oliver, who saved himself from violence by a timely retreat. He caused it to be made known on the

next day, that he had resigned the office, when the mob immediately proceeded to vent its rage upon Hutchinson. Some of the popular leaders, who had not joined with the mob, now interfered and stopped the proceedings. The taste of the people for such matters was not so easily satiated, and immediately afterwards, the papers and documents of the court of admiralty were destroyed, and the house of Hallowell, the comptroller of the customs, and that of Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, were razed to the ground.

In the other colonies, the people were with difficulty restrained from outbreak, and the distributors of the stamps appointed by the king, were compelled to resign unconditionally to save themselves or their property from violence.

The day appointed for the distribution of the stamps was approaching, and part of the paper had arrived in America; but as the agents had all resigned, and dared not act, the provincial governors were obliged to take care of it.

In most of the provinces, the governors were prudent enough to lodge the stamps in places of security, or to have them removed on board ships of war. On the 5th of October the stamped paper arrived at Philadelphia, on which occasion the flags of all the shipping in the harbour were hoisted half-mast high, and all the bells of the city were muffled and tolled melancholy peals during the day.

The hopes and spirits of the colonists were raised by the tidings of the change of ministry which took place in England in the course of the summer, in consequence of a misunderstanding between them and the king respecting the terms of a regency bill. The Marquis of Rockingham, a zealous opposer of the stamp act, was placed at the head of the new administration; the office of secretary of state being filled by General Conway.

In almost all the provinces there existed about this time political clubs and associations, which assumed the name of the *Sons of Liberty*. These clubs formed treaties of union and correspondence with each other, and being irresponsible for their conduct, they so inflamed the minds of all the

members, that all violent operations were necessarily submitted to their hands, and they became so powerful and arbitrary in their commands to the Tories, as to make that party tremble at the mention of their name.

The 1st of November, the much-dreaded day for the distribution of the stamps, at length arrived. At Boston, the bells were mournfully tolled, the shops were closed, and effigies of the abettors of the act carried about the streets, and then torn to pieces. In New Hampshire, the people had behaved with great self-control heretofore; but they were now ready to imitate the violence of their compatriots in Boston. At Portsmouth, the bells were tolled to denote the decease of Liberty, and all the friends of the departed goddess were invited to attend her funeral, which was celebrated with much pomp and solemnity. A splendidly-decorated coffin was borne from the state-house, attended with music from unbraced drums; it was inscribed "LIBERTY, aged CXLV. years," her birth being dated at the time of the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, in 1620. Minute-guns were fired until the coffin was deposited in the grave prepared for its reception, when an oration was pronounced over the deceased friend of the people. The oration ended, it was thought by some that there were symptoms of life yet remaining in the body, which was then immediately disinterred. The inscription on the coffin-lid was changed to "LIBERTY REVIVED," the bells rung a merry peal, and every countenance brightened with joy. Such a pageant as this was well calculated to cherish and enlarge the desire for liberty in all classes of the people of New Hampshire.

The merchants of New York set the example of the non-importation of British goods, by directing their correspondents in England to ship no more goods to them until the repeal of the stamp act; and in Philadelphia, it was resolved in town-meeting, that till the repeal of that act, no lawyer should support the suit of an English creditor against an American debtor, nor any American make remittances to England in payment for debt. Instead of wearing British cloth, which

was formerly a mark of fashion and gentility, the wealthiest colonists now clothed themselves in homespun habiliments. The custom-house officers granted clearances to every vessel that sailed, notwithstanding the want of stamped paper. The news reached England in due time, where the inhabitants were soon divided as to the measures to be pursued in regard to American affairs. One party advised an immediate resort to arms, to force the stamp act on the colonies; the other was favourable to the repeal of the act. At the head of this latter party were the Prime Minister, Conway, William Pitt, and other distinguished statesmen. Dr. Franklin and the other American agents in London, ably seconded their views, and Franklin was called before the bar of the house to give his opinion of the condition of America, and the sentiments, opinions, and conduct of his countrymen. His demeanour and eloquence attracted universal attention and general praise. He pursued the middle line between his desire for the vindication of his countrymen's deeds and the protection of their interests, and the fear of giving offence to English pride and self-esteem. He performed his task so well as greatly to facilitate the passage of the bill for repealing the stamp act.

To the furtherance of this measure, the ministers first introduced what they called the *Declaratory Act*. It pronounced that the king and parliament had a right to make laws to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever. As soon as this bill was passed, that for the repeal of the stamp act was introduced. After violent and protracted debates, in which Pitt participated, although he was dangerously sick, the bill at length passed the House of Commons, by a vote of 275 to 167; and notwithstanding a still more violent opposition, and the entry of two protests, its friends succeeded in getting it through the House of Lords. After receiving the king's approval, it became a law, March 19th, 1766.

The passage of this bill was received with the liveliest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of London, where the church-bells were rung and the houses illuminated. In

America, where the people could not even hope for such an event, the intelligence produced a transport of surprise, exultation, and gratitude. Thanks were voted by the legislatures to Lord Camden, Pitt, and others, who had befriended the colonial interests.



Reception of news of the Repeal of the Stamp Act.

The resolutions which had been passed on the subject of importations were rescinded, and the trade with England was renewed with greater vigour than ever. The broadcloth dresses were brought forth from their hiding-places, and the homespun clothes were given to the poor. There was still, however, a great drawback to the happiness of the colonies, which, although overlooked in the first moments of gladness at the repeal act, soon recurred to the inhabitants.

The declaratory act mingled a spirit of bitterness with that joy, and made the repeal look more like a forced compromise than a friendly favour. Amidst general acclamations of pleasure, the note of jealousy and distrust was not unheard. The press, ever foremost in the struggle for liberty, warned the people incessantly, that though temporarily abandoned, the *right* of taxation was still asserted, and cautioned them to be prepared to meet more and similar acts to the one which the ministers had now repealed in consequence of the determined colonial opposition. Unhappily for Britain, these prophecies were but too soon verified. The ministerial instructions to the provincial governors, commanded them to

treat the colonists as spoiled children, just pardoned by the gracious mercy of the king and parliament, for one of the most unwarrantable acts of disobedience. They accordingly enlarged on the lenity, condescension, and tenderness of their masters; but to their great surprise, not one of the assemblies, although they were not wanting in their expressions of attachment to the king, could yet be brought to imply any promise of the same obedience to the commands of parliament.

On revoking the stamp act, the parliament voted an address to the king, requesting him to demand from the colonial assemblies, through the governors, indemnification for the losses sustained by certain individuals, during the recent riots. The Maryland legislature readily complied (1766), but the general court of Massachusetts evaded the requisition by complaining that the governor had expressed himself in stronger terms than his instructions warranted; but promised to consider the recommendation at a convenient season. This season appears to have been delayed until December, 1767, when indemnification was made by an Act, which, by granting "a free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion to all offenders in the late times," gave great offence in England, and was disallowed by the king and parliament, under pretext of the absence of the regal sanction. The legislatures of Maryland and New York were not more obsequious.

Not satisfied with their experience in legislating for the colonies, the ministers were so imprudent as to make some amendments in the mutiny act, relative to the maintenance of British soldiers in America, which required the colonies to furnish them with certain necessaries. The governor of New York, on the day after he had officially communicated the repeal of the stamp act to the assembly, sent a message requiring them to provide quarters for some troops which were marching to the city, and at the same time he informed them of the amendments to the mutiny act. They replied that they would provide for the troops as formerly; but this answer not proving satisfactory, the governor sent another message, and though the assembly refused compliance with

the demand, they were ultimately induced to yield to his wishes.

In July, 1766, the ministry was again changed, the Marquis of Rockingham being succeeded by the Duke of Grafton, under whom, William Pitt, now Lord Chatham, was keeper of the seal. In May, 1767, when Lord Chatham was absent from London, a bill was introduced into parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue from the colonies, by what they considered less objectionable means than the stamp act. In the opposition to the latter measure, distinctions had been universally made between external and internal taxation, or between raising money by duties on goods imported into America, and by a direct taxation, such as the stamp act would have required. The former method would have been submitted to by the colonists without murmuring, and the ministers availed themselves of this circumstance in the present measure.

But it was now too late. The colonists had greatly enlarged and confirmed their views of freedom, and any restrictions on commerce would now be received in nearly the same manner as the stamp act.

Townshend was now chancellor of the exchequer; and he proposed to the house an act for imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painter's colours, and tea, payable on the importation of those articles into the colony. The preamble declared "that it was expedient to raise a revenue in America, and to make a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice and the support of the civil government in the provinces, and for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing them."

This bill passed both houses, and receiving the royal assent became a law on the 29th of June. As a punishment for the refractory spirit evinced by the New York assembly in regard to the mutiny act, a bill was passed three days after the passage of the new tax bill, restraining that assembly from passing any act whatever, until they had complied with the

requisitions of the mutiny bill, for the maintenance of the king's troops. At the same time, a bill was introduced, declaring that for the better encouragement of commerce, and securing the rates and duties, and for the more speedy and effectual collection thereof, it would be necessary to establish a new board of American commissioners of customs, who were to reside in the colonies. These acts were all confirmed by the 1st of July.

In America, the New York assembly were awed into compliance. But a different effect was produced by these new attempts upon colonial liberty, in the other provinces. The colonists were now fully awakened to their danger; and the most minute investigations were made by some of the ablest heads in America, concerning the actual powers of the British parliament over the provinces. They perceived that the ministry still persisted in their attempts to raise money from them, and to dispose of it, independently of the colonial assemblies. They therefore asserted that this act was as unconstitutional as the one which had preceded it, and that by its passage it was made evident that Britain wished to crush their growing prosperity, and that it became incumbent upon the colonists to repel these encroachments in the outset; for the first oppressive act formed a precedent for a second, and that for a third, until they would be stripped of their wealth, and reduced to a state bordering on slavery. Such sentiments as these were well calculated to widen the breach now opened, and entirely to alienate the popular affections from the mother country.

In the great focus of liberty, Massachusetts, the indignation of the inhabitants at the new tax bill, and the daring encroachment upon the exercise of legislative duties by the New York assembly, was scarcely less than that felt at the stamp act. And as if tauntingly to add to their troubles, a body of British troops was brought into Boston, driven, it was falsely alleged, to take shelter there from inclement weather. The falsehood was at first suspected, and this suspicion was confirmed by the actions of the governor, and the insolent behaviour of the

troops. As the legislature was not in session at the time of their arrival, the governor undertook to provide for their maintenance, from the funds of the colony. At the meeting of that body, they remonstrated in their usual firm tone against the appropriation of the public money by the governor; and that dignitary, with his accustomed virulence, wrote a greatly exaggerated account of their proceedings to the English ministers. The house now again refused the fondly-cherished ministerial project of setting aside a certain fund, which was to insure some regular pay to the crown officers. A circular letter was also addressed to the other colonies, 1768, requesting their united aid in obtaining redress of the grievances which the new acts of parliament would bring upon them. The other colonies approved of the design, and joined in applying to the king for relief.

The Massachusetts letter was dated the 11th of February, and the governor immediately transmitted a copy of it to the ministry, who viewed it with no little alarm. United action on the part of the colonies was what they most feared; and on the 22d of April, the secretary for American affairs wrote a circular letter to the various provincial governors, to be laid by them before the assemblies. The letter condemned the Massachusetts letter as factious, tending to produce unwarrantable combinations in America, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution, and he therefore warned them to be watchful against that mischievous circular, and to treat it with contempt. The governor of Massachusetts was directed to require the assembly, in the king's name, to rescind the resolution on which the circular letter had been founded, and in the event of their refusal, to dissolve the assembly. They refused peremptorily, by a vote of 92 to 17, and the governor immediately pronounced their dissolution, June, 1768.

The ministerial letter received the same treatment elsewhere. The house of representatives of Maryland were particularly decided in the expression of their indignation at the imperious tone assumed by the ministers and parliament, and

in nearly all the remaining provinces, the recommendations of the letter were similarly disregarded. Pitt was beginning to lose that popularity which he had formerly possessed in America, as the inhabitants were of opinion that as he formed part of the ministry, these measures must at least have received his sanction. But, in justice to Lord Chatham's reputation, it should be said, that at the time when Townshend introduced these measures into parliament, and they were passed, he was detained by sickness from the house, and from attention to the duties of his office ; and that those whom he had raised to power disregarded his opinions.

Townshend died, September, 1767, ere he could learn the effects which his mistaken policy had produced in America. He was succeeded by Lord North, then a young nobleman ; and it was under his subsequent administration that the colonies achieved their independence. Lord Chatham soon after resigned all political connexions, and the privy seal was given to the Earl of Bristol.

The laws of trade had hitherto been generally eluded ; but the commissioners of customs resolved to carry them into effect with an unprecedented rigour. Their operations gave great offence and alarm to the inhabitants of Boston, when an act against one of the leaders of the republican party, fanned their resentment into a flame. Mr. Hancock, the gentleman alluded to, was a wealthy merchant of Boston, and the owner of the sloop *Liberty*. This vessel arrived laden with wines from Madeira ; when the tidewaiter, Thomas Kirk, went on board, and was followed by Captain Marshall, who was in Mr. Hancock's employ. He made several proposals to Mr. Kirk, all of which were refused. At length, all hopes of being allowed to land the cargo on the usual terms being lost, Marshall, with five or six others, seized Kirk and locked him in the cabin for three or four hours, during which time the greater part of the cargo was landed, without entry. Kirk was then released, after being threatened in case of discovery. The next morning, the master entered five or six pipes as the whole of his cargo. The commissioners declared the entry



John Hancock.

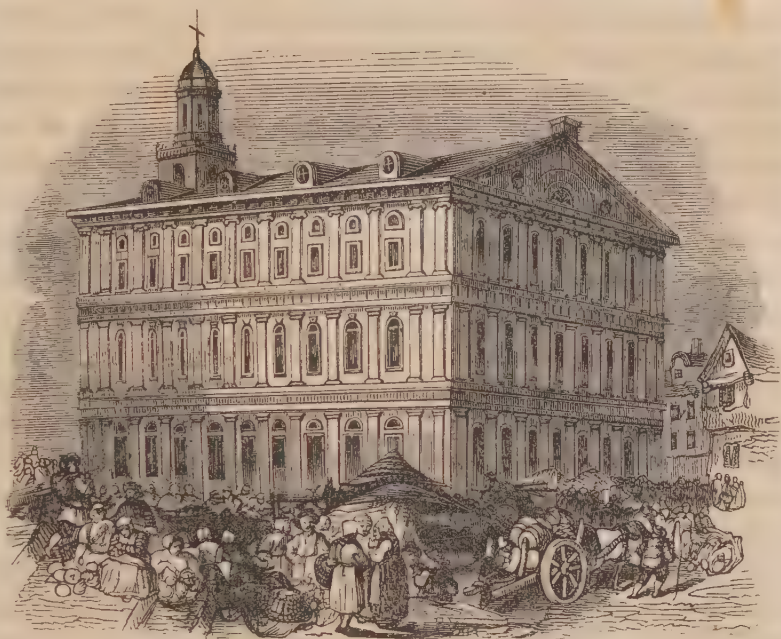
false, and resolved to seize the sloop. Apprehending that the vessel would not be safe at the wharf, the commissioners had her removed under the guns of the Romney man-of-war, then in the harbour.

A large crowd had assembled at the wharf to oppose the removal; but the commissioners persisted, and they were assaulted by the mob, and severely beaten. The next day, June 12th, the populace appeared before the houses of the

collector, comptroller, and inspector-general of the customs, broke their windows, and seizing the collector's boat, dragged it through the town, and then burned it on the common. The commissioners now fled for safety, first to a ship of war, and then to Castle William; the rioters being allowed to escape punishment. This riotous spirit was greatly increased by the impressment of some Boston seamen by the commander of the *Romney*.

The general court having been dissolved by Bernard, who refused to reassemble it again without a royal order, the inhabitants boldly formed a convention of delegates from the various towns, to deliberate on constitutional measures to obtain a redress of grievances. The convention petitioned the governor, made loyal professions, and after expressing its aversion to standing armies, tumults, disorders, and riots, it adjourned, recommending patience and good order to the people.

The ministry had ordered troops to the town, and on the day before the convention rose, information was received that a man-of-war, with nine hundred men in transports, had arrived at Nantasket harbour. The next day the fleet anchored. The troops were landed, and seven hundred men marched with muskets charged and fixed bayonets, and accompanied by martial music, into the common. In the evening, the selectmen were required to quarter the two regiments in the town; but they refused. A temporary shelter was permitted to one regiment, that was without its camp equipage, in Fanueil Hall. The governor ordered the state-house to be opened for their reception, the next day; and after the quarters were settled, two cannon, with a guard, were stationed in front. The merchants had used the lower floor as an exchange; but it was now filled with soldiers, as also the representatives' chamber, the court-house, and Fanueil Hall. The members of the council were obliged to pass between a guard of soldiers, to reach their hall. The inhabitants were continually challenged by the soldiers, who felt that their presence in the town was intended to overawe them.



Faneuil Hall.

On the 10th of November, part of the 64th and 65th regiments arrived from Cork, under Colonels Mackey and Pomeroy, and before the close of the year, the troops in Boston numbered nearly four thousand men.

The ministry still continued their rigorous measures, and the parliament fully seconded their views.

Non-importation agreements had now been entered into by nearly every colony in America ; and these measures, tending to injure the London merchants and manufacturers, only served still more to exasperate the ministry. Massachusetts was the object of their special indignation, as there the spirit of liberty first showed itself, and the first non-importation agreements were now made at Boston.

The two houses of parliament now joined in a petition to

the king, and after expressing their satisfaction in regard to his measures, they besought him "to direct the governor of Massachusetts Bay to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treason, committed within the government since the 30th day of December, 1767, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for inquiry of, hearing, and determining the said offences, within the realms of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the statute of the 35th year of the reign of Henry VIII. The last part of the address, which proposed bringing offenders from Massachusetts to be tried in England, gave great offence to the Americans, and alienated many whose attachment to royal prerogative had hitherto remained unshaken.

When the intelligence of these resolutions arrived in America, Massachusetts had no assembly. The assembly of Virginia, uniformly foremost in the field, took up the cause of their friends, and, alarmed at the general danger, passed several resolutions, which they directed their speaker to transmit without delay to the speakers of the various houses of assembly in the other provinces, whose concurrence was earnestly solicited. Immediately upon the passage of the resolutions, Lord Botetourt, the new governor, dissolved the assembly. An address to his majesty was previously voted, stating the belief of the assembly that the colonial complaints were well-founded.

After the dissolution, the members of the house met in a private capacity, and unanimously passed non-importation agreements. The assembly of South Carolina disobeyed the mutiny act, and passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia; Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina pursued the same course; and New York enacted similar resolutions before the close of the year. Committees were appointed to enforce compliance with the non-importation agreements, and the

offenders were held up to public obloquy, by having their names published in the papers throughout the country.

The Massachusetts general court convened May 31st, and immediately appointed a committee, who signified to the governor, that an armament investing Boston by sea and land, and a military guard with cannon mounted at the door of the state-house, where the representatives of the people assembled, were inconsistent with the dignity and freedom of their deliberations, and they expected his excellency, as the king's representative, to order both the naval and military force to be withdrawn during the session of the assembly.

The governor answered that he possessed no authority over the king's troops, and, on the refusal of the assembly to sit while surrounded with an armed force, he adjourned the session to the town of Cambridge. At this place they boldly remonstrated against all arbitrary measures, particularly the quartering of an armed force in their capital. They then passed a number of resolutions, tending to justify the calling of the convention to consult upon public safety. On the 6th of July, the governor sent them a message, with accounts of the expenditures already incurred for the support of the king's troops, desiring funds for the payment of the same, and provision for their future maintenance, and for quartering them in Boston and on Castle Island, according to act of parliament. On the 12th he called on them for their final decision in regard to his message of the 6th, and receiving for answer that their honour, their interest, and their duty to their constituents forbade them to grant any such provision, he prorogued them to meet at Boston on the 10th of January. While the court was in session, Bernard was knighted, and, on the 1st of August, he was recalled, never to return; although he held the office of governor for some time afterwards. Copies of a circular letter of Lord Hillsborough were now distributed throughout the colonies, expressing the ministerial wishes for the welfare of America, and their intention to move in parliament, for the removal of the duties on glass, paper, and colours.

This year witnessed the foundation of two colleges in America. One was established at Warren, Bristol county, Rhode Island, which in 1770, was removed to Providence. The other was erected in Hanover township, on the east side of the Connecticut river, and received the name of Dartmouth College, in honour of its patron, the Earl of Dartmouth. The original design of this institution was the instruction and conversion of the Indians, and its foundation was chiefly owing to the exertions of Dr. Wheelock, who, having succeeded in converting and instructing an Indian youth named Oocom, found him so apt a pupil that he continued his instructions until the child of the forest became an ordained Christian minister. The admiration which he obtained from all classes in New England, induced Wheelock to send him to England, where he preached to crowded congregations of the fashion and nobility with great success. The king declared himself the patron of the college, and contributions were received from all parts of the country. A company was formed with the Earl of Dartmouth at its head, and a grant of 44,000 acres of land was made for its support. The college was founded and still exists; but the design of instructing Indians was soon abandoned, owing to the unwillingness of the savages to become pupils, and their almost universal recurrence to their former wild and roving habits. As the Indian pupils decreased, the descendants of Europeans were admitted into the college.

The transit of Venus, which occurred in this year, excited universal attention throughout Europe and America; it was observed by Winthrop at Harvard College, and by Rittenhouse and his associates in Pennsylvania; and the European observers were surprised at the degree of mathematical learning and enterprise which the great success of the colonial observations indicated.

Meanwhile the repeal of part of the tax bill failed to produce the effect which the ministers had anticipated. The inhabitants of Massachusetts were decided in rejecting a proposition which, in conjunction with the still unrepealed

declaratory act, asserted the parliamentary right to tax them without their consent ; but in the southern states, where the non-importation agreements were deeply felt, the people resolved to commence a trade with England, excepting the importation of those articles still open to taxation.

All the colonies would have assumed a less agitated appearance, however, had it not been for other circumstances which tended to keep alive their resentment. The quartering of the troops in Boston was one of the most aggravating ; and mutual insults and injuries paved the way for a tragical occurrence, which greatly exasperated the Americans, and removed the hopes of a reconciliation to a greater distance than ever. Frequent quarrels had arisen between the inhabitants and soldiers in Boston ; but the public peace was preserved until the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, when the inhabitants were observed to assemble in all parts of the town, and parties of soldiers were also moving about the street, as if both parties had something more than ordinary on their minds. About eight o'clock, one of the bells was rung, as was the custom in case of fire ; this called the people into the streets, and a large number assembled in King street, armed with clubs. A small affray occurred near the barracks, at the west end of the town ; but it was soon over. A sentinel at the custom-house, near the main guard, was next insulted and pelted with snow-balls and pieces of ice, which caused him to load his gun ; and the attack still continuing, he called to the main guard to protect him. Captain Preston's company was then on guard ; and he sent a sergeant with six men to protect the sentinel, and fearing mischief, followed himself. The guard drew still more persons together, and they were treated with as little respect as the sentry, receiving frequent blows from snow-balls and pieces of ice. Preston then ordered them to charge ; but this was no discouragement to the mob, who still continued their assaults, daring them to fire. Some of the people behind the soldiers called to them to do so, and one man at length received a blow from a club, which brought him to the ground. On rising, he immediately fired, and so

did all the rest except one; but the firing was not repeated. Three men were killed, and several others severely wounded; one of whom afterwards died. The soldiers withdrew to the main guard, which was strengthened with several more companies. The lieutenant-governor was informed of the affair by some of the inhabitants, and repaired to King street, where he summoned Captain Preston and began to question him about the occurrence; but they were forced to go to the council-chamber by the tumult of the people. The next morning he summoned a council, and while the subject was in discussion, a message was received from the town, which was convened in full assembly, declaring it to be their unanimous opinion "that nothing can rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town and prevent blood and carnage, but the immediate removal of the troops." On an agreement to this measure, the commotion subsided. The four persons killed were buried in one vault, with the highest marks of respect, the corpses being followed to the tomb by a vast multitude of people, arranged six abreast; the procession being closed by a long train of carriages belonging to the citizens.

Captain Preston and the soldiers were all committed to jail and afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted, and two brought in guilty of manslaughter; a result which reflected great honour on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for the prisoners, and on the jury.

The news of the discontinuance of the American duties reached Boston while the minds of the people were much irritated by the death of their townsmen who had fallen in the riot; but in the inflamed state of the public mind, the intelligence had little effect in soothing their angry passions, or cherishing a spirit of conciliation. The exasperated and firm resolution to resist all parliamentary taxation which prevailed in Massachusetts, did not exist in the same degree in the other colonies; and, therefore, in them the repeal of the duties had considerable influence on the public mind. In all the provinces, much inconvenience had been felt in consequence of

the non-importation associations, and many of the people were glad to be released from them. Accordingly, they now held these associations no longer binding, except in regard to tea : some indeed wished to interpret them more rigorously, and to consider them obligatory till the tax on every article was abrogated. But the general sense of the colonists was that they ceased in regard to every article from which the tax was removed, and that they now operated against tea only. Hence, during the remainder of this year, and the commencement of the next, the commerce with Great Britain was in a flourishing condition.

In the southern and middle colonies, although the people were not entirely satisfied with parliament, yet, for the sake of peace, they were generally inclined to acquiesce in what it had done. The same spirit did not prevail in the north, however, where an oppressive board of commissioners of customs, and revenue officers on king's ships, harassed and checked their commerce. Driven almost to desperation, the colonists of Rhode Island made a daring resistance. Lieutenant Doddington, commander of the armed schooner *Gaspee*, was remarkably active in executing the laws against smuggling, and in searching for contraband goods. By this conduct, and by compelling the packets to lower their colours in passing him, he had become the object of much ill-will. In the case of their refusal thus to make submission to him, he chastised them by chasing them into their dock. A packet, coming up to Providence with passengers, and not lowering her colours, was fired at by the lieutenant of the *Gaspee*, and chased. It being about high water, the packet stood in as closely as possible with the land, designing that the *Gaspee* should be run aground in the chase. The artifice succeeded. The *Gaspee* was soon fast; and the packet proceeded to Providence, where a plan was laid to destroy the obnoxious vessel. Captain Whipple was immediately employed to beat up for volunteers; several whaleboats were procured and filled with armed men; and about two o'clock the next morning they boarded the schooner, as she lay aground. The

lieutenant, with his crew, and whatever was most valuable to him, was put on shore; the Gaspee, with her stores, was burnt.

A reward of £500, together with a pardon, should an accomplice be the informant, were offered by proclamation for the discovery and apprehension of any persons concerned in this affair. Commissioners were appointed to try the cause; but no person appeared to claim the offered reward, and they were constrained to transmit accounts to the ministry that they could obtain no evidence; and thus the affair terminated.

The ministers now revived the old struggles in the colonies, against the right of the governor to be supported by the crown. A bill for this purpose passed parliament, and in July, 1772, the Massachusetts legislature passed resolutions expressing great dissatisfaction with the new regulations. They declared the measure to be an "infraction of their charter." The governor endeavoured in an elaborate message to invalidate the reasoning, by which the house had arrived at this conclusion.

The Boston people now assembled in town-meeting, November 2d, when on motion of Mr. Samuel Adams, a committee consisting of twenty-one, was appointed to "state the rights of the colonies, and of this Province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects: to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this Province and to the World, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made." The sentiments of all the other towns were desired.

The committee, on the 19th of November, made a report, in which, after a statement of rights, they pointed out the infringements and violation of them by the parliamentary assumption of the right of legislating for the colonies in all cases whatever; by the appointment of a number of new officers to superintend the revenues; and by granting salaries out of the American revenue to the governor, judges of the superior court, the king's attorney and solicitor-general. This

report was accepted, and six hundred copies printed for distribution. Most of the towns concurred in the Boston Report and Address.

Active resistance to the measures of the British government in relation to America, had now for some time been principally confined to Massachusetts. The other provinces, however, had not been idle or indifferent spectators of the scenes that had passed in that colony. Early in March, 1773, the Virginia house of burgesses resolved to maintain an intercourse with the sister colonies. For this purpose they appointed eleven persons to be a committee for correspondence with the different colonial legislatures. They requested a similar action on the part of the other legislatures, and on their compliance, a confidential communication and interchange of opinions was opened.

The British government, determined to carry into execution the duty on tea, attempted to effect by policy, what was found to be impracticable by constraint. The measures of the colonists had already produced such diminution of exports from Great Britain, that the warehouses of the East India Company contained about seventeen million pounds of tea, for which a market could not readily be procured. The unwillingness of the company to lose their commercial profits, and of the ministry to lose the revenue from the sale of the tea in America, led to a compromise for the security of both. The East India Company were authorized to export their tea, duty free, to any place whatever; by which regulation, tea would come cheaper to the American consumer than before it had been made a source of revenue. It was now to be seen whether the colonists would practically support their own principles, and meet the consequences, or submit to taxation. The colonies were united as one man. The new ministerial plan was universally considered as a direct attack on the liberties of the people, which it was the duty of all to oppose. It was generally declared that whoever should countenance this dangerous invasion of their rights, was an enemy to his country. The East India Company, confident of finding a market at the

reduced price, freighted several ships to the colonies with tea, and appointed agents for the disposal of it. Cargoes were sent to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Boston. The inhabitants of the cities of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, "and they sailed up the Thames to proclaim to all the nation, that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved."* The inhabitants of Charleston unloaded the tea and stored it in damp cellars, where it could not be used, and where it finally was all spoiled. The inhabitants of Boston tried every measure to send back the three tea ships which had arrived there, but without success. The agents of the company would not release the captains from their obligations; the custom-house officers refused them clearances, and the governor would not allow them to pass Castle William.

The vessels containing the tea lay for some days in the harbour, watched by a strong guard of citizens, who, from a numerous town-meeting, despatched the most peremptory commands to the shipmasters, not to land their cargoes. At length, the popular rage could be restrained no longer, and the consignees, apprehending violence, took refuge in Castle William, while, on the 16th of December, an assemblage of men, dressed and painted like Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, and threw the tea into the dock. In the space of about two hours, the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, valued at £18,000 sterling, were thus destroyed.

About this time, Dr. Franklin, the American agent in England, came into possession of certain letters written by Governor Hutchinson, from Massachusetts to England, in which he had made many calumnious statements regarding the colonists. Franklin obtained leave to send them to New England, to be disclosed to a few of the leading politicians there; but they were made public, and read to the general court, who petitioned the king immediately for the removal of Hutchinson, and the lieutenant-governor, Oliver, for ever from the government of the province.

* J. Adams.



Destruction of the Tea in Boston harbour.

Intelligence of the Boston proceedings with regard to the tea, reached Britain while parliament was sitting, and was communicated to both houses by messages from the crown. The ministers had long watched for an opportunity of crushing Boston, and now they thought that the time had come. The leading part taken by that town, brought down upon its inhabitants the whole weight of parliamentary displeasure. A bill was passed through, which received the royal assent on the 31st of March, 1774, prohibiting the lading or unlading of any goods or merchandise, excepting stores for his majesty's service, and provisions and fuel for the use of the inhabitants, at any place within the port of Boston, after the 1st day of June, until the king was satisfied that good order and obedience to the laws were restored, and until the East India Company and others should be indemnified for the loss they had sustained in the riots. Then, and not till then, might the king, by proclamation, open the harbour of Boston. In order to enforce obedience to the

enactments of this bill, four ships of war were ordered to sail for the proscribed town. General Gage, commander-in-chief in America, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts Bay, in the room of Mr. Hutchinson; and he was authorized to remit forfeitures and grant pardons.

The British ministry, however, were not satisfied with cutting off all the commerce of the inhabitants of Boston; they resolved not only to punish them for past offences, but to prevent future misconduct. A bill was passed in parliament, by which the constitution and charter of the province were completely subverted, all power taken out of the hands of the people, and placed in those of the servants of the crown. Another act was added to these two, for the "impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts." By its provision, persons informed against or indicted for any act done for the support of the laws of the revenue, or for the suppression of riots in Massachusetts, might, by the governor, with the advice of council, be sent for trial to any other colony, or to Great Britain; an enactment which conferred impunity upon the crown officers, however they might violate the law.

Meanwhile the people of Boston had been occupied with the dispute concerning salaries; but on the 10th of May, intelligence of the Port Bill reached the town. Such a rigorous measure was totally unexpected, and excited the liveliest indignation against its authors. The three acts were passed in such quick succession as to produce the most inflammatory effects in America, where they were considered as forming a complete system of tyranny.

"By the first," said the colonists, "the property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away, for the act of a few individuals; by the second, our chartered liberties are annihilated; and by the third, our lives may be destroyed with impunity."

On the 13th of May, General Gage arrived at Boston, and seemed apprehensive of an ungracious reception; but the people, notwithstanding their exasperation at the Port Bill, behaved with decency and suitable respect.



Patrick Henry.

The Port Bill arriving in different parts of the colonies excited universal indignation. In Philadelphia and other places, collections were taken up in aid of the sufferers in Boston. This example was everywhere soon followed; and the great distress occasioned by the bill was speedily relieved.

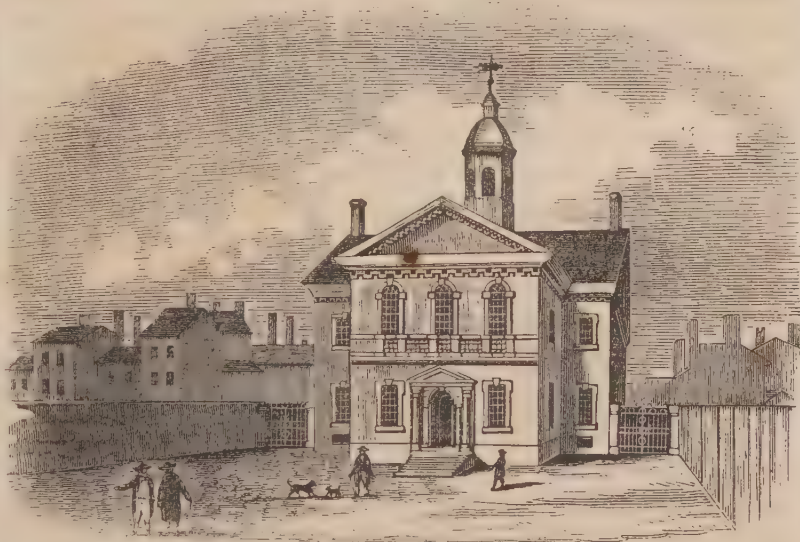
The Virginia assembly, moved by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, espoused the cause of Massachusetts, and resolved to observe the first day of the operation of the bill as a fast; for which act, Governor Dunmore, who had succeeded Lord Botetourt as governor, dissolved them. Previous to their

separation, however, they proposed a general congress to deliberate on those measures which the common interest of America might require.

On the 1st of June, the day designated by the Port Bill, business was suspended in Boston at noon, and the harbour shut against all vessels. At some places in Virginia, it was kept as a day of fasting and humiliation; in Philadelphia, the deepest distress appeared to pervade the city, and in other places it was observed as a day of mourning. The people of Salem manifested a patriotic and disinterested spirit on this occasion, by nobly rejecting any advantages which might now accrue to them by the distress of their commercial rival. The people of the sea-port towns of Massachusetts generally offered to the Bostonians the use of their wharves and warehouses for carrying on their trade.

According to custom, the assembly met soon after the arrival of the governor in Massachusetts, who, in his set speech, at the opening of the session, informed the members that they were to remove, on the first of June, to Salem, which from that time was to be the seat of government. The assembly petitioned the governor to appoint a day of fasting and prayer; he refused, and soon after adjourned the meeting to the 7th of June, then to be convened at Salem. Before that time, the people of Massachusetts had received assurances of sympathy and aid from nearly all the other colonies. Emboldened by such support, they determined to act with unabated vigour; and when they met at Salem on the appointed day, they resolved on a general congress, to meet on the 1st of September, at Philadelphia; nominated five of their members to attend it; voted the sum of £500 for defraying their expenses; and recommended to the several towns and districts of the province to raise this sum, according to their proportion of the last provincial tax; which requisition was readily complied with. On being informed of these proceedings, the governor dissolved the assembly.

The cause of the people of Boston gained ground everywhere, and at length, the Boston committee of correspondence,



Carpenter's Hall.

satisfied that they enjoyed the good opinion and confidence of the public, ventured to frame and publish an agreement, entitled a *Solemn League and Covenant*. This was couched in such very strong terms, that it met with but little favour, and soon sunk into oblivion. It was succeeded by a compact of a less exceptionable nature, which was efficacious in preventing commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

The necessity of a general congress was soon universally perceived, and the measure was gradually adopted by every colony, from New Hampshire to South Carolina. On the 4th of September, delegates from eleven colonies appeared at Philadelphia; and, the next day, the first continental congress was organized at Carpenter's Hall, in Carpenter's Court. On the 14th, members from North Carolina arrived, making twelve colonies that were represented. It was resolved that

each colony should have one vote, whatever might be the number of its representatives. They made a declaration of rights; resolved on an address to the king; a memorial to the people of British America; and an address to the people of Great Britain. These papers had a great effect both in America and England. They inspired the people with confidence in their delegates; and their decency, firmness, and wisdom, caused a universal feeling of respect for the congress, which extended even to England. Lord Chatham, speaking of them in the House of Lords, said, that "for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such complication of circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia."

The appearance of things in Massachusetts was far from being auspicious. Soon after General Gage's arrival, two regiments of foot, with a small detachment of artillery, and some cannon, landed at Boston, and encamped on the common; and they were gradually reinforced by several regiments from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec. General Gage excited the jealousy of the townsmen by employing some of the troops in repairing and manning the fortifications on Boston Neck. He stationed a guard there, with a view to prevent the desertion of the soldiers; a measure which the people understood as intended to cut off communication between the town and the country. On the 1st of September, General Gage sent two companies to Charlestown arsenal, and removed the powder which had been deposited there, amounting to two hundred and fifty or three hundred barrels. The powder in the magazine of Boston was also withheld from the legal authorities. These obnoxious measures rendering consultation necessary, delegates assembled for the purpose, from the neighbouring towns. This assembly passed a series of resolutions, containing a detail of the particulars of their intended opposition to the late acts of parliament, and ended with declaring "*that no obedience is due from the province to either or any part of the said acts; but that they should*

be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America."

These resolutions, which in boldness exceeded any that had been hitherto adopted, were immediately forwarded to the continental congress, which body explicitly sanctioned them. An agreement was also entered into to abstain from all importations from Great Britain and Ireland, after the 1st of December; and also not to export to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, any commodities whatever, except rice.

In Massachusetts, peace and reconciliation seemed to be daily further removed. Gage had issued writs for the assembling of a convention at Salem, on the 5th of October; but alarmed by the symptoms of increased discontent, he judged it expedient to countermand the writs, by a proclamation, suspending the meeting. This proclamation was declared illegal; and ninety representatives assembling, and neither the governor nor his substitute attending, they formed themselves into a provincial congress and adjourned to Concord. Here they appointed a committee to request General Gage to desist from fortifying the entrance into Boston, and to restore that place to its neutral state, as before. The governor expressed the warmest displeasure at the supposition of danger from English troops, to any but enemies of England, and warned the congress to desist from their illegal proceedings. The provincial congress then adjourned to Cambridge, where they appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the immediate defence of the province; gave orders for the enlistment of a number of the inhabitants to be in readiness, *at a minute's warning*,* to appear in arms; elected three general officers, Preble, Ward, and Pomeroy, to command these minute-men; and adjourned to the 23d of November. On their second assembling, they passed an ordinance for the equipment of twelve thousand men, to act on any emergency, and the enlistment of one-fourth part of the militia as minute-men, and appointed two more officers, Prescott and Heath. They also secured the co-

* The militia organized in this manner, received the appellation of *minute-men*.

operation of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, in raising an army of twenty thousand men.

Towards the close of the year, a proclamation from the king reached America, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain. The inhabitants of Rhode Island no sooner received notice of this occurrence, than they removed from the public battery about forty pieces of cannon; and the assembly of the province gave orders for procuring arms and military stores, and for the immediate equipment of a military force.

In December, 1774, John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with the aid of two or three other influential citizens, raised a troop of four hundred men, and suddenly and secretly leading them to Fort William and Mary, on Great Island, surprised and disarmed the garrison, and carried away the arms and ammunition to a place of safety. This bold act was accomplished while a British man-of-war was lying in the harbour; and the hundred barrels of gunpowder taken on the occasion were subsequently used with effect in the battle of Breed's Hill. Langdon was threatened with prosecution for heading the attack on the fort; but the royal governor, Wentworth, was deterred from acting, by the resolution of the people of New Hampshire to protect the spirited patriot at all hazards.

The new parliament met on the 30th of November, 1774, and were addressed by the king, who referred in strong terms to the rebellious conduct of the people in Massachusetts and the other colonies. Addresses, echoing the royal sentiments, were made by both houses, though not without much opposition. During the Christmas holidays, intelligence of the proceedings of the American Congress reached Great Britain. Opportunely, Lord Chatham, after a long retirement, now took his seat in the House of Lords, to combat for the interests of America. He offered a resolution that Gage should be ordered to remove the troops from Boston; it was, however, lost. Massachusetts was soon after declared to be in a state of rebellion; and a bill for the restriction of the colonial com-

merce and fisheries, was also passed by parliament. The ministerial agents began to hold conferences with Franklin in regard to some means of reconciliation; but these ended in nothing.

In February, Mr. Burke introduced a conciliatory plan for the government of the colonies, proposing to repeal all the offensive acts; but it was objected to and voted down. Mr. Hartley then introduced a bill, calculated to remove some of the objections to Mr. Burke's measure; but this too was rejected, and a deceptive plan proposed by the premier, was adopted.

That portion of the revolution which could be accomplished in the council-halls, may here be considered to have been brought to a close. The colonists had taken their position. They had repeatedly declared their grievances. They had peaceably petitioned for redress, and had met new acts of aggression by unavailing remonstrance. The purpose of resistance had acquired consistency and firmness; and only awaited the resort of tyranny to physical force in order to display its strength. The occasion was soon to arrive, when the pen was to be laid aside, and the sword unsheathed.





The Minute-Man.

CHAPTER XXIX.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.



THE purpose of the colonists, in the approaching struggle with the mother country, appears to have been to place their powerful adversary in the wrong, throwing upon her the responsibility of the first appeal to arms. In this purpose they were completely successful. The first blood was shed by the act of the British.

A considerable quantity of military stores having been deposited at Concord, an inland town, about eighteen miles from Boston, General Gage resolved to destroy them. For the execution of this design, he, on the night preceding the 19th of April, detached Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with eight hundred grenadiers and light-infantry,

who, at eleven o'clock, embarked in boats at the bottom of Boston Common, crossed Charles river, and having landed at Phipp's farm, in Cambridge, commenced a silent and expeditious march for Concord. Although several British officers, who dined at Cambridge the preceding day, had taken the precaution to disperse themselves along the road leading to Concord, to intercept any expresses that might be sent from Boston to alarm the country, yet some messengers, who had been sent from town for that purpose by Dr. Warren, who had happily received timely notice of the expedition, eluded the British patrols, and gave the alarm, which was rapidly spread by church-bells, signal-guns, and volleys. On the arrival of the British troops at Lexington, six miles below Concord, they found about seventy men, belonging to the minute-company of that town, on the parade, under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloping up to them, called out, "Disperse, disperse, you rebels! throw down your arms, and disperse!" The sturdy yeomanry not instantly obeying his order, he advanced nearer, fired his pistol, flourished his sword, and ordered his soldiers to fire. The troops cheered, and immediately fired; several of the provincials fell, and the rest dispersed. The British continuing to discharge their muskets after the dispersion, a part of the fugitives stopped, and returned the fire. Eight Americans were killed, three or four of them by the first discharge of the British, the rest after they had left the parade. Several were also wounded.

The British detachment now pressed forward to Concord. Here the inhabitants, having received the alarm, drew up in order for defence; but, observing the number of the regulars to be too great for them to encounter, they retired over the north bridge, at some distance from the town, and waited for reinforcements. A party of British light-infantry followed them, and took possession of the bridge, while the main body entered the town, and proceeded to execute their commission. They spiked two twenty-four pounders, threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and wells, and broke in pieces sixty barrels of flour. Meanwhile, the provincial militia were



Affair at Lexington

reinforced, and Major Buttrick of Concord assuming the command, they advanced towards the bridge. Not being aware of the transaction at Lexington, and anxious that the British should be the aggressors, he ordered his followers to refrain from giving the first fire. As he advanced, the light-infantry retired to the Concord side of the river, and commenced pulling up the bridge; and on his nearer approach, they fired, and killed a captain and one of the privates. The provincials returned the fire; a severe contest ensued, and the regulars were forced to give ground with some loss. They were soon joined by the main body, and the whole detachment retreated with precipitancy. All the inhabitants of the adjoining country were by this time in arms; and they attacked the retreating troops in every direction; some pressing on their rear, and others forming flanking parties. Stone-walls and other coverts served the provincial soldiers for lines and redoubts, whilst their superior knowledge of the



Provincials harassing the British on their retreat from Concord.

country enabled them to head off the British troops at every turn of the road. Thus harassed, they reached Lexington, where they were joined by Lord Percy, who, most opportunely for them, had arrived with nine hundred men, and two pieces of cannon. The enemy, now amounting to about eighteen hundred men, having halted an hour or two at Lexington, recommenced their march; but the attack from the provincials was simultaneously renewed, and an irregular yet very galling fire was kept up on each flank, as well as on the front and rear. The close firing, by good marksmen, from behind their accidental coverts, threw the British into great confusion; but they kept up a retreating fire on the militia and minute-men. A little after sunset, the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, where, exhausted with excessive fatigue, they remained during the night, under the protection of the Somerset man-of-war, and the next morning went into Boston. If the Salem and Marblehead regiments had arrived in season to cut off their retreat, in all probability, but few of the detachment would ever have reached Boston. Of the Americans engaged throughout the day, fifty were killed and thirty-four

wounded. The British loss was sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners. To their wounded prisoners the Americans behaved with the utmost tenderness and humanity, and apprised Gage that he was at liberty to send the surgeons of his own army to minister to them.

The affair of Lexington was the signal for war. The provincial congress of Massachusetts met the next day after the battle, and determined the number of men to be raised; fixed on the payment of the troops; voted an issue of paper-money; drew up rules and regulations for an army; and all was done in a business-like manner.

The tidings reached Connecticut, where the young men, burning with rage, flew to arms, and desired to be conducted to the service of Massachusetts; while the aged parents, sharing the zeal of their sons, charged them to *behave like men, or never return*. Israel Putnam, a veteran officer, received the intelligence as he was ploughing the fields he had before defended. Those who served under him, often said, that "Putnam dared to lead, where any dared to follow." He instantly unyoked his team, and marched at the head of a numerous body of his countrymen to the neighbourhood of Boston. Here was already assembled a force of twenty thousand men, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to the river Mystic, and kept the British troops blocked up within the peninsula of Boston.

Similar preparations began to be made in other states. Forts, magazines, and arsenals, were universally secured by the provincial militia. At New York, the doubtful Tory ascendancy was completely swept away by the current of patriotism occasioned by the battle of Lexington; and the public voice of the colony declared its determination to join in the quarrel.

Some of the boldest inhabitants of Connecticut conceived the design of capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, two fortresses, which, in the event of a final struggle, would prove of the utmost importance to the Americans. Forty volunteers

accordingly proceeded from Connecticut to Bennington, in the New Hampshire Grants, where they had proposed to meet Colonel Ethan Allen, whom they intended to engage in their enterprise, with the soldiers which he commanded. He soon joined them, with two hundred and thirty men, at Castleton, and readily entered into their design. Here they were all unexpectedly joined by Colonel Benedict Arnold, who meditated a similar project. He was admitted to act as auxiliary to Allen, who held the chief command. They proceeded on their expedition, and arrived on the night of the 9th of May, on the shore of Lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold crossed with eighty-three men, and the two colonels entered the fort abreast, at break of day. All the garrison were asleep, except one sentinel, whose piece missing fire, he attempted to escape into the fort; but the Americans rushed after him, and forming themselves into a hollow square, gave three loud huzzas, which instantly aroused the garrison. Some skirmishing with swords and bayonets ensued. De la Place, the commander, was required to surrender the fort. "By what authority?" he asked, with no unnatural surprise. "I demand it," replied Allen, "in the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress!" This extraordinary summons was instantly obeyed; and the fort, with its valuable stores, and forty-nine prisoners, was surrendered without delay.

Colonel Seth Warner was then despatched to Crown Point, and he easily succeeded in gaining possession of this place, in which a serjeant and twelve privates formed the whole of the garrison. A British sloop-of-war, lying off St. Johns, at the northern end of Lake Champlain, was captured by Arnold, who commenced in this manner, a brief but brilliant career, too soon clouded by private vice, vanity, and prodigality, and finally tarnished by public treachery and dishonour.

Thus the Americans, without the loss of a single man, acquired, by a bold and decisive stroke, two important posts, a great quantity of artillery and ammunition, and the command of Lake George and Lake Champlain.

Towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement arrived at Boston, from England, under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, who had gained great reputation in the preceding war. General Gage, thus strengthened, prepared to act with more decision. He issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, (*who, he alleged, deserved condign punishment*;) and declaring martial law in Massachusetts. This proclamation only served to embolden and unite those whom it was intended to intimidate.

The movements of the British army excited an apprehension that General Gage intended to penetrate into the country. It was therefore recommended by the provincial congress to the council of war, to take measures for the defence of Dorchester Neck, and to occupy Bunker's Hill. The hill, which is high and commanding, stands just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown. Orders were accordingly issued, on the 16th of June, for a detachment of one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, to take possession of that eminence; but, by some mistake, Breed's Hill was made the scene of the projected entrenchment. About nine in the evening, the detachment moved from Cambridge, and silently traversing Charlestown Neck, ascended Breed's Hill, and gained the summit unobserved. This eminence is situated at the extremity of the peninsula nearest to Boston, and is so elevated as to overlook every part of that town, and so near it as to be within reach of cannon-shot. The American troops, who were provided with entrenching tools, immediately commenced their work, and pursued it with such diligence, that before the morning arrived, they had thrown up a redoubt of considerable dimensions. This was done in such deep silence, that, although the peninsula was nearly surrounded by British ships of war and transports, their operations were only first disclosed to the enemy by the return of daylight.

The alarm was given at Boston, at break of day, by a cannonade which the Lively sloop-of-war promptly directed against the provincial works. A battery of six guns was





Battle of Breed's Hill.

soon after opened upon them from Copp's Hill, at the north end of Boston. Early in the morning, one man was killed from this battery, and instantly buried on the spot ; but this occasioned no interruption of the operations on Breed's Hill.

Under a continual shower of shot and shells, the Americans firmly and indefatigably persevered in their labour, until they had thrown up a small breastwork, four feet high, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, toward the river Mystic. The line from this breastwork was made of two post-and-rail fences, placed about four feet apart, in parallel lines, and the space between them was filled with newly-mown grass, making quite as good a screen for the militia as the redoubt or breastwork.

General Gage, wishing to drive the Americans from the hill, detached Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot, at noon, with ten companies of grenadiers, ten of light-infantry, and some artillery, to perform this service. They landed at Morton's Point, and immediately formed ; but Howe determined to wait for reinforcements. These arrived towards three o'clock, when the British moved to the attack, three thousand strong. They marched slowly up the hill in two lines. The artillery was used occasionally, as they advanced, but did little execution.

Meantime the Americans had been reinforced by a body of their countrymen under Warren and Pomeroy. While the troops were advancing, orders were given by the British to set fire to Charlestown ; and in a very short time the town was wrapped in flames. This spectacle added grandeur to the scene, that was now unfolding to the eyes of a countless multitude of spectators, who, thronging all the heights of Boston and its neighbourhood, awaited with eagerness the coming battle.

The Americans permitted the enemy to approach unmolested, within a hundred yards of their works, and then poured in upon them such a deadly fire of small-arms, that the British commanders, who had expected nothing more than a few random shots from militia, soon found their line broken, and

the soldiers falling back precipitately to the landing-place. By the vigorous exertions of the officers, they were again formed and brought to the attack, though with apparent reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy were within five or six rods, when they gave it with deadly precision, and put them a second time to flight. General Clinton now arrived from Boston, and aided Howe in persuading the troops to march a third time to the attack.

But by this time the powder of the Americans began to fail, and their fire slackened. The British brought some of their cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end; the fire from the ships, batteries, and field-artillery, was redoubled; and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The Americans, though a retreat was ordered, delayed, and made an obstinate resistance with the butts of their guns, until the assailants, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt. Major Pitcairn was shot through the body, as, with General Pigot, he attempted to charge into the redoubt. Meanwhile the breastwork had been bravely defended against the light-infantry, who were mowed down in ranks by the close fire of the Americans; but the redoubt being lost, the breastwork was necessarily abandoned. The troops had now to make their way over Charlestown Neck, which was completely raked by the Glasgow man-of-war and two floating batteries; but by the skill and address of the officers, and especially of General Putnam, who commanded the rear, the retreat was effected with little loss. General Warren was in the battle, fighting like a common soldier, with his musket, in the redoubt, and while the troops were retreating from thence, he was shot on the right side of the back of the head.

The New Hampshire troops, under Stark, Dearborn, and others, were in the battle, near the rail-fence. They were marching from their native state towards Cambridge, and came upon the battle-ground by their own impulses, having received no orders from the commander-in-chief. The British



General Joseph Warren.

had over three thousand in the fight, the Americans fifteen hundred. The English acknowledged a loss of one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded, with a great proportion of officers; the number was, however, larger; for they brought between three and four hundred of the slain, and buried them on Boston Common. A British serjeant stated to one of the selectmen of Boston, that the returned number of killed and wounded was thirteen hundred and twenty-eight. The American loss, previous to the taking of the redoubt, was trifling; but owing to their imprudence in not retreating when ordered, the number was increased. They lost in killed one hundred and thirty-nine, and three hundred and fourteen wounded and missing.

Warren assumed no command on that day. He had been

commissioned as a major-general by the provincial congress, but four days previous to the battle, in which he acted as a volunteer. Holding the office of president of that congress, and chairman of the committee of safety, he had temporarily resigned the chair, and mounted his horse at Watertown, where the legislature was in session, and hastened to the scene of action, to encourage his fellow-citizens in the fight. He was the martyr of that day's glory. The British thought his life of so much importance to the cause, that they believed the Americans would no longer hold together after his death. The events which followed proved to them, as the day of the battle proved to the ministers, that they were deceived. The ministry now found that there was no truth in the predictions of the many who had before declared so confidently that *the Americans would not fight*.

A second congress was now clearly necessary. Before the battle of Lexington, delegates had been appointed by all the colonies, and it assembled at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, when Peyton Randolph was again chosen president. Hancock laid before them depositions proving that the king's troops were the aggressors in the battle of Lexington, together with the proceedings of the provincial assembly of Massachusetts on that occasion.

The crisis had now arrived which required the other colonies to determine whether they would maintain the cause of New England in actual war, or abandon that liberty for which they had so long contended, and submit to parliament. The congress immediately resolved that the colonies should be put in a state of defence. They then voted addresses to the king, to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the assembly of Jamaica. These several papers were written in a masterly style, full of the eloquence so necessary to conciliate good will to the common cause. Congress next resolved that twenty thousand men should immediately be equipped; chose GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Virginia, a member of the Congress, to be commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and all the forces now raised or to be raised

by them; they organized all the higher departments of the army; and emitted bills of credit, for the payment of which the TWELVE UNITED COLONIES were pledged.

The next measure of Congress was a resolution advising Massachusetts, during the royal suspension of its former political organization, to make provision for the exercise of legislative powers. Resolutions were also passed condemning certain commercial acts passed in the first session of the present parliament; and on the 6th of July, a manifesto was issued, stating the causes and necessity of taking up arms. Georgia also now sent her delegates to the congress.

Meantime the news of the battle of Bunker's Hill spread through the country, and all New England was in arms. Companies were raised with the utmost despatch, and all hopes of reconciliation were lost. Bands of armed men came flocking to Cambridge, from all directions, and from remote distances. The British force in New England was fully employed by sea and land. Congress had fitted out several small vessels which had been very successful in capturing store-ships laden with provisions and ammunition for the British army. The British cruisers were sent against them; but with little success. A party in boats attacked one of these privateers, in the harbour of Gloucester; but the militia assembled and beat them off. Both sides were reinforced, and a pitched battle commenced, which lasted several hours, and resulted in the discomfiture of the assailants, who left upwards of thirty prisoners in the hands of the Americans. This defeat produced retaliation on defenceless towns along the coast; and on the 17th of October, Falmouth, in the north-eastern part of Massachusetts, was visited by Captain Mowat, who laid the town in ashes, the inhabitants having escaped during the night.

On the 2d of July, General Washington, accompanied by General Lee, and several other officers of rank, arrived at Cambridge, the head-quarters of the provincial army. On his journey he had been everywhere received with much respect, and escorted by companies of gentlemen, who

volunteered their services on the occasion. General Washington found between fourteen and fifteen thousand men encamped before Boston; and he and the other generals exerted themselves in establishing more orderly conduct and exact discipline than had been observed before. Under their care, the militia soon acquired somewhat of the mechanism and movements, as well as the name, of an army; but they were still ill-armed, ill-disciplined and disorderly. Many of the officers chosen by the men were equally strangers to martial skill, and the usages of a camp. Many of the privates from the southern colonies were disorderly and riotous. None of the soldiers were deficient in courage and zeal for their liberty; and good and efficient inferior officers only were necessary to the speedy formation of a good army.

The Americans who had been made prisoners had been indiscriminately thrown into jail in Boston, and badly treated. General Washington wrote to Gage on the subject, threatening to regulate his conduct towards the British prisoners by that of the enemy. Gage answered that the prisoners were treated with care and kindness, and insinuated that the Americans were not humane in their treatment of prisoners. General Washington, after inquiring carefully into the case, replied that not only the British officers and soldiers, but even the tories, had been treated with brotherly kindness; and thus the correspondence ended.

The American army was alarmingly deficient in gunpowder, and the greatest caution became necessary, in order to keep a knowledge of this fact from the enemy. In the beginning of September, it received a supply of seven thousand pounds from Rhode Island, and saltpetre was ordered to be collected in all the colonies; powder-mills were erected at Philadelphia and New York; and upwards of one hundred barrels of powder were procured from the magazine at Bermuda. Other difficulties of his station also contributed to render Washington uneasy. He perceived that the expense of maintaining an army far exceeded all the estimates of congress, and he began to feel the danger of short enlistments,

as the time for which the continental soldiers were engaged to serve, drew towards a close. A council of war therefore unanimously declared that the men about to be enlisted should be engaged to serve until the 1st of December, 1776. Subsequent events proved even this time to have been too short.

Notwithstanding the undisciplined and unarmed state of the American army, the British troops in Boston, amounting to ten thousand men, were reduced to a very uncomfortable condition; the country people generally refusing to sell them any provisions, even when they came into town, and their naval supplies being very much interrupted by the armed vessels which the Massachusetts assembly had fitted out for the defence of the coast. The act authorizing the equipping of these vessels, passed on the 9th of October, and on the 10th, Gage had sailed for England, leaving the government to General Howe. Soon after, they appointed courts of admiralty, to condemn captured vessels belonging to persons hostile to the United Colonies. Privateers were soon at sea, and in a few days the advantages which Massachusetts had hoped to derive from a naval force, began to exhibit themselves. A ship from Woolwich, laden with ordnance and ammunition, was taken on the 29th of November; and nine days after, three ships, from London, Glasgow, and Liverpool, with various stores for the British army, fell into the hands of the Americans. These afforded a seasonable supply to the American camp, while the loss was severely felt by the British in Boston.

On the 13th of December, Congress resolved to fit out thirteen ships of war, which formed the germ of the American navy. Congress had resolved to raise a large standing army, and the colonies each agreed to furnish the quota demanded; but the recruiting went on slowly. Washington had urged Congress to offer a bounty; but it was not done till near February; and on the last of December, when the old army was disbanded, the commander-in-chief had the mortification to learn that but nine thousand six hundred and fifty had been enlisted for the army of 1776. "Washington," says Marshall,

“viewed with deep mortification, the inactivity to which he was compelled to submit. His real difficulties were not generally known; his numbers were exaggerated; his means of acting on the offensive were magnified; the expulsion of the British army from Boston had long since been anticipated by many; and those were not wanting who insinuated that the commander-in-chief was desirous of prolonging the war, in order to continue his own importance.

Congress desired that the town might be attacked; but a council of war decided unanimously against the measure. Early in January, the commander-in-chief ordered General Lee to raise a body of volunteers in Connecticut, and take them to New York city, and fortify the place. The reason for this order is found in the fact that intelligence had been transmitted to Washington, that a secret expedition was preparing in Boston, under Clinton, the destination of which was believed to be New York. On arriving at New York, Clinton said openly that no troops were coming; but that he was on his way to North Carolina, where he expected to meet an army from Europe. In expectation of an attack on Boston, Washington had taken possession of Ploughed Hill, Cobble Hill, and Lechmere's Point, which brought him within half a mile of the British works on Bunker's Hill; and by his cannon, he drove the British floating-batteries from their position in Charles river.

Toward the middle of February, the regular army was increased to fourteen thousand men, and Washington resolved to fortify Dorchester Heights; when Howe would be forced to engage under unfavourable circumstances, or evacuate the town. On the 2d of March, and on the succeeding nights, a heavy bombardment was kept up on the British lines, and on the 4th, General Thomas, with a strong detachment, took possession of the Heights, and with the aid of fascines, provided by General Ward, they succeeded in erecting works during the night sufficient for their defence. Howe was astonished when he saw these works, and he determined to dislodge the Americans. A detachment of about two thousand



Siege of Boston.

troops fell down to the castle in transports; but a furious storm scattered them, and they were unable to proceed to the scene of action. The works were soon rendered nearly impracticable; and a council of war, held by the British, decided to evacuate the town as soon as possible. A fortnight afterwards, the measure was effected; and at ten in the morning of the 17th of March, the royal troops and their adherents, who had lately held possession of Boston, were sailing away from its shores; and Washington triumphantly entered the city.

Massachusetts was not the only theatre of the warlike operations of the American armies during the year 1775. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, by his violent measures, strengthened the party he designed to overthrow. Apprehensive of danger to certain public stores at Williamsburg, he had them clandestinely removed during the night, on board the *Fowey* man-of-war; and finding his conduct sharply questioned by the assembly, he censured them in a proclamation, which ended

with "God save the King." The assembly answered in a similar manner, ending their proclamation with "God save the Liberties of America;" and Patrick Henry marched against him with a body of militia. The governor's family immediately took refuge on board the Fowey, and it was not long before Dunmore himself followed them. Here he with petty malice directed the predatory incursions of the crews of the vessels of war which had been for some time cruising in York and James river. The assembly invited their governor to return; but he still continued to hover about and menace the coasts of the province, prompting the inhabitants of tory principles to make head against the rebels, and negro slaves to gain their freedom by espousing the cause of the king. The Otter sloop-of-war, the captain of which had rendered himself obnoxious to the people by his depredations, accidentally ran aground, and was destroyed by the exasperated inhabitants. The soldiers and crew attempted to take revenge on the inhabitants, but were beaten off with loss.

Dunmore continued his predatory operations for some time, and by thus abrogating his government, left the Virginians to act as they might think proper. His example was followed by the governors of North and South Carolina, who also retired from their governments, leaving anarchy to supply their place. The governor of South Carolina had been detected in some underhand intrigues with the Indians; whilst the governor of North Carolina was obliged to seek safety on board a sloop-of-war in Cape Fear river, in consequence of some of his hostile preparations having been discovered before they were completed. Thus other colonies were assuming a position, which threatened, in the end, to lead to total separation from Britain, or a decisive subjugation of the colonies.



Quebec.

CHAPTER XXX.

EXPEDITION TO CANADA.

IN the opinion of many statesmen of America, the co-operation of Canada with the colonies was deemed almost indispensable to success in the coming conflict. Addresses had been repeatedly sent to the people of Canada, which both in their English form, and translated into French, had been circulated throughout that province, and, it was generally believed, not without effect.

The backwardness of the Canadians in espousing the cause of the king, gave Congress reason to hope that they were not unfavourably disposed to enter with them into the struggle; and many were of opinion that an army led into

Canada would attract followers from all parts. Meantime, it was rendered necessary for the preservation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that these conquests should be extended further, as Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, was believed to be projecting an invasion of the north-western frontier. Generals Schuyler and Montgomery had received the command of the force intended for this service. The former issued an address, stating the objects of the present struggle, and that he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property.

On the 10th of September, about one thousand American troops effected a landing at St. Johns, the first British post in Canada, one hundred and fifteen miles north of Ticonderoga ; but they soon found it advisable to retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. Johns, from which place General Schuyler set out for Ticonderoga, on account of sickness, leaving General Montgomery in command.

Montgomery soon returned to the neighbourhood of St. Johns, and began a siege ; and taking Fort Chamblee, he found in it six tons of powder, by which he was enabled to press the siege with vigour. Carleton advanced with eight hundred men against him ; but, in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, he was attacked by Colonel Warner with three hundred men from the Green Mountains, and compelled to retire with precipitancy. The garrison of St. Johns then capitulated, and General Montgomery proceeded to Montreal. While the siege of St. Johns was pending, Colonel Ethan Allen was taken prisoner by the British near Montreal, with about thirty-eight of his men. He was cruelly treated, loaded with irons, and sent to England for trial as a rebel.

At Montreal, Montgomery took General Prescott, with several officers and one hundred and twenty privates, prisoners ; and eleven armed vessels, with all their contents, also fell into the hands of the Americans. Sir Guy Carleton, however, escaped to Quebec, whither he was followed by Montgomery, who expeditiously arrived before the town.

Meantime, General Washington had despatched Arnold, by the way of the Kennebec river and the wilderness lying between the settlements in Maine and the river St. Lawrence, to Quebec. Arnold marched on the 13th of September, with 1100 men; ten companies of musket men from New England, and three companies of riflemen from Pennsylvania and Virginia under Col. Morgan. In six weeks he arrived in Canada, and on the 9th of November encamped on Point Levi, near Quebec. By an immediate attack he might have carried the place; but the boats necessary for crossing the river could not be procured, and the critical moment was lost. English and Canadians now both united in endeavouring to save the town. Reinforcements were thrown into it, and, under Carleton, the town promised to make a vigorous defence. On the 14th of November, Arnold succeeded in crossing the St. Lawrence in the night and ascended the Heights of Abraham. The defendants, however, were by this time, more numerous than the assailants, who were weakened by defection. A third part of the infantry had deserted him on the march through the wilderness; and deceived in his hopes of the defection of the Canadians from the British interest, Arnold judged it advisable to retire to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there wait for Montgomery, who joined him with three hundred men on the 1st of December.

Montgomery now marched directly against Quebec, and commenced a siege. His artillery was too light to be of any service, and he determined to attempt to carry the place by storm. Two feigned attacks were made on the upper town by Majors Brown and Livingston, whilst Montgomery and Arnold made two real attacks on the lower town, on the 31st of December. Montgomery, advancing along the St. Lawrence, at the head of his troops, at first met with success, and the battery was deserted by all the enemy except two or three persons, one of whom, in retiring, applied a slow-match to one of the guns, and fired it. Casual as this shot appears, it was fatal. Montgomery and his staff were within forty paces of the piece; and that gallant general, with his aid, Captain

M'Pherson, and Captain Cheeseman, with the orderly-sergeant and a private, were all killed upon the spot. Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, precipitately retreated with the rest of the division.

Meantime, Arnold, with three hundred and fifty men, made an attack on the other side; but he received a musket-ball in the leg, and was carried off to the camp. Captain Morgan, with a Virginia company of riflemen, pressed forward, and carried the battery, capturing the guard. Morgan formed his men; but from the darkness of the night and his ignorance of the town, he was unable to proceed further. He was soon joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Green and other officers, and his numbers were increased to two hundred men. At daylight they were attacked by the garrison, and after sustaining the whole force of the enemy for three hours, they were compelled to surrender. It was here that Colonel Morgan laid the foundation of that fame which his conduct throughout the revolution only continued to enlarge. General Montgomery, whose valuable services were thus early lost to the country, was of a good family in Ireland, and had served with much distinction in the late war with France, at the close of which, he had married and settled in New York. At the commencement of the revolution, he espoused the cause of America, and gained the confidence of the whole army. He was much beloved among his private friends, and possessed a large share of public esteem. His death was considered a greater loss to the American cause, than all the others with which it was accompanied.

After the death of Montgomery, Arnold was chosen commander; and although he had but three or four hundred men under his command fit for duty, and the garrison was greatly superior in numbers, yet he retired three miles from Quebec, and maintained a blockade of that place until February, when he was reinforced, his army now numbering nine hundred and sixty men, and he was able to defeat a body of Canadians, who were advancing to the relief of the town. The American soldiers were becoming insolent in their behaviour, and

were fast gaining the ill-will of the inhabitants; Congress interposed, and ordered justice to be done to the Canadians, and the strictest military discipline to be observed.

While before Quebec, the American troops caught the small-pox, and, in consequence of the habit which the men formed of inoculating themselves, it spread rapidly through the army; so that on the 1st of May, although the American army amounted to two thousand men, not more than nine hundred were fit for duty. Major-General Thomas, who had been appointed to command the army, arrived in camp on the 1st of May, and learning the desperate state of affairs, he determined to retreat towards Montreal; and on the evening of the 5th of May, he learned that a British fleet was in the river. On the 6th, some of the ships pressed through the ice into the harbour, and landed a body of troops. While the Americans were preparing to retire, General Carleton marched out to attack them; but, instead of waiting for his approach, they made a sudden retreat, leaving their sick, baggage, artillery, and military stores. Many of those who were ill of the small-pox escaped from the hospitals, and concealed themselves in the country, where they were kindly treated by the Canadians till they recovered, and were able to follow their countrymen. Carleton took one hundred sick prisoners, whom he treated with the greatest humanity. The Americans retired about forty-five miles, and then halted a few days; after which they proceeded to the Sorel and encamped. Meantime, some reinforcements arrived; but General Thomas died of the small-pox, and was succeeded by General Sullivan.

The Americans had established a military post in Upper Canada, at a place called the Cedars, on the St. Lawrence, forty miles above Montreal. Captain Forster suddenly appeared before the place, with a large body of regulars and Indians. The garrison surrendered through fear of the savages, after a short and feeble resistance, and a force of one hundred men from Montreal, which was marching to the relief of the garrison at the Cedars, under Major Sherburne, unconscious of the surrender, were attacked, and after a

brave defence, in which many of them fell under the fury of the Indians, the rest were made prisoners. Arnold, now a brigadier-general, marched with eight hundred men to the Cedars, to relieve the prisoners there; but on his approach, Captain Forster gave him notice that unless he would agree to a cartel, which had already been signed by Major Sherburne and some other officers, the Indians would put all the prisoners to death. Arnold reluctantly signed the cartel and retired; but it was a long time before Congress would sanction this agreement. Before the end of May, the British force in Canada had been increased by regulars and the German mercenaries, to thirteen thousand men. This force was widely dispersed; but Three Rivers, ninety miles above Quebec, and the same distance below Montreal, was the general rendezvous. General Frazer already commanded a considerable detachment there, which Sullivan wished to surprise, and sent General Thompson, with an expedition for that purpose. The enterprise failed; Thompson was taken prisoner, and his detachment dispersed; but without any great loss. The British naval and military force having been collected at Three Rivers, it advanced by land towards the Sorel. Sullivan had retreated up that river, and Burgoyne cautiously followed. On the 15th of June, Arnold quitted Montreal, and conducted his army to Crown Point, with little loss in the retreat.

Thus ended the invasion of Canada; the American army having endured great hardships and suffered severe losses, without having gained any advantage to the cause in which it was engaged.

General Carleton had resolved to dispossess the Americans of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but he deemed it necessary first to get command of the lakes, to possess which he laboured with unwearied assiduity in constructing a fleet. In three months his efforts were crowned with success. Early in October, 1776, he had a formidable fleet, which rose as if by magic, upon Lake Champlain; it consisted of five vessels mounting sixty-three guns, besides howitzers, and twenty



General Carleton.

gunboats, each carrying a brass cannon, with other armed vessels, and a great number of transports and tenders. The fleet was manned with seven hundred choice seamen, under the command of Captain Pringle. To oppose this, the Americans had only two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. The largest schooner mounted only twelve, six, and four-pounders. Arnold had the command of it, as a man of desperate courage was necessary to oppose such an inferior force to the British fleet.

About the middle of October, Pringle and Carleton came

up the lake in quest of the Americans, whom they found advantageously posted in front of the narrow passage between Valicour island and the western bank. The British army were in the transports behind their fleet, which soon commenced a warm engagement. Owing to a favourable wind, Arnold was able to continue the conflict for some hours, when, night approaching, Captain Pringle drew off his ships from the action, and anchored at a little distance, with a view to prevent the escape of the Americans. Arnold had lost his largest schooner by fire; a gondola was sunk in the action; and he felt his inability to renew the fight next day; he therefore escaped in the night, in the hope of reaching Ticonderoga, and finding shelter under the guns of the fort. Pringle pursued the party, however, and brought them to action before they reached Crown Point. Arnold fought the enemy for about two hours, during which time, such of his fleet as were furthest in advance, fled and escaped to Ticonderoga. Two galleys and five gondolas, which remained, made a most desperate resistance. One was at length compelled to strike her colours. Arnold was unable to continue the fight longer, but he disdained to surrender; in this extremity, he ran his ships ashore, landed his men, and, setting his vessels on fire, blew them up. In the face of the most active and vigorous opposition, he preserved his crews, and prevented his ships from falling into the hands of the English.

On the 15th, Carleton advanced with the fleet, and took Crown Point, the garrison retreating on his approach to Ticonderoga, which Gates and Schuyler had determined to defend to the last extremity. Carleton advanced with part of the fleet and army, and reconnoitred the works. He however thought it prudent to suspend his operations during the winter; and he accordingly retired to the Sorel and its vicinity, where he put his army into winter-quarters, Isle aux Noix being his advanced post.



CHAPTER XXXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.



HE issue of the campaign of 1775, at Boston, had been highly satisfactory to the Americans. Washington was cordially hailed as the deliverer of Massachusetts; and Congress expressed their public approbation of his conduct by a vote of thanks, and a gold medal, commemorative of the great event. Although Halifax was mentioned as the destination of the British army, Washington yet believed that New York was their object, as the situation of that place was an advantageous one for the British, affording shelter to their shipping, and a means of quick transition from place to place. General Washington doubted the possibility of his being able to maintain the place in the event of an attack; but the wish of Congress and the general expectations of the people, induced him to make the attempt. He brought all his resources into action to effect a defence, and with untiring zeal and industry, he forwarded his works to

completion. Hulls were sunk in the North and East rivers, forts were built on all commanding points, and much attention was directed to defending the passage between Long and York Islands. He also fortified the passes in the highlands bordering on the Hudson, and always during the war watched the American posts on the river with a vigilant eye.

On the success of the last petition from Congress to the king, were founded all hopes of a reconciliation; and when Mr. Penn, who had carried it to England, gave information to Congress that no answer could be expected to their petition, and that additional preparations were making to subdue the "American rebels," the friends of liberty saw that the struggle must now end in the complete independence of the colonies, or their total subjugation.

The king openly stated in his speech, at the opening of parliament, that the colonists had revolted, and were carrying on a rebellious war for the establishment of an independent empire. He announced his determination to prosecute the war against them, and his intention of employing foreign troops. Parliament now agreed to the king's measures, and soon after passed a law prohibiting all commerce with the colonies, and authorizing the capture of all vessels found trading in any port or place in the colonies, whether American or foreign. The crews of the captured vessels were made to work on board the British armed ships, as though they had voluntarily enlisted; thus, after being plundered themselves, they were made to plunder their own countrymen.

During the winter of 1775--6, many of the most able writers in America were employed in demonstrating the necessity and propriety of a total separation from the mother country, and the establishment of constitutional governments in the colonies. One of the most conspicuous of these writers was Thomas Paine, an Englishman, who had lately arrived in America, and who published a pamphlet under the signature of "Common Sense," which produced a great effect. It demonstrated the necessity, advantages, and practicability of independence, and heaped reproach and disgrace

on monarchical governments, and ridicule on hereditary succession.

Although ignorant of many of the first principles of political economy, and a man of no learning, yet Paine had both shrewdness and cunning mixed with boldness, in his manner of writing ; and to this, perhaps, may be ascribed the uncommon effect of his essays on the inflamed minds of the Americans. The subject had been fully and earnestly discussed in the various provinces, and nearly every member of congress had received instructions on the subject from his constituents.

In May, Congress directed reprisals to be made, both by public and private armed vessels, against the ships and goods of the mother country, found on the high seas ; and they declared their ports open to all the world, except the dominions of Great Britain. This act was retaliatory to the act passed by parliament prohibiting American commerce. Intelligence was received that it was in contemplation to send forty-two thousand soldiers over to subjugate America ; of these, twenty-five thousand were to be English, and seventeen thousand Hessians, hired to fight for the king. The employment of these foreign mercenaries gave great offence to the Americans, and strengthened the disposition to declare independence. This measure was brought forward, on the 7th of June, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates from Virginia. He submitted a resolution, declaring the colonies free and independent. The most animated and eloquent debates followed, John Adams of Massachusetts leading the party in favour of independence, and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania the opponents. Dickinson opposed from principle the declaration, and he was therefore removed from his place as member of congress. Perceiving afterwards that his countrymen were earnestly struggling for independence, Dickinson joined with them, and was as zealous in Congress in 1780, as any of the members. On the 8th, the resolution was debated in committee of the whole house, and adopted on the 10th, in committee, by a bare majority. It was postponed in the house

until the 1st of July, to obtain greater unanimity among the members, as the representatives from Pennsylvania and Maryland were instructed to oppose it, and many members had received no instructions on the subject. During the interval, measures were taken to procure the assent of all the colonies; and on the day appointed, all assented to the measure except Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The committee who were instructed to prepare a declaration of independence, appointed as a sub-committee, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson; the original draft was made by the latter. It was reported by the committee, without alteration, to the house, where, after several amendments, it received the sanction of Congress. This well-known document was then signed by each of the members of Congress, and the thirteen United States were thus severed from Great Britain and her tyrannical rule, and a new and great nation was born to the world. The declaration of independence was immediately sent to the provinces and proclaimed to the army; and was everywhere received with demonstrations of joy. The colonists no longer complained and petitioned with arms in their hands, vigorously resisting an authority which they did not disavow; but were now a people, zealously asserting their independence, and repelling the aggressions of an invading foe.

While the discussions were going forward in Congress which terminated in the declaration of independence, the war was actively raging in the southern as well as the northern provinces. South Carolina, in particular, became, almost at the same moment, the theatre of internal dissensions; an invasion of the British; and a furious attack of the savages on the frontier. From all these dangers she was destined to be delivered by the unaided gallantry of her own citizens. Though there were royalists in every part of this province, they were greatly inferior in number to the Whigs, except in the district between the Broad and Saluda rivers. Many efforts had been made to induce them to enter with their neighbours into the coming struggle, but without effect.

Mutual suspicions were excited, and party feeling ran high. Fearful of an attack from their opponents, the Tories armed themselves; and the Whigs accused them of a design to commence hostilities in support of the royal government. They even went so far as to entertain thoughts of taking the field against each other in open war; when the more moderate on each side, proposed a conference of the leaders. This was agreed to; and a treaty was made, by which it was stipulated that the royalists should remain in a state of neutrality. There now succeeded a temporary calm.

New causes of disturbance, however, arose. One of the leading Tories, Mr. Robert Cunningham, continued to spread opposition to the popular cause, stating that he did not consider himself bound by the treaty. In order to prevent him from raising an insurrection, he was arrested and committed to prison. His brother Patrick suddenly collected a party of his friends, for the purpose of rescuing him. This party seized about a thousand pounds of powder, which was passing through their village, on its way to the Cherokees, to whom it had been presented by the council of safety. It was said, by some of the Tories, to be designed as a bribe to the Indians, accompanied by instructions to them to kill every one who should refuse to join the association which had been formed against British tyranny. This assertion soon obtained credit among the ignorant, whom it was expressly designed to influence.

Major Williamson went after the convoy, in hopes of recovering the powder; but the royalists were more numerous than their opponents, and flushed with success. Williamson was compelled to retreat into a stockade fort, where he was confined for three days without water; at the end of which time he obtained a small supply by digging. The royalists seized the jail at Ninety-Six, and, from that station, fired into the fort. One of the garrison was killed, and some others were wounded, when the besiegers hoisted a flag, and proposed a truce, which was assented to; and both parties again retired to their homes.

Robert Cunningham, who had been imprisoned for his behaviour, was still detained at Ninety-Six. Civil dissensions in the province were at that time extremely dangerous; for a formidable invasion from Britain was daily expected; and a British force in front, with disaffected colonists and unfriendly Indians in the rear, threatened the adherents of Congress with ruin. Campbell, the governor, wished the royalists to remain quiet until the arrival of a British force; but they would not follow his advice, and their opponents were eager to crush them before the arrival of foreign troops. They therefore despatched a considerable army into the settlements of the royalists, who fled beyond the mountains or into Florida, and those who remained were overawed.

The people resolved to fortify Charleston, the capital of the province, and for that purpose built a fort on Sullivan's Island, which lies in the bay, six miles below the town, and near the channel leading to it. The fort was constructed of palmetto, a tree peculiar to the southern states, with remarkably spongy wood; a ball entering it, does not fracture it to any extent, but buries itself where it strikes, without injury to the adjacent parts. The fort was mounted with about thirty cannon, thirty-two, eighteen, and nine pounders.

On the 2d of June, alarm guns were fired in the vicinity of Charleston, and expresses sent to the militia officers to hasten with their soldiers to the defence of the capital. The order was promptly obeyed, and some regiments from the neighbouring states also arrived. The whole was under the command of General Lee, assisted by Armstrong and Howe. They barricaded the streets, pulled down the stores along the wharves, and constructed lines of defence along the shore. The second and third regular regiments of South Carolina, under Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, were posted on Sullivan's Island. Blankets and knapsacks supplied the place of domestic conveniences, and every citizen was seen employed in the use of the shovel and spade. A large number of negroes were ordered down from the country; and by their united exertions, such obstructions were in a few days thrown

in the way, as would have greatly embarrassed a hostile army in an attempt to land.

The windows of Charleston were stripped of their weights to procure lead for bullets. Early in February, an armament sailed from the cove of Cork, under Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis, to encourage and support the loyalists in the southern states. In May, this fleet reached Cape Fear, where Clinton took command of the land forces and issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms ; but this produced no effect.

Early in June, the armament, consisting of between forty and fifty vessels, appeared off Charleston Bay, and thirty-six of the transports passed the bar, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. Some hundreds of the troops landed on Long Island, which is separated from Sullivan's Island by a narrow channel, often fordable. On the 10th, the Bristol, a fifty-gun ship, having taken out her guns, got safely over the bar; and on the 25th, the Experiment, a ship of equal force, passed the bar in the same manner. Clinton had nearly three thousand men under his command, and the naval force under Sir Peter Parker, consisted of the Bristol and the Experiment of fifty guns each, the Active, Acteon, Solebay, and Syren frigates, of twenty-eight guns each ; the Friendship of twenty-two, and the Sphinx of twenty guns ; the Ranger sloop and the Thunder bomb of eight guns each. The Thunder bomb began the battle by throwing shells on the island, at ten in the morning. The Active, Bristol, Experiment, and Solebay came boldly on to the attack ; a few shot were fired from the fort at the advancing vessels, when they dropped their anchors near the fort, and fired their broadsides, and an incessant and furious cannonade ensued. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren were ordered to take station off the west end of the fort, where the works were imperfect and the garrison exposed. Providence here interposed to save the Americans. Advancing to take the place assigned them, the three vessels got entangled with a shoal called Middle Ground, and two of them ran foul of each other. The Acteon

grounded immovably; the Sphynx lost her bowsprit before she cleared herself, and the Syren escaped without much injury. They were too much damaged to execute the intended service; although the seamen vainly strained their eyes in looking to the eastward, where Clinton and Cornwallis were to have made a land attack upon the fort. In fact, by a long succession of easterly winds, the passage between Long Island and Sullivan's had become too deep to be passed, although it is usually fordable. Clinton advanced in the water to the neck, when he gave up the design.

The action was therefore to be maintained between the fleet and the fort; and the guns in the latter being worked deliberately and slowly, and with a cool and effective aim, made sad havoc among the enemy. The ships were almost torn to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never had the British sailors had so rough an encounter, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy. The Thunder bomb was rendered incapable of firing longer, after throwing sixty shells. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she was for some time most dreadfully raked by the Americans. Captain Morris, after being several times wounded, had his arm at length shot off, and was carried below, without the possibility of recovery. Every man stationed in the beginning of the action on the quarter-deck of the Bristol, was either killed or wounded. The Bristol lost forty killed and seventy-one wounded; the Experiment, twenty-three killed and seventy-six wounded. Lord Campbell, the late governor of the colony, who bravely served as a volunteer, received a wound in his left side, which finally occasioned his death. Seventy balls passed through the Bristol; the Acteon lost one lieutenant killed and six wounded, the Solebay eight wounded. The garrison lost but ten men killed and twenty-two wounded. For a short time the guns of the fort were silenced for want of powder; but a fresh supply was procured, and they renewed the action, with the same coolness and determination as before. The British fire was kept up without intermission until seven o'clock, when it

slackened, and by half-past nine, had ceased on both sides. At eleven, the shattered ships slipped their cables and withdrew two miles from the island, after having fought for ten hours.

The Acteon still remained aground next morning ; and the garrison fired several shot at her. These she at first returned ; but soon after, the crew set her on fire and abandoned her, leaving the colours flying, the guns loaded, and all her ammunition and stores behind. She was in a short time boarded by a party of the Americans, who brought off her colours, the ship's bell, and as many sails and stores as three boats could contain. While the flames were bursting out on all sides, they fired three of her guns at the enemy, and then quitted her ; and in less than half an hour after she blew up. Many thousand balls were fired from the shipping ; but the works suffered little damage ; those which struck the fort were buried in its soft wood. Hardly a hut or tree on the island escaped, and seven thousand balls were picked up after the engagement, to be promptly returned to their former owners, on the first convenient occasion.

In the beginning of the action, the flag-staff was shot away. Serjeant Jasper leaped down upon the beach, took up the flag and fastened it on a sponge-staff. He then mounted the merlon with it in his hand, and though the vessels were directing their incessant broadsides at the spot, deliberately nailed it fast. The day after the action, Governor Rutledge presented the brave Jasper with a sword, as a mark of respect for his distinguished valour. The garrison which could produce such an effect as this, consisted of Colonel Moultrie, three hundred and forty-four regulars, and a few volunteer militia, nearly all raw and inexperienced. Their fire called for and received the respect of the British sailor, although he was greatly incommoded by it. Sir Peter Parker sailed for Sandy Hook, that Clinton might rejoin Howe ; and thus the southern states were saved from being the theatre of war for several years. The fate of this expedition contributed greatly to establish the government it was intended to overthrow,



Admiral Sir Peter Parker.

while the news of it flew like a meteor through America, and carried with it a deadly influence on the royal cause.

The thanks of Congress were unanimously voted to General Lee, and Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their brave conduct on this memorable day. In honour of its heroic defender, the fort received the name of Fort Moultrie. During the engagement, the inhabitants stood well-armed and prepared to repel any attempt of their enemies to effect a landing. Long accustomed to entertain a high conception of the bravery of British soldiers, many feared that their countrymen

in the fort would be unable to defend it ; and that when once it was silenced and passed, they would be called to immediate action. Alternate fears and hopes impressed their anxious faces, as they stood at the water's edge, prepared to meet their invaders, and dispute every inch of ground, preferring death to slavery; and confiding the event to the care of a kind Providence.

The patriots of South Carolina used the moments of success in endeavouring to conciliate their opponents in the province ; and the tories, on promising fidelity to their country, were released from jail, and restored to their former privileges.

The retreat of the British left the Americans at liberty to employ their forces in repelling and punishing an attack which had been made in another quarter. While the northern Indians had been induced to send deputations to Montreal to make treaties, offensive and defensive, with the agents of the British government, their southern brethren had been secured to the British interest, by the exertions of John Stuart, who had had the management of Indian affairs for several years, and was wholly devoted to the royal cause. When the non-importation agreements were adopted, the colonies could no longer send the Indians their usual supplies ; and commerce being interrupted, the customary royal presents did not reach them. Stuart persuaded them that this was owing to an unprovoked opposition made by the colonists to the mother country, in furtherance of which, they had adopted resolutions, which prevented the Indians from receiving their yearly supply of arms, ammunition, and clothing. His representations and those of his assistants finally inflamed their minds to such a degree, that disregarding the deputies who were sent to explain to them the causes and nature of the quarrel, they resolved to take up arms.

The tribe of the Cherokees was principally concerned in the war, which now commenced, and was carried on with their usual barbarity. Stuart had promised aid to the Indians, in the contest ; and relying upon his assurances, they began their attacks at the same time that the British fleet attempted

to capture the fort on Sullivan's Island. This part of the plan was frustrated, as we have seen, and Stuart was unable to fulfil his promises. Fearful of further trouble from the savages, the southern states agreed upon a joint invasion of their country.

The sixth regular regiment, part of the third, and a large body of militia, were ordered to be equipped by the government of South Carolina, and put under the command of Colonel Williamson ; and at the same time, General Rutherford, with about nineteen hundred men from the North Carolina district, crossed the mountains on the same service.

The savages several times briskly attacked Colonel Williamson in his passage through their country ; but they were finally repulsed, and he proceeded to fulfil his designs unmolested. Their whole country was traversed by their enemies, the corn-fields laid waste, and their villages destroyed. About five hundred of the Cherokees, thus unhoused, and greatly distressed by the want of provisions, were obliged to take refuge with Stuart, in West Florida, where he fed and supported them at the expense of the British government. The Indian settlements to the northward were at the same time invaded by a force from Virginia, under Colonel Christee, and the Georgia militia were led by Colonel Jack against the tribes inhabiting their frontier.

These expeditions were conducted through the greatest dangers and the most difficult passages. Narrow defiles and deep rivers lay in their path, and on all hands they were exposed to the attacks of a subtle and prowling foe. Without accommodations, and frequently destitute of provisions, they slept in the open air, and led a life similar to that adopted by the savage enemies they designed to overthrow. Yet they pressed onward, despite their difficulties, and at last had the satisfaction to behold their efforts crowned with perfect success, and the savages incapacitated from any further opposition. They were attacked in their own fastnesses, thoroughly defeated, and subjected to the same desolating system of warfare which they were accustomed to practise; their habitations,

and even their fields of standing corn being burnt. The Indians, finding themselves thus powerfully assailed on all hands, sued for peace, in the most submissive terms. A treaty was made between them and the states of Georgia and South Carolina, by which the Indians ceded a great part of their land to South Carolina, and consented that a fort should be erected at Seneca, and garrisoned by two companies. Their spirits were dejected, and the colonists suffered no further inconvenience from them until the year 1780.

From the great success of this campaign, the former friends of independence were convinced that the colonies now needed not that protection of the mother country which had been so necessary to their existence in the days of their infancy. Many also, who had before been opposed to the measures of the Whigs, now changed sides; being disgusted with those rulers who could stoop to the employment of the merciless savage, to massacre the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers.

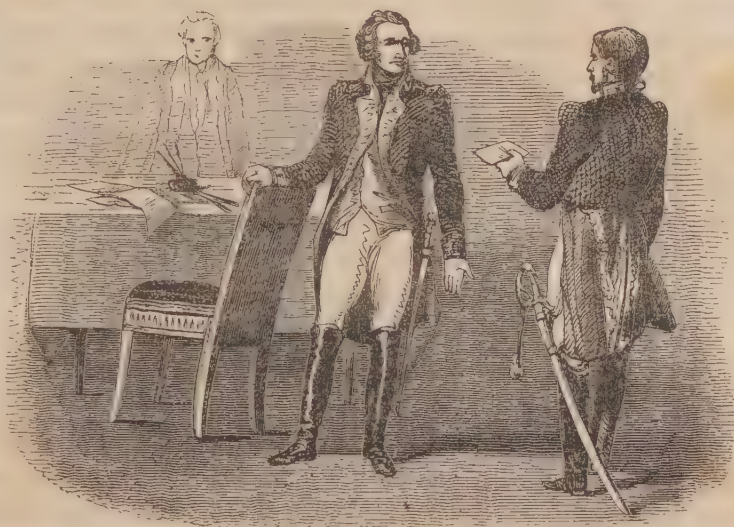
We now return to the operations of the commander-in-chief. Even while the British army occupied Boston, General Washington had foreseen that the theatre of the war must be in the neighbourhood of New York, and had made his arrangements with this view. At the opening of the campaign of 1776, Congress instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regulars and militia, and called for ten thousand men, from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to serve until the 1st of December. Thirteen thousand eight hundred men were also demanded of the militia of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The command of the British force, destined to act in New York, was given to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother, Sir William; who were also empowered as commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. Sir William Howe waited two months at Halifax for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England; but these not arriving, he left a letter for his brother, and sailed with the force he had previously commanded in Boston. He left Halifax for

New York, and on the 25th of June, arrived off Sandy Hook. Admiral Howe arrived at Halifax with part of the reinforcements from England, and receiving his brother's letter, he followed him, without dropping anchor, to Staten Island, where he arrived on the 12th of July. General Clinton came about the same time, with the troops from Charleston, and Admiral Hotham soon after brought the remainder of the expected troops from England.

The British army now numbered twenty-four thousand men, English, Hessians, and Waldeckers; but so much time had been occupied in collecting this force, that the month of August was far advanced before they were ready to open the campaign.

Before commencing hostile operations, Lord Howe sent a circular letter, with a declaration, to the chief magistrates of all the colonies, acquainting them with his powers, and desiring them to publish the same as generally as possible, for the information of the people. The declaration and letters were forwarded by Congress to General Washington; and ordered to be published in the several newspapers, that the inhabitants might be informed of the views of the commissioners, and what the terms were, with the expectation of which the court of Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few whose decision was still suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of the ministry, might be convinced, that the valour of their countrymen alone could save their liberties.

Lord Howe sent up a flag to New York, with a letter addressed to "George Washington, Esq." This communication the general refused to receive, as not being directed to him with the title and in the style suitable to his station. Congress applauded him for acting with becoming dignity; and directed that none of their officers should receive letters or messages that were not addressed to them according to their respective ranks. Adjutant-General Patterson was next sent with a letter, addressed to "George Washington, &c., &c., &c." The general exempted him from being



Washington declining to receive General Howe's Letter

blindfolded, as usual in passing through fortifications, and received him with the greatest politeness; but notwithstanding all this envoy could offer, the *et ceteras* would not remove the impediments to the correspondence attempted. The general told him, "it is true, the *et ceteras* imply everything; but it is no less true, that they imply anything." The letter, therefore, was not accepted.

This affair showed the cast of the general's temper, and that he was ever firm and guarded, in adhering to the line of conduct which he had once adopted. A conference ensued on the subject of prisoners, and complaints on both sides, relative to the treatment they received. The adjutant asserted on his honour, that the prisoners in Boston, whenever the state of the army there admitted it, were treated with humanity and even indulgence. On his observing that the commissioners were entrusted with great powers, the general answered, "their powers are only to grant pardons. They who have committed no fault, want no pardon. The Americans are only defending what they think their indisputable rights."

Thus ended a conference, from which it was evident that all further attempts in the same line would at present prove ineffectual. The adjutant, through the whole interview, addressed the general by the title of "Excellency," and behaved with the utmost politeness and deference.

The Declaration of Independence had given fresh spirits and vigour to the army; but they were still not in a condition to meet the large and well-disciplined forces of Great Britain. On the 8th of August, the number was less than eighteen thousand, and of these, three thousand were sick. It was soon after augmented to twenty thousand effective men. These were necessarily very widely scattered, and in some instances separated by navigable waters. The enemy numbered twenty-four thousand of the best troops which Europe could afford; well supplied with ammunition and military stores, and backed by a powerful fleet.

The British commander now resolved to dislodge the Americans from Long Island, preparatory to his operations against New York. General Greene had commanded on this station, and had personally superintended the construction of the works; but he was taken so ill as to be unfit for active service, and General Washington was obliged to appoint General Sullivan to the command on the island, notwithstanding the injury that might accrue by any change at such a critical moment. Gen. Putnam was at length appointed to the command.

The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed, without opposition, on Long Island, between the Narrows and Sandy Hook, not far from Gravesend. The American works, erected by General Greene, covered the breadth of a small peninsula, having the East river on the left, a marsh extending to the water's edge on the right, with the bay and Governor's Island in the rear. On the heights above Flatbush, on the middle road, General Sullivan was encamped with a strong force. From the east side of the Narrows, a ridge of hills, five or six miles in length, extended to Jamaica, where they terminated in a small rising land. Through these hills three

passes only were to be found; one near the Narrows; a second on the Flatbush road; and a third on the Bedford road, leading from Bedford to Flatbush. These passes through the mountains or hills were easily defensible, being very narrow, with lands high and precipitous on each side. A fourth road, by which the British could pass from the south side of the hills to the American lines, led around the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica. The Flatbush road was the principal one, and Lord Cornwallis pushed on for it immediately on the landing of the first of the troops. The Americans however had paid early attention to this pass, and finding it guarded, Cornwallis ventured no attack. Two days after, General Heister, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten Island, joined the British. He was told that the Americans would give the foreigners no quarter, and he replied, "Well as I know it, I am willing to fight on those terms." The foreign officers and soldiers were led to believe that the Americans were a set of savages and barbarians, and to dread falling into their hands, under the apprehension of meeting with the most cruel treatment. The common men were taught to expect that if taken, they would have their bodies stuck full of pieces of pine wood, and then be burnt to death.

The Americans had on each of the three above-mentioned passes, a guard of eight hundred men; and to the east of them, in the wood, Colonel Miles was placed with his battalion of Pennsylvania riflemen, to guard the Jamaica road, and watch the motions of the enemy. General Heister, with the Hessians, was posted in front of the Flatbush road, to watch the Americans, whilst Clinton, with the greatest part of the British army, marched towards the Jamaica road; and he had advanced two miles in rear of the guard, before Colonel Miles gave notice of his approach. At daybreak, he was within half a mile of the road, when he halted, and made his dispositions for the attack. Meantime, a body of British fell in with and captured an American patrol, and Sullivan, from want of intelligence or of care, neglected sending out another

patrol. The prisoners having informed Clinton that the Americans had not occupied the road, he detached a battalion of light-infantry to secure it; and advancing with his corps on the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights over which the road passed. About midnight, the guard, perceiving that danger was at hand, had fled without firing a gun, to General Parsons, and informed him that the enemy were advancing in great numbers.

General Grant made a feint of attack by advancing, with the British left wing, along the coast by the west road, near the Narrows. Parsons perceiving by fair daylight that Clinton was advancing through the wood, posted twenty men, all he had with him, on a height in front of the British, who halted their columns, and gave time for Lord Stirling, with fifteen hundred Americans, to advance and possess himself of a hill, about two miles from the camp. The Americans, under Sullivan, opposed to Heister and the Hessians, and those near General Grant on the coast, were first engaged. The party opposed to Heister, received notice of Clinton's approach, and retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, to recover their camp. They were here intercepted by General Clinton, with the British right wing, who had gained the rear of the Americans, and about half-past eight o'clock, attacked them with his light-infantry and light dragoons. They were driven back, and again met the Hessians. Thus alternately chased and intercepted, some of their regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to camp, through all the most pressing dangers. Lord Stirling, with the Americans opposed to General Grant, maintained the action from about eight in the morning until two in the afternoon; the American troops, consisting of Colonel Miles's two battalions, and Colonel Atlee's, Colonel Smallwood's, and Colonel Haslet's regiments, behaving with great bravery and resolution. They received a very late notice of what had passed elsewhere, that their retreat was intercepted by some of the British troops, who, besides turning the hills and the American left, had traversed the whole country in their rear.

Stirling instantly perceived that they could only save themselves by crossing a creek, near the Yellow Mills. The more effectually to secure the retreat of the main body of the detachment, Stirling, with about four hundred men, drawn from Smallwood's regiment of Maryland young gentlemen, made a furious attack on a house, above the place where the crossing must be made, and in which Lord Cornwallis was posted. Stirling was confident of dislodging Cornwallis from his post, and led his troops several times to the charge; but Cornwallis was strongly reinforced, and Grant coming up, made an attack on the rear of the Americans. Stirling was at length obliged to surrender himself and his brave soldiers prisoners of war. This bold attempt, however, gave opportunity to a large part of the detachment to cross the creek and escape. In this disastrous engagement the American regulars lost in killed, wounded, and missing, over one thousand; General Howe stated the number of his American prisoners to be one thousand and ninety-seven, computing the whole American loss at three thousand three hundred; and his own loss at three hundred and eighteen, of whom sixty-one were killed. In addition to this, the Hessians lost two rank and file killed, and twenty-three privates and three officers wounded. Brigadier-Generals Lord Stirling and Woodhull, and Major-General Sullivan, were taken during or after the battle. The Americans were most completely surprised and entrapped. Colonel Smallwood's Maryland regiment was almost cut to pieces. It lost two hundred and fifty-nine men in killed and wounded.

The victorious army encamped in front of the American works in the evening, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form, about four hundred or five hundred yards distant from a redoubt, which covered the left of the Americans. The same day, General Mifflin crossed over from New York with one thousand men, and at night he went the rounds. Observing the approaches of the enemy and the forwardness of their batteries, he was convinced that no time was to be lost. The next morning he stated his opinion to Washington, and in a consultation, both agreed upon the necessity of a retreat.



Retreat of the Americans from Long Island.

A retreat was accordingly determined on, in a council of war, and on the night of the 29th, it was effected in a most perfect manner. In the evening, a disadvantageous wind and rain prevented the troops from embarking, and it was feared that the retreat could not be effected that night. But about eleven o'clock, a favourable breeze sprung up, the tide turned in the right direction, and a thick fog arose about two o'clock in the morning, which hung over Long Island, while on the New York side it was clear. During the night, the whole American army, nine thousand in number, with all the field artillery, such heavy ordnance as was of any value, ammunition, provision, cattle, horses, carts, and everything of importance, passed safely over. All this was effected without the knowledge of the British, although the enemy were so nigh that they were heard at work with their pickaxes and shovels. In half an hour after the lines were finally abandoned, the fog cleared off, and the enemy were seen taking possession of the American

works. Four boats were on the river, three half-way over, with troops ; the fourth, within reach of the enemy's fire, was obliged to return ; she had only three men in her, who had loitered behind to plunder.

The reverses which had now happened to the American arms, being the first ill fortune they had met with, produced a deep impression on the minds of the people. Accustomed to victory, they had flattered themselves that their cause could not fail of constantly prospering, under the special direction of Providence. Unaccustomed to subordination, and ignorant of the value of discipline, they had acquired the opinion that personal valour would compensate for the want of it. They now saw but too plainly that courage without discipline could perform little ; and consequently, the self-confidence by which they had hitherto been supported, now deserted them, and their spirits were dejected. Continually fearful of ambuscades and sudden attacks and defeats, they were so far dispirited as to neglect the rules of order and the habits of prompt obedience, by which only they could be saved from the worst disasters.

Desertions became common, even among the regulars, who, following the example of the militia, wished to go to their homes and return again to the camp, at pleasure. Suddenly raised, and accustomed to personal liberty, the militia could not brook the restraints imposed upon them by the officers, who attempted to train them to a proper performance of their duties ; and, abandoning their colours in great numbers, they returned to their fire-sides. Unfortunately, even the regulars were enlisted but for the term of one year, and often for a shorter time, and the desire of returning to their families was so great as to cause them to shun such dangers as might offer during that period. That enthusiastic ardour which had supported them in the beginning of the war, had now vanished, and they gave themselves up for lost.

It required all the earnest exhortations of Washington, and the other leaders of the army, to rouse them from this state of apathy and despair. Many of the soldiers, animated by

fearless countenances and inspiring words of their officers, were persuaded to re-enlist; whilst, on the other hand, great numbers of their comrades turned a deaf ear to all persuasions, and insisted upon their discharge.

Congress was frequently addressed by Washington, who pictured the deplorable situation of his army in the most energetic manner, urging upon them the necessity of enlisting men for the whole period of the war. Induced by his persuasions, Congress at length yielded to his desire, and passed resolutions offering a bounty of twenty dollars to all who would agree to enlist during the war, unless sooner discharged. The enlistment was further encouraged by a proposal for granting lands, each non-commissioned officer and soldier being promised an hundred acres, a colonel five hundred, and other officers in proportion to their rank. This proposal was well calculated to destroy the effect of a similar proclamation of the British ministry, offering lands to such Highland emigrants and others as would assist the government in the reduction of the country. The people were so unwilling to enlist under this law, that Congress was obliged to instruct the officers to engage them for three years, or during the war. This measure, as will be seen, was afterwards productive of much trouble.

Whilst the affairs of Congress were at this low ebb, there were not wanting those who censured the leaders of that body for what they termed inconsiderate haste in cutting off all hopes of reconciliation by an open declaration of independence. But to retrace their steps now, even if it could be done, would subject them to the derision and contempt of the whole world; and the members of Congress boldly faced the danger, and set their haughty enemy at defiance.

Most fortunately for the dispirited Americans, and the cause of liberty, a few days after the evacuation of Long Island, Lord Howe commenced an attempt to negotiate a general reconciliation with Congress. He stated that he was not able to treat with that body as such; and he desired them to send some of their members to confer with him in an individual

capacity. Congress refused to accede to this request; but appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, a committee to ascertain if Lord Howe had any powers for treating with a committee of persons authorized to appear on behalf of America, by Congress. Eight days after, this committee visited his lordship on Staten Island, where they were well entertained; but they would treat with Howe in no other capacity than as a committee of Congress, in which character he refused to recognise them; and so this attempt at an amicable arrangement terminated.

Negotiations being at an end, it only remained for the Americans to appeal once more to the sword, and trust to Providence for success. General Washington divided his army, leaving four thousand five hundred in the city of New York, and posting six thousand five hundred at Haerlem, and twelve thousand at Kingsbridge. The movements of the British soon rendered it prudent to withdraw the whole of the troops from New York. Several English men-of-war passed up the North and East rivers, thus menacing both sides of the island; and Clinton landed with four thousand men, under cover of the ships of war at Kipp's Bay, about three miles above New York. Works of considerable strength had been thrown up at this place; but the troops stationed here ran off to the main body, on the first broadside from the ships, and communicated their panic to the brigades of Parsons and Fellows, who were coming up to support them. The commander-in-chief came riding with all despatch towards the lines; but he was met by the terrified soldiers, flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion. He had now only to effect the retreat of the remaining troops from New York, and to secure the heights.

The troops were withdrawn from New York, by General Putnam, with a very inconsiderable loss of men; but several pieces of heavy artillery, with part of the baggage, provisions, and military stores, were necessarily abandoned. General Washington wished to accustom the troops to action by a series of skirmishes. On Monday, the 16th of September, an

opportunity for one of these actions was afforded. The British appeared in some force in the plain between the two armies, and General Washington ordered Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, with a corps of rangers, and three companies of a Virginia regiment, to get into their rear, while he should amuse them with feints of an attack in front. The scheme succeeded; the Americans charged with great intrepidity, and gained considerable advantages; but the principal benefit arose from the confidence with which this action inspired the troops. Colonel Knowlton, however, was killed, and Major Leitch mortally wounded. The British lost near twenty killed and ninety wounded. On the 21st of September, a destructive fire reduced nearly a fourth part of New York to ashes.

The armies did not long retain their positions on York Island. The British frigates having passed up the North river under the fire of Forts Washington and Lee, Sir William Howe passed into the Sound with a great part of his army, in flat-bottomed boats, and landed at Frog's Neck. His object was either to force Washington to an engagement, or to drive him out of his present position. Aware of his intentions, Washington moved part of his troops to Kingsbridge from York Island, and also sent a detachment to West Chester. A council of war was called, and it was determined to evacuate and retreat from the American works, except Forts Washington and Lee, which it was vainly supposed, might still keep the North river open to the Americans; and nearly three thousand men were assigned to the defence of Fort Washington.

After six days' halt, the royal army advanced from Frog's Neck to New Rochelle, suffering considerable loss on their march from a detachment of riflemen, posted by Lee, behind a wall. Three days afterward, he was reinforced by several detachments, and moved towards White Plains, whilst Washington, retreating from York Island, in order to secure the march of those who were behind, made a front to the British from East Chester almost to White Plains, every little hill or

rising ground being occupied with a detachment of troops. The royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Brunx river in front; and on this movement, the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains behind intrenchments. Here a considerable action took place, October 28th, and several hundreds fell. The brave Colonel Smallwood was among the wounded.

Washington now changed his position, drawing his right wing back to some hills; and in this position, he desired and expected an action. Howe decided to wait for the arrival of Lord Percy, with the rear division of his army, before commencing an attack on the American camp. This did not arrive until the 30th, and Howe intended to attack the Americans; but a violent rain which fell on that night and part of the next day, induced him to postpone the assault. Washington soon after withdrew in the night to North Castle, about five miles from White Plains, where his position was so strong that Howe changed his plan of operations. Washington left Lee with seven thousand five hundred men for the defence of North Castle, and crossed to the neighbourhood of Fort Lee.

Howe had now determined to reduce Fort Washington, which contained about two thousand regulars and a few militia, under Colonel Magaw. The British commander, having completed his preparations, summoned Magaw to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword. Magaw replied that he should defend the place to the last extremity; and the next morning, the enemy moved forward to the assault in four columns. They drove the Americans from their outer works; but not without suffering considerable loss; Magaw was again summoned to surrender; and as the ammunition of the Americans was nearly exhausted, and the force of the assailants too great to be resisted, a capitulation was made, by which the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, on the 16th of November.

In this affair the British lost near a thousand men; but it was a severe blow for the American army. Many of the soldiers were now entitled to a discharge by the expiration of

their term of service, and all the remonstrances of Washington and the persuasions of Lee were of no avail in inducing them to remain or enter into a re-engagement.

Fort Lee too now fell into the hands of the British, who crossed with six thousand men under Cornwallis, and endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the garrison; but they were foiled by the activity, skill, and vigilance of General Greene, who commanded and brought off the garrison safely. Encouraged by their success, the British now resolved not to go into winter quarters, but to pursue and annihilate the American army, which they well knew was much weakened by the loss of the soldiers entitled to a discharge.

Washington, who had encamped at Newark, on the south side of the Passaic, had some suspicion of their intentions, and had made preparations for a retreat. When the British crossed the Passaic, he retired to New Brunswick, on the



Retreat of the Americans through the Jerseys.

Raritan, and thence to Princeton, closely followed by Cornwallis. Washington, who commanded the rear, left Princeton for Trenton just one hour before the van of the British entered the place. From Trenton, the American army crossed to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, and there the pursuit stopped.

The army now comprised but three thousand men; and with this force against the whole victorious British army, Washington was to maintain the struggle for liberty. On the 28th of December, the day on which the Americans retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island, and blockaded Commodore Hopkins's squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.

Howe now issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance, within sixty days. Many were entrapped by this scheme, and among the number were two, who had been members of Congress, Galloway and Allen. War having reached the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, Congress retired to Baltimore, after having first authorized General Washington to order and direct all things relative to the department and operations of the war.

A new occurrence added to the difficulty in recruiting for the American service. The friends of Congress had entertained a high opinion of the military talents of General Lee, from his late success in defending Charleston. While Washington was retreating through the Jerseys, he earnestly desired Lee, who had been left at North Castle, to hasten his march to the Delaware, and join the main army. But notwithstanding the critical nature of the case, and the pressing orders of his commander, Lee seemed in no haste to obey. Reluctant to give up his separate command, and subject himself to superior authority, he marched slowly to the southward, at the head of about three thousand men; and his sluggish movements and unwary conduct proved fatal to his own personal liberty, and excited a lively sensation throughout America. He lay carelessly, without a guard, three miles from his troops, at Basking Ridge, in Morris county, where, on the 13th of December, Colonel Harcourt, who, with a small detachment of light-horse, had been sent to observe the motions of that division of the American army, by a gallant act of partisan warfare, made him prisoner, and conveyed him rapidly to New York. He was closely confined for some

time, and considered not as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the British service, because he had entered the American army before his resignation of his commission in the British army had been accepted. The capture of General Lee was regarded as a great misfortune by the Americans, whose esteem and confidence he enjoyed; on the other hand, the British exulted in his captivity, as equal to a signal victory, declaring that "they had taken the American palladium." Sullivan, who had been exchanged for General Prescott, now took command of Lee's division, and joined the main army.

Gates also joined the commander-in-chief with part of the army of Canada, and General Mifflin succeeded in raising fifteen hundred Pennsylvania militia; but all recruiting was at an end, and Washington's whole force numbered but five thousand men. General Howe, with an army of twenty-seven thousand, lay on the other side of the Delaware.

Washington had collected all the boats on the Delaware, for sixty miles north of Philadelphia, and sent them to a place of safety, in order to prevent, if possible, the passage of the Delaware by the British. But it was no part of General Howe's plan to carry on military operations during that inclement season of the year. Fearless of a feeble enemy, whom he had easily driven before him, and whom he confidently expected soon to annihilate, he cantoned his troops, rather with a view to the convenient resumption of their march, than with any regard to security against a fugitive foe. As he entertained not the slightest apprehension of an attack, he paid little attention to the arrangement of his several posts for the purpose of mutual support. He stationed a detachment of about fifteen hundred Hessians, at Trenton, under Colonel Rahl, and about twenty-five hundred more were distributed at Bordentown, the White Horse, and Mount Holly; the rest of his army was spread over the country between the Hackensack and the Delaware. Howe had certainly little apparent cause of apprehension; for his antagonist had fled beyond the Delaware, at the head of about twenty-five

hundred men, while he had an army of nearly thirty thousand fine troops under his command. Subsequent events proved how much the British leaders were mistaken in their estimate of American perseverance.

Mr. Mersereau was employed by the general to gain intelligence ; and he provided a simple youth, whose apparent defectiveness in abilities prevented all suspicion ; but whose fidelity and attention, with the capacities he possessed, constituted him an excellent spy ; he passed from place to place, mixed with the soldiers, and having performed his business, returned with an account where they were cantoned, and in what numbers.

General Fermoy was appointed to receive and communicate the information to the commander-in-chief, who, upon the receipt of it, cried out, " Now is our time to clip their wings, while they are so spread." He accordingly arranged a plan, by which three divisions were to cross the Delaware ; one under Cadwallader, was to effect a passage near Bristol ; but failed, on account of the vast quantity of ice on the Jersey side of the river, which prevented their landing ; another, under General Ewing, was to cross at Trenton ferry, but was unable to make its way through the ice ; the third, commanded by Washington in person, assisted by Sullivan and Greene, and Knox of the artillery, accomplished the passage with great difficulty, at M'Konkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton. It was nearly three o'clock in the morning before the troops were all got over, and four when they began to march forwards. They were formed into two divisions, one of which proceeded towards Trenton by the river road, the other by the upper or Pennington road. The troops marched silently and steadily forward ; the night was severe ; it snowed, and was intensely cold, and the roads were slippery. At eight o'clock in the morning, December 25th, Washington, with the troops who had advanced by the upper road, drove in the Hessian advanced posts ; and so equal had been the march of the two columns, that three minutes afterwards the firing on the river road announced the arrival of the other division.



The Battle of Trenton.

Colonel Rahl, who was a brave officer, soon had the Hessians under arms, and prepared for an obstinate defence; but while endeavouring to form his soldiers, he was mortally wounded. The Americans were led by Washington; and they possessed full confidence in themselves; they pressed the enemy hard, and soon got possession of half their artillery. The Hessians being severely galled by the fire of the enemy, threw down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; but a considerable body of them, chiefly light-horse, retreated towards Bordentown, and made their escape. Not many Hessians were killed, and the Americans lost but two killed and two frozen to death, with three or four wounded. They took one thousand prisoners, six field-pieces, and one thousand stand of small-arms. On the 26th, Washington recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners, their arms, colours, and artillery.

This enterprise was completely successful, in so far as it was under the immediate direction of the commander-in-chief, and it had a happy effect on the affairs of America. It was the first wave of the returning tide. It filled the British with astonishment; and the Hessians, whose name had before inspired the people with fear, ceased to be terrible. The

prisoners were paraded through the streets of Philadelphia, to prove the reality of the victory, which the friends of the British government had denied. The hopes of the Americans were revived, and their spirits elevated; they had a clear proof that their enemies were not invincible, and that union, courage, and perseverance, would insure success. The British troops in the Jerseys had behaved to the inhabitants with such a spirit of cruelty and rapacity, that they were everywhere ready to flee to arms, to revenge the insults, injustice, and oppression they had suffered.

The spirit of resistance and insurrection was again fully awakened in Pennsylvania, and considerable numbers of the militia repaired to the standard of the commander-in-chief, who again crossed the Delaware and marched to Trenton, where, on the 1st of January, 1777, he found himself at the head of five thousand men.

A strong detachment of British, under General Grant, marched to Princeton, and Lord Cornwallis, who was in New York with the intention of going to England with the news of the probable conclusion of the war, was recalled to the Jerseys, to commence active operations again in the midst of winter.

On joining Grant, Cornwallis determined to attack Washington at Trenton, and he accordingly pressed on with the greatest expedition, leaving Colonel Mawhood, with three regiments, at Princeton, and General Leslie at Maidenhead, with the same number of troops. General Greene was stationed about a mile from the American camp, to give notice of the enemy's approach and check them; but finding them in great force and advancing expeditiously, he managed to retreat in good order, on the 2d of January. Washington retired over the Assumpinck creek, which the British made several attempts to cross, but were foiled, and both parties kindled their fires, and kept up a cannonade till dark.

In the night, Washington determined, instead of waiting till morning to be attacked, to take a circuitous march to Princeton, and surprise Colonel Mawhood. After appointing guards

for the fords, and advancing his sentinels, he ordered the fires to be kept burning brightly till daylight, and then marched off with his whole army. On the road to Princeton, he suddenly met Mawhood, who was advancing to join Cornwallis. Mawhood, ignorant of the number of his enemies, charged boldly, and threw the Pennsylvania militia into confusion; but Washington, by great personal exertions, succeeded in restoring order, when Mawhood discovered that he was engaged with more than a mere detachment, and that he was almost surrounded. Nearly sixty of his regiment were killed; but he broke through and escaped with part of it to Maidenhead. The fifty-fifth regiment also suffered severely; but part of it, with nearly all of the fortieth, which was not engaged, followed Mawhood.

Cornwallis had heard the firing, and instantly perceiving the state of affairs, finding that he had been out-generalled, and being apprehensive for his baggage, had posted back with the utmost expedition. He reached the Americans just as the rear had gotten into the Morristown road, and some firing ensued. Washington marched to Morristown, where he fixed his head-quarters; and the panic-stricken British retreated hastily to New Brunswick, without halting longer than to make passable the bridges over Stony Brook and Millstone, broken down by the retreating Americans.

The American loss in this affair was less than that of the British; but General Mercer, who led the van, was mortally wounded, and then severely bayoneted. He soon afterwards died of his wounds. The British lost about one hundred men in killed and wounded. Among the killed was Captain Leslie, son to the Earl of Leven, who was buried by the Americans with the honours of war. The Americans took some three hundred prisoners in this affair, which still further contributed to raise the spirits of their countrymen.

Assisted by Greene, Sullivan, Putnam, and the other brave spirits of the time, Washington had thus been enabled by a series of bold, well-directed, and fortunate movements, to almost rid the state of the enemy. East as well as West Jersey was

overrun by his troops, and the British were almost as much panic-stricken at the name of Washington, as the American militia had been at the approach of the enemy, the year before. By this uncertain and partisan system of warfare, Washington deprived the British of all their conquests in the Jerseys, except Amboy and New Brunswick. The enemy's foraging parties and advanced posts were continually cut off, and their commanders found their numbers lessening insensibly, until they feared that they would be obliged to remain inactive during the next campaign, unless they were reinforced.

Thus terminated the eventful campaign of 1776, which witnessed the heroic defence of Charleston, in the south; the retreat from Canada in the north; and Washington in the middle states, first at the head of a respectable force in Long Island; subsequently defeated there and on York Island; his soldiers leaving him as soon as their terms of service expired; retreating through New Jersey, with what Hamilton has called the phantom of an army; compelled to cross the Delaware; turning when it was confidently expected by the British that all his army would be disbanded, and inflicting severe wounds on their widely-scattered forces; and in the end, acting on the offensive, and hunting them from place to place, until they are cooped up in New York, and one or two places in the Jerseys. True, the British were in possession of Rhode Island; but it was of no advantage to them then, nor at any period of the war; and they were compelled to weaken their armies for the purpose of keeping a garrison there. And finally, notwithstanding the joy of the British at the capture of Lee, the effect which they anticipated was not produced on the American people; and subsequent events showed them conclusively that they had not captured the American Palladium. That was the impalpable and inextinguishable fire of freedom, still burning in the hearts of the people, and destined still to elude the grasp of tyranny.



CHAPTER XXXII.

CONGRESSIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS OF 1776.



HE commander-in-chief plainly perceived, after his retreat through the Jerseys, that the British intended to take possession of Philadelphia, as soon as the river Delaware should be frozen over; and that city seemed to be inevitably lost. For greater safety, Congress changed their place of meeting from Philadelphia to Baltimore, on the 12th of December. After retreating to that place, the members, instead of despairing of success, took the most effectual measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Being removed from the commander-in-chief, they deemed it necessary, in order to secure vigour in the operations of the army, to confer unlimited military powers upon him for a short time.

On the 27th of December, after declaring that "the unjust, but determined purpose of the British court to enslave these free states, obvious notwithstanding every insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation, that the very exercise of civil liberty now depends on the judicious exercise of military powers; and the vigorous and decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous, and deliberative bodies," they passed the following resolve, "That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby invested with full, ample, and complete powers, to raise and collect together in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry in addition

to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light-horse; three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall deem necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill all vacancies in every other department of the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine all persons, who refuse to take the continental currency, or are any otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and to return to the states, of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them."

These powers were vested in Washington for six months, unless sooner determined by Congress; and he assured Congress that his utmost endeavours should be employed to the furtherance of those objects which had given rise to this mark of distinction. So successfully did he carry out his intentions, that in February, Congress was enabled to return to Philadelphia, New Jersey being in part recovered from its late possessors, and public confidence restored.

Meanwhile they were diligently employed in prosecuting the means which were most likely to lead to the success of their cause. On the 30th of December, it was resolved that commissioners be forthwith sent to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with directions to assure them of their earnest intentions to secure their independence, to endeavour to prevent more foreign troops being sent to America, and to procure the recall of those already there. They were also directed to induce the King of France, if possible, to attack the British possessions in Europe or the West Indies; promising, in order to recompense him for thus aiding them, the right equally with them,

of fishing off the Banks of Newfoundland, which island, with that of Cape Breton, and the province of Nova Scotia, were to be reduced by their allied forces.

The commissioners to the courts of France and Spain, were to consult together, and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, to be proposed to the court of Spain, offering to assist that government in the reduction of Pensacola.

Much action was afterwards had upon the subject of prisoners, and in consequence of the refusal of General Howe to exchange General Lee, Congress ordered that Colonel Campbell and six Hessian field-officers, who were prisoners in Massachusetts, should be closely confined.

In the course of the summer, the British ministers pretended to have discovered that many of the American privateers were French ships, which had taken out papers and commissions from the American Congress, and were manned with mixed crews, of which the greater part were Frenchmen. They also asserted that France and Spain were fitting out great armaments, and that those governments allowed the privateers with American commissions to sell prizes in their ports. On this pretext, they fitted out sixteen more ships of the line, and laid an embargo upon the exportation of provisions.

Parliament assembled on the 31st of October. In the opening speech, the king declared that "nothing could have afforded him so much pleasure as to be able to state that the troubles in the American colonies were at an end, and that the unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their political leaders, and had returned to their duty. But," he continued, "so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country; they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission; and they have presumed to set up their rebellious

confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdom, and indeed to the present system of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from their object being openly avowed and clearly understood—we shall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures.”

Although he advised them to prepare for another campaign, he was happy to inform them, that by the blessing of Divine Providence on the valour and good conduct of his officers and forces by sea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the foreign troops, Canada was recovered; and that, though from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province had been such as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive consequences.

He declared that he continued to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; and that he indulged the hope that all misunderstanding might be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the inestimable blessing of peace. He thought, nevertheless, that, in the present situation of affairs, it was expedient that the government should be in a respectable state of defence at home. He trusted that his faithful Commons would readily and cheerfully grant such supplies as the maintenance of the honour of his crown, the vindication of the just rights of parliament, and the public welfare, should be found to require.

In conclusion, he said, “In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under milder government, than those now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art, of which they boast, declare it: their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore them to the

blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

The addresses in both houses brought on violent debates, in which the animosity of party was more discernible than anything else.

In the House of Commons, Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment, which was longer than the whole of the preposed address, and included a view of the entire ministerial management of American affairs. After a declaration of zeal and loyalty, it expressed the deepest concern at beholding the minds of a very large and lately loyal and affectionate part of his majesty's subjects entirely alienated from his government; and then, it inferred, that the disaffection and revolt of a whole people could not have taken place without some considerable errors in the conduct of ministers and parliament. These errors it imputed to the want of sufficient information, and the too great confidence in ministers, who, though by duty bound to know the temper and disposition of the Americans, had totally failed for want of that knowledge. It insisted that every act of parliament which ministers had proposed, as a means of procuring peace and submission, had become a new cause of hostility and revolt, until the nation was inextricably involved in a bloody and expensive civil war, which would exhaust its strength, expose its allies to the designs of their enemies, and leave the kingdom in a most perilous situation. It affirmed that no hearing had been afforded to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies, no ground laid for removing the original cause of the quarrel, no proper authority given to the commissioners nominated for the apparent purpose of making peace: and it represented that all these things, and the delay in sending out the commissioners, had driven the colonists to despair, and had furnished them with reasons for breaking off their dependence on the crown of England. It stated that it could only be by withdrawing their confidence from ministers who

had so often and grossly abused it, that parliament could recover the confidence of the people. It recommended a searching inquiry into all the misconduct of ministers in regard to them. It said that when parliament had prohibited their trade and their fisheries, it ought to have been expected that the American seamen and fishermen would turn privateers, and wreak their vengeance on the commerce of Great Britain.

The amendment next urged upon parliament a wise and moderate use of the late advantages, which the king had informed them had been gained in the course of the year, as the best means of securing the happy effects which all were supposed to desire from the action of the present meeting of that body ; and it assured his majesty that nothing should be wanting to enable him to take advantage of any disposition to reconciliation which might be the consequence of the miseries of war.

This amendment concluded with a few general sentiments, expressing the regret of parliament at the occurrence of any events tending to break the spirit of a large part of the British nation, and its wish that the unhappy breach now apparent between the mother country and her colonies might be speedily healed.

The Marquis of Granby rose and eloquently seconded the amendment. Most of the opposition orators followed, and John Wilkes particularly distinguished himself on the occasion.

“What we call treason and rebellion,” said that distinguished orator, “the Americans call a just resistance and a glorious revolution—and that revolution has taken deep root, and has spread over almost all America. The loyal colonies are three—the free provinces are thirteen.” He proceeded to describe the leaders of the American revolution as persons not very prone to a change of government ; but only driven to extremities by an accumulation of neglect, insult, and injury, and by two years of a savage, piratical, and unjust war, carried on by Britain against them. Wilkes ridiculed the half-reliance expressed in the king’s speech on the pacific

declarations of the natural enemies of Britain; and Colonel Barre, positively asserted that England was at that very moment threatened with war, both by France and Spain. In reply to Lord Sandwich, who maintained that France, and more particularly Spain, would think of their colonies, and the effects to be apprehended there, if the insurgents in the British colonies were protected, assisted, and made victorious in their revolt, Charles James Fox denied that it was repugnant to the interests of those two courts to permit the independence of the United States; and he urged that what France and Spain would chiefly keep in view, was the favourable opportunity of splitting and dividing their old and formidable rival—the British Empire.

In the course of the debate, George Washington was lauded as a high-spirited, hospitable, unambitious, country gentleman. The President, Hancock, was described as a plain, honest merchant, of fair character and considerable substance in Boston; and the rest of the leaders in Congress were represented as simple-minded, unspeculative people, who, until very lately, had abhorred levelling and republican principles. It was maintained that the revolutionary leaders had practised no arts, no trickery, no subterfuges, no oppression on any part of their countrymen—that there had been no coercion anywhere—that the revolution had sprung from the spontaneous and universal feeling of the colonies. The Americans were again and again called the most virtuous and most valuable members of the British community; and some of the opposition members even went so far as to describe the address, which was to be an echo of the speech from the throne, as insidious, false, deceptive, and hypocritical.

Lord North and Lord Germaine replied to these speeches in a strain at once laudatory of the king's speech, and vituperative of the Americans and their advocates. They were followed by some others of their party, and, in the end, the amendment was lost by a vote of two hundred and forty-two to eighty-seven. After this vote, the main question was put,

and the address carried, two hundred and thirty-two votes being given for it, and eighty-three for its rejection.

In the Upper House, the Marquis of Rockingham offered an amendment exactly similar to that of Lord Cavendish. The principal part of the debate was here sustained by the ministerial party. The Duke of Richmond thought that America was gone for ever, and that the British nation had better sit down as quiet and contented as it could under the grievous loss, which had been solely caused by an unjust and weak administration. Lord Shelburne said he could never think that Great Britain could resign her right to control American trade, and force the Americans to pay taxes. The amendment was then negatived, by a majority of ninety-one against twenty-six, and the address passed by about the same vote.

On the 16th of November, Lord Cavendish moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revisal of all laws and acts of Parliament by which the Americans thought themselves aggrieved. Burke seconded this motion in a most eloquent speech. He applauded the great valour of the Americans, and denied the charge which the ministers had made, that that people had attempted to burn New York, to rid it of its enemies. He called the conflagration of that city a direct interposition of Providence to arrest the progress of the British arms. Many other speeches were made, aiming at the conduct of the ministers, who replied in a strain of abuse of the American Congress, and on the question being taken, the motion was lost by a majority of sixty-two.

On the 8th of November, Lord North moved in committee for a supply of forty-five thousand seamen, for the service of the following year. Upon this, Mr. Luttrell asserted that all the British naval affairs had been infamously and corruptly managed, and that the noble lord at the head of the admiralty had been guilty of wilful and dangerous imposition, both on parliament and the public, by putting forth false representations of the state of the navy. Lord North and other members of the admiralty board, vindicated Lord Sandwich's conduct, and after censuring Mr. Luttrell for his attack upon

him, they affirmed that nothing could more redound to the honour of the first lord of the admiralty, than a strict parliamentary inquiry, which would prove that all the charges brought against him proceeded from error or falsehood, ignorance or malice. Luttrell replied to their censures, and stated that as a representative of the people he had a right to investigate the conduct of any public officer, and that, as soon as the house was resumed, he would move for the production of all the late returns of the navy which had been received at the admiralty; and he afterwards did so. Lord North refused to produce them, and upon Luttrell's saying that they were necessary to afford him the proofs he wanted to establish the charge, which he had intended to bring, the matter was dropped.

The number of seamen required by the estimate was granted, and between three and four millions of pounds sterling were voted for the expense of the navy, together with nearly the same sum to the army estimates. These supplies being granted, parliament adjourned on the 13th of December till the 21st of January following.

It will be perceived by the foregoing detail of proceedings in the British parliament, that the king and his ministers, with the party by whom they were supported, were unmoved in their determination to enforce the unconditional submission of the colonies; while the opposition were earnest in their endeavours to procure the adoption of conciliatory measures. With a majority of the British nation the war was popular; and the attempt of an obscure individual called John the Painter, alleged to be a secret emissary of the French or colonial agents, to burn the navy-yards of England, served to increase the popular indignation against the Americans. The misrepresentations of the loyalists in this country served to blind the British nation to the determined and formidable character of the revolt.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.



THE commencement of hostile operations in the middle states had been deferred until August in the preceding season ; but the campaign of 1777 promised to begin with the year. The militia were emboldened by the success of Washington, and respecting themselves, they confided in their persevering efforts to secure the great object of contention, the independence of America.

Without enlisting or joining the regular army under Washington, the insulted and offended people of Jersey, in many instances formed themselves into bands, ready to move at short notice ; and these little companies were ever on the alert to surprise a straggling party, or cut off an unwary detachment of foragers of the enemy. So successful were they in this skirmishing kind of warfare, that the British never ventured out for forage, except in very strong parties, and even then, in many cases, they were met and defeated by the raw militia of the country. As an instance, near two thousand of the British on a foraging expedition from Amboy, on the 23d of February, attacked the American guards and drove them five or six miles ; but when the latter were rein-

forced by General Maxwell, with fourteen hundred militia, the British retreated, leaving some prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and two dead. They were so thoroughly mortified at their unsuccessful operations, that they frequently refused to let their opponents know their loss ; but carried off their dead and wounded in light wagons.

Thus were the troops under Cornwallis watched, straitened, and obliged to undergo the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty ; notwithstanding that Cornwallis was reinforced by a brigade, and a detachment of grenadiers and light-infantry, drawn from the troops in Rhode Island, under Lord Percy.

Nothing but ignorance of the numbers and situation of the American army, could have prevented Cornwallis from marching against and dissipating it. Washington's whole force, including militia, amounted often to not more than fifteen hundred men ; and it has been asserted, upon good authority, that he repeatedly could not muster more at Morristown than between three and four hundred. Early in the year, however, fifteen hundred of the new troops would have been upon their march from Massachusetts ; but the general court could not supply them with arms. This perplexity was of but a short continuance. A vessel arrived at Portsmouth, from France, with eight hundred and sixty-four cases, containing eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven stand of arms ; she had also on board, one thousand barrels of powder, eleven thousand gun-flints, and other munitions of war. Congress had been under a similar embarrassment with the Massachusetts general court, as to the procuring of supplies for Washington's army ; but they obtained similar relief by the arrival of ten thousand stand of arms in another part of the United States.

Before the royal army took the field for the ensuing campaign, two enterprises were resolved upon for the destruction of the American stores, deposited at Peekskill, on the North river, and at Danbury, in Connecticut. For this purpose, a detachment of five hundred men, under Colonel Bird, was

convoeyed up the Hudson to Peekskill, by the Brune frigate. General M'Dougall, who commanded the post, had but two hundred and fifty men to guard the place, which required a garrison of six hundred; he therefore fired the principal store-houses and retreated to the important pass through the highlands, on the east side of the river, three miles distant. Bird destroyed the greater part of the stores, and fearful that the Americans would be reinforced, he re-embarked on the same day.

In April, Governor Tryon, with a detachment of two thousand men, passed through the Sound, under a naval convoy, and landing between Fairfield and Norwalk, advanced without interruption to Danbury, where he arrived on the afternoon of the 26th, the American troops having retired with a part of the stores and provisions. The enemy, on their arrival, began burning and destroying the remainder, together with eighteen houses and their contents, which were judged from circumstances to have been singled out for that purpose; but not one of the tory houses was injured.

On the first approach of the British armament, the country was alarmed: and, early the next morning, General Sullivan, with about five hundred men, pursued the enemy, who had twenty-three miles to march. He was joined by Generals Arnold and Wooster, with about two hundred militia. It was determined to follow and harass the British on their return; and accordingly, when the royal troops quitted Danbury on the 27th, the Americans marched after them. General Wooster was mortally wounded; and the Americans lost about twenty killed and forty wounded. Governor Tryon, however, did not reach his fleet without the loss of about four hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The stores destroyed in these expeditions did not equal in quantity the reports of the tory spies, which caused them, nor the account given by Howe of the amount; yet their loss was the occasion of much inconvenience to the Americans during the active season of the campaign. General Washington had repeatedly cautioned the commissary against suffering any

large quantities of provisions to lie near the water, in such places as were accessible to the enemy's shipping; but his suggestions had been neglected or disregarded.

Meanwhile Cornwallis commenced his military operations by an exceedingly well-laid, and nearly as well-executed plan, of surprising Boundbrook, where General Lincoln was posted with about five hundred men. The post was about seven miles from Brunswick, and Lincoln had to guard an extent of five or six miles, which occasioned his flanks being exposed. Cornwallis chose the morning of the 13th of April for effecting his object; and though Lincoln had expected a manœuvre of this kind, and was particularly cautious against a surprise, yet the enemy succeeded in crossing the Raritan, just above the general's quarters, and through neglect of the patrols, they advanced undiscovered to within two hundred yards of him.

Cornwallis and Grant headed this party, which comprised one thousand men, and Lincoln and one of his aids had just time to mount and leave the place, before the house in which they had been quartered was surrounded. The other aid, with Lincoln's baggage and papers, was captured. This happened between daybreak and sunrise. The artillery, consisting of three small pieces, was taken.

Meantime, one thousand men advanced up each side of the Raritan to Boundbrook, to attack the Americans in front, where the action began, nearly at the same time when the other party were surrounding the general's house. Lincoln rode to the head of his army, while Cornwallis drew off a body from his reserve of two thousand men, to get into the rear of the American right. Another party advanced in a direction to gain the rear of the left, and thus encircle the Americans completely, and prevent them from retiring to the neighbouring mountain.

Lincoln saw the danger, and found that he was reduced to the necessity of being captured, with the whole party in front, or of passing between the two columns of the enemy, which had nearly closed. He skilfully effected this passage, with the small loss of not more than sixty killed, wounded, and taken.

The British destroyed twenty barrels of flour and a few casks of rum, and then evacuated the place.

These enterprises were soon after retaliated by the Americans. General Parsons, learning that the British had been employed in procuring forage, grain, and other necessities for their army, which were deposited at Sagg Harbour, sent Colonel Meigs to destroy them. Meigs marched first to Guilford, whence he embarked on the 23d of May, with one hundred and thirty men, and at twelve o'clock they had reached a place about four miles from Sagg Harbour, where he left the boats in a wood, under the care of a guard, and marched with the rest of his force to the harbour in the greatest order and silence. He arrived about two o'clock in the morning of the 24th, and attacked the various guards and posts with fixed bayonets. The alarm soon became general, and an armed schooner of twelve guns and seventy men began a fire. The Americans returned it, and soon set fire to the schooner and forage, taking or killing all the sailors and soldiers except six, who escaped under cover of the night. Besides the schooner, eleven brigs and sloops, one hundred tons of pressed hay, a quantity of oats, corn, and other forage, ten hogsheads of rum, and a large quantity of merchandise, were consumed. Colonel Meigs returned safe with all his men to Guilford, by two o'clock in the afternoon, with ninety prisoners, without having a single man killed or wounded. The enemy had six killed. In twenty-four hours he had transported his men by land and water, full ninety miles.

A spirited adventure also took place in Rhode Island, which not only fully retaliated the surprisal of General Lee, but procured his exchange. Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, of a Rhode Island militia regiment, with other officers and volunteers, to the number of forty, passed, on the night of July 10th, from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, and, though they had a passage of ten miles by water, eluded the watchfulness of the ships of war and guard-boats that surrounded the island. They conducted their enterprise with such silence and dexterity as to surprise General Prescott, in quarters, about one

mile from the water-side, and five from Newport. Barton found him in bed, and barely gave him time to dress himself, while one of his aids, hearing a noise in the house, leaped from the window into the hands of the guard surrounding the building. They were both hurried to the boats, and brought safe to the continent, which they had nearly reached before there was any alarm among the enemy. This adventure, which, with impartial judges, must outweigh Harcourt's capture of Lee, produced much exultation on one side, and much regret on the other, from the influence it would necessarily have on Lee's destination. Hitherto Sir William Howe had obstinately refused to make any arrangement for the release of General Lee; but he was now glad to exchange him for General Prescott, and Lee was restored to the American cause.

As the season advanced, Washington was reinforced by the arrival of recruits from various quarters. Still at the regular opening of the campaign, in the beginning of June, he could muster but seven thousand two hundred and seventy men. Having left his winter-quarters at Morristown, he cautiously advanced to a good position at Middlebrook. Howe gave, as a reason for not taking the field sooner, the want of tents and field-equipage, which were not sent him in time. These articles arriving, with reinforcements of troops, he passed over to the Jerseys, marched from Brunswick, on the 13th of June, and took the field. But he was not attended by that number of Tories which he had been led to expect would join him.

Mr. Delancey and Mr. Courtland Skinner, were each presented with a general's commission, and directed to raise four thousand privates among the loyalists in New York and New Jersey; but Delancey raised only five hundred and ninety-seven, and Skinner five hundred and seventeen. When Howe took the field, the bands of Jersey militia again mustered in great numbers, to oppose and harass the royal army in its march through the country.

Howe came out as unencumbered as possible, leaving all his baggage, provisions, boats, and bridges at Brunswick; which

in the opinion of Washington, forcibly contradicted the idea of an expedition toward the Delaware. Every appearance confirmed the opinion that Howe first intended an attack on the Americans. The royal army marched to Hillsborough and Middlebush in two columns, as though with the intention of reaching the Delaware. Their front extended to Somerset court-house, their rear remaining at Middlebush, half-way between that and Brunswick. Washington was encamped upon the enemy's right flank, five miles distant from it. His troops were so disposed under Sullivan and himself as to be capable of making a successful opposition.

When the royal army retreated to Brunswick, they burnt and destroyed the farm-houses on the road. Their cruelties to the inhabitants were inexpressible. They ruined and defaced every public edifice, particularly those dedicated to the Deity. They removed their baggage to Amboy, for which place they set out on the 22d; the evening before, a number of circumstances made it evident to Washington that a movement was in agitation, and it was the prevailing opinion that it would be made the next morning. He therefore kept the army paraded to support Greene, whom he detached with three brigades, to fall upon the rear.

About sunrise, a party of Morgan's light-infantry attacked and drove in the Hessian guard. The enemy, on the appearance of Wayne's brigade and Morgan's regiment opposite Brunswick, immediately crossed the bridge to the east side of the river and threw themselves into the redoubts, which they again quitted on the rapid advance of the Americans. The enemy retired by the Amboy road, and in the pursuit, Colonel Morgan's riflemen exchanged several sharp fires with them, which did considerable execution. Howe arrived at New York on Sunday afternoon; and employed the rest of the day in removing the wounded soldiers from the docks to the hospitals. They were said to amount to some hundreds.

On the 24th of June, Washington advanced with the whole army to Quibbletown, and Howe sent the baggage and all the encumbrances of the army to Staten Island, ordering a

number of troops to follow, to relieve the Americans from all apprehensions of an attack from that quarter. He could not deceive the wary Washington. On the evening of the 25th, the troops returned; and next morning he advanced suddenly with his whole army, in two columns, from Amboy.

Washington knew not precisely what he intended; but he judged it prudent to move his army from the lowlands to anticipate the enemy in the occupation of the heights. Lord Stirling was sent to aid and support the American advanced guards. The enemy soon fell in with him, and preferring a show of resistance to an immediate retreat, he was nearly cut off by Cornwallis, with the right column. He escaped with the trifling loss of three small field-pieces. The enemy lost many more in the skirmish than the Americans, who soon gained the mountain passes, when Morgan with his riflemen was detached to watch their motions. The British remained till next day, and then retreated slowly to Amboy. On the 30th, they crossed over to Staten Island, without molestation, and remained there until the 23d of July, when they embarked and sailed southward.





La Fayette offering his services to Dr. Franklin.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

IT was at this period of the revolutionary war that the Marquis de La Fayette arrived in our country. His was one of the most striking examples of heroism and disinterestedness recorded in the pages of history. Out of his great zeal for the cause of liberty, in which the United States were engaged, he resolved to leave the endearments of home, and the brilliant destinies which awaited him as one of the first nobles of France, "to plunge in the blood and dust of our inauspicious struggle."

In 1776, at the age of nineteen, he communicated his intention to the American commissioners at Paris, who failed

not to encourage it, justly concluding that the eclat of his departure would be serviceable to their cause. Events, however, immediately occurred which would have deterred from the undertaking a person less decided than the Marquis. News arrived in France, that the remnant of the American army, reduced to two thousand men, had fled towards Philadelphia through the Jerseys, before thirty thousand British troops. This news so effectually extinguished the little credit which America had in Europe, that their commissioners could not procure a vessel to forward this nobleman's project. Under these circumstances, they thought it but honest to discourage his prosecuting the enterprise, till a change in affairs should render it less hazardous or more promising. In vain, however, did they act so candid a part. The flame, which the American sons of liberty had kindled in his breast, could not be smothered by their misfortunes. "Hitherto," said he, in an interview with Dr. Franklin, in the true spirit of heroism, "I have only cherished your cause; now I am going to serve it. The lower it is in the opinion of the people, the greater effect my departure will have; and since you cannot get a vessel, I shall purchase and fit out one, to carry your despatches to Congress, and me to America." He accordingly fitted out a vessel, and meanwhile made a visit to Great Britain, that the part he was about to act might be rendered the more conspicuous.

The French court, whatever were their good wishes toward America, could not at that time overlook his elopement. He was overtaken by an order, forbidding him to proceed to America, and vessels were despatched to the West Indies, to have him confined in case he was found in that quarter. He acknowledged the receipt of the order, but did not obey it; and keeping clear of the West Indies, he arrived at Charleston, in the spring of 1777, and immediately repaired to the seat of war. He was received by Washington with open arms, and was immediately appointed by Congress a major-general. Many French officers followed his example; and it was principally through his efforts, backed by those of Dr. Franklin, and the

other American commissioners at Paris, that the treaty of alliance and mutual defence between the United States and France, was afterwards concluded.

The British fleet, after leaving New York, appeared off the Capes of the Delaware, on the 30th of July, 1777, but put to sea again and entered the Chesapeake; and on the 24th of August, the troops were landed at the head of Elk river. When the fleet had sailed from New York, Washington marched his army towards Pennsylvania, and halted at Coryell's Ferry, Howell's Ferry, and Trenton. On the advice of the British troops having landed, he marched to the Brandywine with his troops, amounting to eleven thousand fit for duty.

The army took a position behind Red Clay creek, with its left on Christiana creek, and its right on Chadd's Ford, on the road leading direct from the enemy's camp to Philadelphia. On the 3d of September, the royal army, consisting of sixteen thousand men, moved forward. Washington had his main force stationed at Chadd's Ford. General Maxwell was sent to the opposite height, with one thousand men, to retard the march of the enemy. At daybreak, on the 11th of September, the British army moved to the attack in two columns, under Knyphausen and Cornwallis.

The division under Cornwallis, accompanied by Sir William Howe in person, crossed the Brandywine at the forks, and advanced to turn the American right. Sullivan, with the right, marched up the river, until he found favourable ground on which to engage. His left extended to the Brandywine, and both flanks were covered by a thick wood. At half-past four, when his line was scarcely formed, Cornwallis began the attack. The action, though severe, was maintained for some time; but the American right, which was in some confusion when the attack began, at length broke, and the troops who maintained their ground, were exposed on their flanks.

General Greene, who commanded the reserve, and had been ordered by Washington to march to support Sullivan, as soon as the firing was heard, advanced four miles in forty-two

minutes ; but, on reaching the scene of action, he found Sullivan's division flying in confusion. He covered their retreat, and, after some time, finding an advantageous position, he renewed the battle, and arrested the progress of the pursuing enemy.

General Knyphausen, as soon as he heard the firing of Lord Cornwallis's division, forced the passage of Chadd's Ford, and attacked the troops stationed there, under Wayne. He met with some opposition ; but Wayne, learning the fate of Sullivan's division, drew off his troops. Washington retreated with his whole force that night to Chester, where he halted, within eight miles of the British army. Next morning he retreated to Philadelphia.

In the battle of Brandywine, the Americans lost about three hundred killed and six hundred wounded, of whom four hundred were taken prisoners. Howe stated his loss at five hundred killed and wounded ; but it was probably greater. In the battle, several foreign officers of distinction served in the American army ; amongst these was La Fayette, who now first served in the American cause. He received a wound in the leg, but continued in the field, encouraging the troops to the end of the action. Several other French officers were in the battle on the same side, and also Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman.

In Philadelphia, Washington remained two days, collecting his troops, and replacing the stores, lost in the battle ; and on the third day after the battle, he marched up the Schuylkill to Sweed's Ford, where he crossed it, and proceeded towards Lancaster, intending to hazard another battle for the protection of Philadelphia. His stores were deposited at Reading.

On the 15th, the commander-in-chief was informed of the approach of the British army, and he prepared to meet and engage it ; but a heavy rain commenced falling, and continued throughout the day. The American muskets were nearly all rendered useless by the rain ; and so badly constructed were their cartridge-boxes, that all the ammunition was damaged. The want of bayonets rendered the situation of the army

extremely exposed, and Washington retreated to Yellow Springs, and thence to Warwick Furnace, on French creek.

Howe's advance was delayed two days by the weather; and Wayne was sent, with fifteen hundred men, to harass his march; but he was surprised, and only escaped with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. Howe crossed the Schuylkill on the 23d of September, with his whole force; on the 26th, he advanced and quartered his army in Germantown, and next day Cornwallis entered Philadelphia, to the great joy of many of the disaffected inhabitants.

Washington encamped on the Skippack creek, twenty miles from Philadelphia. Admiral Howe left the Chesapeake on receiving news of the battle of Brandywine, and arrived in the Delaware, on the 8th of October.

Desirous of having a free communication with the fleet, Sir William Howe employed his army in removing the chevaux-de-frise and other impediments to navigation in the Delaware, which the Americans had been at much pains to construct, and which were defended by floating-batteries, armed vessels, and fire-ships. The removal of these obstructions necessarily weakened the army at Germantown; and Washington, whose forces had been augmented to eleven thousand men, regulars and militia, determined to attack them by surprise.

On the evening of the 3d of October, he moved from his encampment, with twenty-five hundred chosen men, and early on the morning of the 4th, he commenced the attack. The advanced guards were soon driven in; but one untoward circumstance defeated the whole enterprise. Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, with five companies, threw himself into a large stone house, belonging to Mr. Chew, and severely galled the Americans, by a fire from the doors and windows. Nearly half the American army were engaged in a vain attempt to dislodge them; and the British partly recovered from their confusion. A thick fog rendered the morning so dark that it became almost impossible to distinguish friend from foe.

Washington found himself at length obliged to order a retreat to save his army. Here the fog was beneficial, and

the army retreated under cover of a battery, suddenly and opportunely established by General Wayne, on an eminence near White Marsh church. Many were unable to unite with their parties, and fell into the hands of the British, which accounts for the large number of prisoners, four hundred remaining in their hands. The Americans lost, besides, about two hundred killed and three hundred wounded. The British stated their loss at near six hundred killed and wounded.

The effect of the battle of Germantown was to make Howe more cautious of his adversary. He withdrew his army from Germantown, nearer Philadelphia, whilst Washington retired to his former position.

The upper line of chevaux-de-frise, in the Delaware river, which prevented the British ships from ascending to the city, was protected by a work on Mud Island, called Fort Mifflin, and a redoubt and works on the Jersey shore, at Red Bank, named Fort Mercer. The reduction of the forts, and the opening of the Delaware, were of essential importance to the British army, in the occupation of Philadelphia. Howe therefore ordered Count Donop, a Hessian officer, with twelve hundred men, chiefly Germans, to cross the Delaware and storm the works at Red Bank.

In the evening of the 22d of October, he attacked the fort, which was garrisoned by Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, with only five hundred men. This number was insufficient to man the works completely, and they soon retired from the outworks to the redoubt, after galling the Hessians on their approach. The enemy made a spirited charge, but the fire of the Americans was well directed and deadly. Count Donop was mortally wounded; the second in command met with a similar fate; and the third immediately retired with the rest of his men. Greene followed them on their retreat. Donop was taken prisoner, and treated with the utmost kindness; but, he soon died of his wounds. The British lost in this affair about four hundred men, the protected garrison but thirty-two, killed and wounded. The British disasters did not end here. That part of the fleet which



Battle of Red Bank.

co-operated in the attack was equally unfortunate. The chevaux-de-frise had altered the channel, and made sandbanks where none had before existed. The frigates *Augusta* and *Merlin* grounded a little below the second row of chevaux-de-frise. At the return of the tide, every exertion was made to get them off; but in vain. In the morning, the Americans, perceiving their condition, began to fire upon them, and sent fire-ships to effect their complete destruction. The *Augusta* caught fire, and the crew were saved with the utmost difficulty. The second-lieutenant, chaplain, gunner, and some seamen, perished in the flames; and the crew of the *Merlin*, apprehending a similar fate, set fire to and abandoned her.

In the meantime, preparations were making for reducing Fort Mifflin. Some of the British ships were brought up the river; and the *Vigilant* man-of-war was so cut down as to draw very little water, when it was able to enfilade the fort. Batteries had also been erected on the Pennsylvania shore, opposite the fort, and on Province Island. The little garrison of three hundred men had greatly exerted themselves in

opposing and retarding the operations of the British fleet and army against them; and in this desperate crisis their courage did not forsake them. A terrible cannonade was commenced on the 16th of November; and was answered by the fort, the floating-batteries, and the works on the Jersey bank. In the course of the day the walls of the fort were battered down, and nearly every gun dismounted. In the night, the garrison escaped to Red Bank, by means of their shipping. This post was now of no utility; and when Cornwallis marched with five thousand men to invest it, the garrison and stores were withdrawn. Part of the American shipping escaped up the river, on the Jersey side; but the rest was fired by the batteries on the Philadelphia side, and destroyed.

Being reinforced by some troops from the northern army, Washington left his strong camp at Skippack, and advanced to White Marsh, fourteen miles nearer Philadelphia. Howe attempted to draw him out, but could not tempt him from his lines, which were too strong to be attacked. At this time, the two armies were equal in point of numbers, being each fourteen thousand strong; but Howe was well supplied with arms, ammunition, and military stores, and his troops were well disciplined; whilst Washington's men were mostly raw recruits, badly armed, worse clad, and destitute of arms and ammunition; hence the Americans were unable to meet the British on equal terms.

Washington was too wary to encounter his adversary on equal ground, or to quit the strong positions which he invariably selected for his encampments; and, though he had been defeated at Brandywine, and had suffered much chagrin by his repulse at Germantown, yet Howe could not boast of his achievements; for while his army was daily melting away, that of his adversary, hydra-headed as it were, was proportionably strengthened. Washington soon after retired to Valley Forge, where he entered into winter-quarters; whilst Howe, having spent nearly the whole campaign in removing the resistance and obstructions in the Delaware, found himself obliged to spend the winter in Philadelphia, scarcely less

confined than he had been the preceding winter, at New York.

While Washington was thus endeavouring to make head against Howe, in the Middle States, events of the greatest importance to the American cause were passing in the North. A principal object of the British, in the campaign of this year, was to effect a communication between Canada and New York, in order that the New England States, being thus cut off from communication with the rest of the Union, might be overrun at pleasure. The British ministry were sanguine that when this soul of the confederacy, as they considered it, was subjugated, the other states would be easily overcome.

General Burgoyne was made commander-in-chief of the northern army, and a force of seven thousand one hundred and seventy men, consisting of British and German troops, besides a fine train of artillery, and large bodies of Canadians and Indians, were put under his command. The plan of operations was two-fold. Burgoyne, with the main body, was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain, and force his way to Albany, where he might effect a junction with the royal army of New York; whilst Colonel St. Leger, with two hundred British soldiers, a regiment of New York loyalists, raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a powerful body of Indians, was to ascend the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and from that quarter penetrate to Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river, and join the grand army on the Hudson.

Every part of this magnificent plan was completely digested, and its most minute operations arranged in the cabinet of St. James. The troops were furnished with every military equipment which the service required; general officers of the highest reputation were appointed to assist the commander; and the train of artillery was perhaps the most powerful ever annexed to an army not more numerous.

Burgoyne arrived at Quebec in May. On the 20th of June, he proceeded up Lake Champlain to Crown Point, where he feasted the Indians, made them presents, and secured their

affections and services. In the beginning of July, he proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. He pushed his works with such rapidity, as in a few days to threaten a complete inclosure of the garrison, and batteries were erected on Sugar Hill, an eminence overlooking the fortress, which the Americans had thought inaccessible.

Under these circumstances, General St. Clair, with the unanimous approbation of a council of war, determined to avoid a surrender by abandoning the place. Accordingly, on the 6th of July, when nearly surrounded, the evacuation was effected with such secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores were embarked in two hundred batteaux, and sent up the river to Skeensborough, under convoy of five armed galleys. The protecting vessels were chased by ten of the enemy's gun-boats, and all of them taken; but most of the batteaux escaped during the engagement.

The rear-guard of the American army, commanded by Colonel Warner, numbering one thousand men, was attacked by eight hundred and fifty British, under General Frazer, at Hubberton. They fought bravely, and were only compelled to give way by the arrival of General Reidesel, with his division of Germans. The Americans lost near four hundred in killed and prisoners, and about five hundred wounded. Colonel Francis, a valuable American officer, fell in the battle. The British lost one hundred and seventy-nine in killed and wounded, of which number twenty were officers. Warner joined the main army some days after, with ninety men.

After a most distressing march of seven days, St. Clair reached Fort Edward, where he was joined by General Schuyler, who had learned the fate of St. Clair's army at Stillwater, when he was on his way to Ticonderoga. Their united forces amounted to no more than four thousand four hundred men, and with this small army General Schuyler retired over the Hudson to Saratoga, on the approach of Burgoyne, who reached Fort Edward on the 30th of July. The garrison of Fort Anne, being menaced with an attack from a greatly superior force, had set fire to the works, and joined Schuyler at Fort Edward.

Colonel St. Leger, with the other division of the royal army, laid siege to Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk, with an army sixteen hundred strong, consisting of British, Canadians, Indians, and Tories, on the 3d of August, and summoned the garrison to surrender. Colonel Gansevoort, who held the post, with six hundred Americans, replied that he would defend it to the last. Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, had assembled them in considerable force, and was marching to the relief of the garrison, who intended favouring his design by a sortie. Unfortunately, St. Leger received notice of his approach, and laid an ambuscade of British and Indians, on the road by which he was to march. Suddenly attacked by a merciless foe, Herkimer defended himself with great resolution and bravery; but fell himself in the engagement, with the loss of four hundred men.

About the same time, Colonel Willet, with two hundred men, sallied out of the fort and possessed himself of their camp, drove them into the woods, took some stores and standards, and returned to the fort, without the loss of a man.

Arnold was now despatched from the main army to attack St. Leger, and raise the siege; but as the enemy outnumbered him, he had recourse to stratagem to effect his object. He sent an individual, who had been arrested as a spy, to the enemy's camp; and it was promised him, that if he succeeded in representing his force as very large, and alarming the Indians and others, he should be set free, and his estates which were considerable, and had been forfeited, should be restored to him. Having consented, he succeeded in his design; and some Indians, friendly to the Americans, followed him, and confirmed the report, adding that Burgoyne had been totally routed, and was flying before Schuyler. The Indians, seven or eight hundred in number, resolved to seek safety in flight, and every remonstrance which St. Leger could urge, was of no avail in persuading them to remain. Deserted by these allies, St. Leger raised the siege, and retreated, on the 22d of August, with great precipitancy, leaving his tents, artillery, baggage,

ammunition, and provisions in the hands of the garrison. Arnold, having accomplished this service, returned to camp.

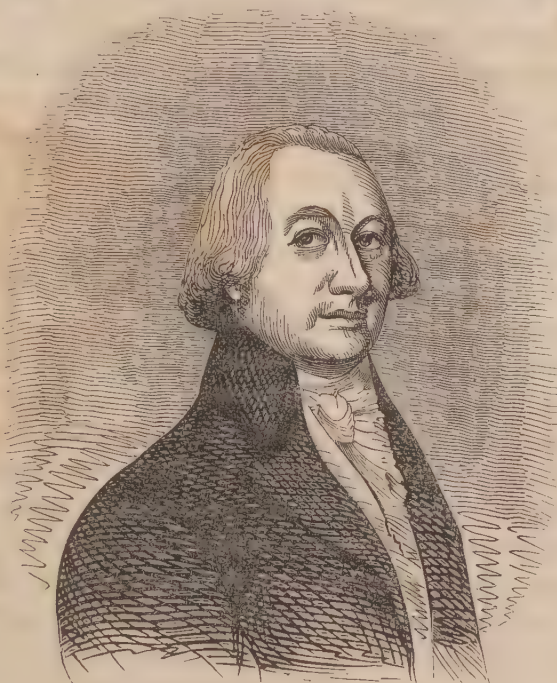
St. Leger retired to Montreal, and thence he marched to Ticonderoga, with the intention of joining Burgoyne. That general perceived the necessity of a rapid movement to co-operate with St. Leger; but he could not effect it without teams and carriages, of which he was destitute; and learning that many carriages and other munitions and stores were deposited at Bennington, in Vermont, he determined, if possible, to seize them by surprise.

Up to this time, everything in the aspect of the campaign in the north had been as discouraging to the Americans as it was promising to Burgoyne. We quote a passage from Governor Everett,* to show what the state of feeling was in New England, and to what kind of measures some of its sons were capable of resorting for the public good.

“It must be confessed that it required no ordinary share of fortitude, to find topics of consolation in the present state of affairs. The British were advancing with a well-appointed army into the heart of the country, under the conduct, as it was supposed, of the most skilful officers, confident of success, and selected to finish the war. The army consisted in part of German troops, veterans of the Seven Years’ War, under the command of a general of experience, conduct, and valour. Nothing could have been more ample than the military supplies, the artillery, munitions, and stores, with which the army was provided. A considerable force of Canadians and American loyalists, furnished the requisite spies, scouts, and rangers; and a numerous force of savages, in their war-dresses, with their peculiar weapons and native ferocity, increased the terrors of its approach. Its numbers were usually rated at ten thousand strong.

“On the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and the further advance of such an army, the New England States, and particularly New Hampshire and Massachusetts, were filled with alarm. It was felt that their frontier was uncovered, and that strenuous

* Life of General Stark.



John Langdon.

and extraordinary efforts for the protection of the country were necessary. In New Hampshire, as being nearer the scene of danger, a proportionably greater anxiety was felt. The Committee of Safety of what was then called the New Hampshire Grants, the present State of Vermont, wrote in the most pressing terms to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety at Exeter, apprising them, that, if assistance should not be sent to them, they should be forced to abandon the country and take refuge east of the Connecticut River. When these tidings reached Exeter, the Assembly had finished their spring session, and had gone home. A summons from the Committee brought them together again, and in three days they took the most effectual and decisive steps for the defence of the country. Among the patriotic members of the Assembly, who signalized themselves on this occasion, none was more conspicuous than the late Governor Langdon. The members of

that body were inclined to despond ; the public credit was exhausted ; and there were no means of supporting troops, if they could be raised. Meantime the defences of the frontier had fallen, and the enemy, with overwhelming force, was penetrating into the country. At this gloomy juncture, John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth, and speaker of the Assembly, thus addressed its members :

“ I have three thousand dollars in hard money ; I will pledge my plate for three thousand more ; I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the state. If we succeed in defending our firesides and homes, I may be remunerated ; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly maintained the honour of our state at Bunker's Hill, may be safely intrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne.”

“ This proposal infused life into the measures of the Assembly. They formed the whole militia of the state into two brigades. Of the first they gave the command to William Whipple, of the second to John Stark. They ordered one-fourth part of Stark's brigade, and one-fourth of three regiments of Whipple's, to march immediately, under the command of Stark, ‘ to stop the progress of the enemy on our western frontiers.’ They ordered the militia officers to take away arms from all persons who scrupled or refused to assist in defending the country ; and appointed a day of fasting and prayer, which was observed with great solemnity.”

It was with the force raised by these exertions of the government and people of New Hampshire, that General Stark was enabled to give Burgoyne his first check, by defeating his attempt to seize the stores at Bennington. Burgoyne had despatched Colonel Baum on this service, with five hundred men, mostly Germans, including a detachment of Reidesel's dragoons, and one hundred Indians. General Stark was near the town, with about four hundred men, and hearing of Baum's approach, he sent expresses with directions to all the neighbouring militia, to join him, and an order to Colonel

Warner, to march from Manchester, where he was stationed with his regiment, to his aid. His orders were promptly obeyed, and he soon found himself at the head of a large number of men. Advancing to within four miles of the town, Baum halted and sent an express to Burgoyne for reinforcements; and Colonel Breyman, with five hundred men, was sent to his assistance. Meantime Stark determined to attack Baum in his camp. He advanced against the enemy at the



Battle of Bennington.

head of seven hundred men, and commenced a furious assault. Baum did everything that could be expected from an officer, under the circumstances, but in vain; on all sides he was assailed with an incessant fire of musketry, and he was at length mortally wounded. The battle had lasted two hours, when the Hessian troops, unable longer to withstand the

American fire, fled in confusion. A few escaped, but the greater part were killed or taken prisoners. The militia dispersed for plunder; Breyman came up and renewed the battle, and Stark, being opportunely reinforced by Warner's regiment, maintained the engagement till dark, when Breyman abandoned his artillery and baggage, and escaped with a small part of his men to the British camp. The American militia were well armed from the spoil taken in this victory. Four brass field-pieces, one thousand stand of arms, nine hundred swords, and several baggage-wagons, fell into the hands of the brave Stark, who lost but one hundred men, in killed and wounded throughout the day. The British lost about seven hundred in all, of which number, thirty-two officers were taken prisoners.

Burgoyne had, at the commencement of the campaign, charged the Indians to commit no cruelties on the unresisting; and the first parties gave heed to this restriction; but they could not long brook such forbearance. They grew uneasy, and reverted to their cruel habits of massacre and plunder, and several persons became victims to their savage ferocity. The barbarities which they perpetrated, excited more resentment than terror among the Americans.

One event is worthy of more particular notice, from the sensation of indignation which it excited throughout the country, against those who employed such savage allies. This was the murder of Miss M'Crea. She was a beautiful, accomplished, virtuous, and amiable young lady, the daughter of an American loyalist, and betrothed to an officer of the British army, who, fearful lest she might suffer from the indignation generally felt against the Tories, had sent some Indians, of two different tribes, to conduct her to him from Fort Edward. She dressed to meet her bridegroom, and put herself into the hands of the conductors employed by her betrothed. On their way to the camp, the two Indian chiefs disputed among themselves who should bring her to their employer, and receive the promised reward. The quarrel ran high, when one of them, to put an end to it, struck his tomahawk into the skull



Murder of Miss M'Crear.

of the lady, and stripped her scalp off, according to the mode of disposing of a disputed prisoner. This simple and tragical tale, strongly coloured by the newspapers throughout the country, exasperated the Americans, and from that and other cruelties, occasion was taken to blacken the royal army and cause. The people detested an enemy that was obliged to accept the aid of such inhuman and barbarous savages, and reprobated the generals and minister who would call in such auxiliaries.

Gates made the affair of no small advantage to him in his military operations. On receiving intelligence of what had happened, Burgoyne demanded the murderer, and threatened to put him to death; but to the astonishment of all classes of people, he was afterwards pardoned.

Congress presented a vote of thanks to General Stark, and the officers and men under his command, and ordered a briga-

dier-general's commission to be made out for him. He richly deserved both thanks and promotion. The battle of Bennington was the first wave of the returning tide of prosperity in American affairs. It raised the spirits of the country, and made the militia sensible of their value as an effective force. The militia had beaten Baum, and the militia everywhere had now perfect self-confidence; neither the German nor British regulars appeared to them to be invincible.

While the Americans were exulting on one hand, the British were depressed on the other, and the news of St. Leger's flight from Fort Schuyler plunged them still deeper into despondency. Encouraged by these events, and exasperated by the accounts of Indian cruelties, the militia now flocked in large bodies to join General Gates, who had been appointed to replace Schuyler in the command, and who, being so strongly reinforced, now faced about, and began to act on the offensive.

The American army also received an addition of incalculable value, in the arrival of Colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, whom General Washington had sent to the aid of Gates, though he could but ill afford to lose their services in his own operations.

Burgoyne was now in a critical situation. Heretofore he had drawn all his stores from Fort George; but he was fearful of having his communication with that place cut off, whilst at the same time it was equally difficult for him to retreat or advance.

General Lincoln was on his march to join Gates, with two thousand of the militia, and resolved to make an attempt on Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, was sent to the landing at Lake George; and surprised all the posts between the north end of that lake and Ticonderoga itself. He took Mount Defiance, and Mount Hope, the old French lines, a block-house, two hundred batteaux, several gun-boats, and an armed sloop; two hundred and ninety prisoners were taken, and one hundred Americans released. Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were judged too strong to be taken,

but after the convention at Saratoga, both were abandoned by the garrisons, who returned to Canada.

While these events were taking place, Burgoyne resolved to offer battle to Gates, knowing that a victory would put it into his power to advance or return, without molestation. Having obtained thirty days' provision, and other necessary stores, he passed the Hudson, and encamped on the heights, and the plain of Saratoga. Gates advanced to a strong position, three miles above Stillwater. At noon, on the 19th of September, Burgoyne advanced to the attack, at the head of the right column, covered by Frazer and Breyman, with the grenadiers and light-infantry of the army. Phillips and Reidesel led the left. Colonel Morgan, who was detached to watch their motions, and to harass them as they advanced, soon fell in with their pickets in front of their right wing, attacked them sharply, and drove them in. A strong corps was brought up to support them, and after a severe encounter, Morgan was compelled to give way. A regiment was ordered to assist him, and the action became more general. Gates and Burgoyne supported and reinforced their respective parties, and by four o'clock, Arnold, with nine continental regiments and Morgan's corps, was completely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. For four hours they maintained a contest hand to hand. Night put an end to the battle, and the Americans retired to their camp. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and nineteen, of which number there were sixty-four killed, among whom were Colonels Coburne and Adams, and other valuable officers, two hundred and seventeen wounded, and thirty-eight missing. The British stated their loss to be about six hundred in all; but Bradford says that their loss was near one thousand, in killed, wounded, and taken. Morgan frequently met and beat the Indians in the woods, and they were always rather roughly handled; and now being restrained from scalping and plundering the unarmed by Burgoyne, they refused to fight in the British service any longer, and retired in disgust, at the very time when they would have been of the most service to him;

and the Canadians and Tories followed the example of their red brethren in arms, to a great extent.

Reduced to the necessity of depending on his European troops, Burgoyne endeavoured to make known his situation to Clinton, and secure his co-operation and assistance.



West Bank of the Hudson River, with the Encampment of Gen. Burgoyne's Army, Sept. 20th, 1777.

The day after the battle of Stillwater, he took a position within cannon-shot of Gates's post, and both armies busied themselves in fortifying their respective camps, in sight of each other. Burgoyne was unable to obtain forage or other provisions ; his horses were dying in great numbers daily, and his men were on half allowance. Gates had been reinforced on the 29th of September, by General Lincoln, with two thousand militia. Burgoyne had received a letter from Clinton, on the 21st of September, stating that he intended making a diversion by attacking Fort Montgomery. He waited until the 7th of October, when receiving no intelligence from

Clinton, he resolved upon attempting to dislodge the Americans from their posts on the left, when he would be able to retreat to the lakes.

Gates had contemplated an attack on the British camp; but before his detachment was ready to march, he received advice that Burgoyne, aided by Phillips, Frazer, and Reidesel, was advancing at the head of fifteen hundred men. This detachment had scarcely formed, at the distance of half a mile from the American intrenchments, when a furious attack was made on the left, which Major Ackland firmly sustained at the head of the grenadiers. The attack was extended along the whole line, and a body attempted to get into the rear and prevent a retreat: upon which the British light-infantry was formed as a covering party to the troops, who retreated to the main body.

The left wing had been defeated, and was obliged to retreat in confusion; but the same party which had covered the retreat of the right, also secured them whilst retiring. The whole detachment returned to camp; but they had no sooner entered the lines, than Arnold, at the head of the Americans, pressed forward, under a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry, and assaulted the British works throughout their whole extent. The American left actually succeeded in forcing the intrenchments, and Arnold led a few men into the works; but having his horse killed under him, and being wounded in the same leg which had been hurt at Quebec, he was compelled, on the approach of darkness, to retire.

The left of his detachment, led by Colonel Brooks, was still more successful. It turned the right of the encampment, and carried the works occupied by the German reserve, by storm. Breyman was killed, and Brooks maintained the ground he had gained. In this conflict, as in the battle of the 19th of September, the combat was terminated by the approach of night. Frazer was mortally wounded, in the early part of this engagement, and also Sir James Clarke, Burgoyne's aid. Many other officers were wounded, and the British loss, not including the Germans, was very considerable. The loss of the

Americans was comparatively trifling, in both men and officers. They took two hundred officers and privates prisoners, besides nine pieces of brass cannon, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage. A large supply of ammunition, of which the Americans were in great need, was also obtained among the other spoils. On the 8th, a cannonade was kept up during the day, by both armies, and General Lincoln was wounded in the leg. In the evening, Frazer was buried, during an incessant cannonade from the Americans, which threw dirt over the whole procession. Gates afterwards said that had he known the occasion, he would have rather fired minute-guns in honour of the deceased, than cannonaded his funeral procession.



Burgoyne's Retreat on the Hudson River.

Burgoyne abandoned his hospital to the humanity of Gates, and on the evening of the 8th, began his retreat to Saratoga, nine miles distant, where he arrived on the 10th, after suffering greatly from a drenching rain, which lasted the whole of the

9th ; and Gates soon came up with them. Burgoyne now sent forward a company of artificers, attended by a strong escort ; but they were threatened with an attack, and compelled to make a hasty retreat. The Americans possessed themselves of Fort Edward, and guarded the fords of the river, and Burgoyne soon found that all hope of escape, except by the timely succour of Sir Henry Clinton, was cut off. His force had been greatly reduced, whilst that of Gates was daily increasing by reinforcements of militia, and already almost surrounded him. Under these circumstances, a council of war unanimously advised a surrender ; and accordingly, a correspondence was opened with Gates, on the 13th of October. By the 16th, terms of capitulation were agreed upon, and the royal army surrendered prisoners of war. At the time of the surrender of Ticonderoga, the British general numbered nine thousand troops ; but now they were reduced to less than six thousand ; indeed, the fighting men were but three thousand five hundred.*

By the stipulations, the British were to march out of the encampment, with the honours of war ; to stack the arms by command of their own officers, who were to be permitted to wear their side-arms ; the men were not to serve against the United States until exchanged ; but they were to be permitted to embark for England or Germany.

These were more advantageous terms than they would probably have procured, had it not been for the intelligence which General Gates had received from Putnam, who was obliged to retire from Forts Clinton and Montgomery, on the approach of Sir Henry Clinton, who was now making his promised diversion on the North river. He was unable to take the men requisite for the expedition from New York, without endangering that place, and he was obliged to wait until the last of September, when reinforcements arrived from Europe. He then advanced, early in October, with three thousand men and a naval convoy, and stormed Forts Clinton and Montgomery, after deceiving Putnam by a feigned attack on Fort

* Holmes's Annals.

Independence, four or five miles below Fort Montgomery. The posts were assaulted about five in the afternoon, and defended until dark, when the assailants entered them in different places; great part of the garrisons escaping by their knowledge of the woods, and by mixing with the enemy. Governor Clinton, and General James Clinton his brother, both made their escape, although the general was wounded. The garrison lost two hundred and fifty men in all; the British loss was stated at two hundred, but supposed to be much greater.

Fort Independence and Fort Constitution were evacuated next day; and Putnam retreated to Fishkill. By their possession of these forts, the British obtained command of the North river, and immediately proceeded to open the communication, which had been obstructed by a boom and chain running across the river from Fort Montgomery, and another inferior boom at Fort Constitution. The main chain weighed above fifty tons, and the whole had been constructed at an expense of fifty thousand pounds. The removal of these obstructions occupied so much time, that Burgoyne was obliged to surrender before they had given him any assistance, and Sir Henry Clinton appeared to think that all that was necessary was to open a passage to Albany, and that Burgoyne was able to extricate himself from his difficulties. On the 13th, a strong detachment of the British was sent to Esopus, where, hearing of the surrender of Burgoyne, they resolved to lay the little town in ashes, to gratify their revenge. Not a single house was left standing, and Continental Village, which contained barracks for fifteen hundred troops, shared the same fate, by order of Governor Tryon. Governor Clinton was obliged to witness these atrocities of his namesake, for want of a sufficient force to attack him. Gates soon after approached the scene of their depredations, and they returned to New York.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of the articles of the "Convention of Saratoga," many difficulties arose in their execution. The British general appears to have forgotten, when he agreed that the troops should be embarked for Europe at Boston, that

that port is almost inaccessible to ships in the winter season, and that, owing to this circumstance, they could not sail before the ensuing spring. Burgoyne therefore petitioned General Washington to change the place from Boston to Newport. Washington forwarded the petition to Congress, who, from experience, placed no great reliance on British faith and honour, and they therefore refused the application, and directed General Heath to take the name, rank, former place of abode, and description, of every prisoner of Saratoga; and after much altercation, the embarkation of the troops was delayed or refused on various pretences, and they were finally removed from Boston to the back part of the state of Virginia, and only released by exchange.



American Army at Valley Forge.

On retiring from White Marsh to Valley Forge, the tents of the American army were exchanged for log-huts, which constituted acceptable habitations to his nearly naked and barefoot troops, who had tracked their way from White Marsh, by the blood, which, running from the bare and mangled feet of the soldiers, stained the rough and frozen road throughout its whole extent. They were in a destitute and deplorable situation; and, to add to their miseries, famine began to make its appearance. The British in Philadelphia gave good gold for what the farmers brought to town, whilst Washington could only pay them in Continental scrip, which,

already depreciated, became daily less in value. Naturally seeking the better market, they brought their produce to Philadelphia ; but they often fell into the hands of the American detachments and patrols, who then punished them and confiscated their loads. At a respectful distance, the Americans almost surrounded the city, and completely cut off the communication of the British with the country, and they suffered greatly for want of forage. Washington was at length obliged to exercise the authority given by Congress, and seize all the provisions he could find within seventy miles of head-quarters, either paying for them, or giving a certificate, for the payment of which the faith of Congress was pledged.

While he was thus pressed to procure food for his famished men, he received intelligence of a plot to remove him from the head of the army, in which a few officers, headed by General Conway, and some members of Congress, were concerned. Gates's brilliant success at Saratoga had won the admiration of many, and he was fixed upon for the successor of Washington, whose integrity and good conduct had won for him the esteem of all who served under him, both officers and privates. They felt the liveliest indignation at the intriguers, and General Cadwallader went so far as to challenge Conway, who was wounded in a duel which ensued. While in a dangerous state, he addressed a letter to Washington, acknowledging the falsity of his former assertions, and begging his pardon for them. The majority of Congress possessed sufficient discernment to resist the dark machinations of this faction, and the brave and upright Washington continued at the head of the army.

Congress was very tardy in its preparations for the ensuing campaign, and it was some time before the necessary measures for the successful termination of the contest were made. Britain declared war upon France, and the Americans expected that the conflict, of which many began to be weary, would now soon be ended. More alacrity was evinced by all classes in preparations for the campaign than had been noticed at any time before, except at the commencement of the struggle.

On the 1st of December, 1777, the French ship *l'Heureux*, laden with arms and munitions of war for the use of the United States, arrived at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. In her came as passenger Baron Steuben, an officer of the Prussian army, and aid-de-camp to Frederic the Great. While in the service of that monarch, he had been at the head of the quarter-master's department, and was therefore peculiarly fitted to introduce the military tactics of one of the greatest monarchs of Europe into the American army. In the summer of that year, he had travelled to Paris, with the intention of visiting some friends in England; and while in that city, he met with the Count de St. Germain, who was then French minister of war. The minister, knowing the talents of the baron, prevailed upon him to enter the service of Congress. On his arrival in America, he heard the news of the capture of Burgoyne, and he was assured that the cause in which he had embarked was not a hopeless one.

He wrote to Washington for instructions, and in compliance with his direction, went to Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, where Congress was assembled. His services were thankfully accepted, and the commissions, which he desired for his attendants, granted. He then immediately joined the army, which was in winter-quarters at Valley Forge. Long military practice in the Prussian service had perfectly qualified him for a military teacher, and in May, 1788, Congress complied with the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, and appointed him inspector-general of the army, with the rank of major-general. He immediately commenced his duties, and in a short time he had surmounted difficulties which would have discouraged a less determined spirit. A complete system of order and exercise which he composed, meeting with the approbation of the commander-in-chief, was ordered by Congress to be printed and adopted in the army. For many years after the close of the war, this system was used by the states for the training of the militia.

The following extract from Dr. Thacher's Military Journal, will serve to show his success in instructing the raw troops



Baron Steuben introducing the Prussian discipline into the American Army.

which had hitherto composed the American army. He says, "After the siege of Yorktown, the Baron returned to the northward, and remained with the army, continually employed until the peace, in perfecting its discipline. The adroitness, and above all, the silence with which the manœuvres were performed, was remarked with astonishment, by the officers of the French army.

"The Marquis de la Val de Montmorenci, brigadier-general, said to the baron, 'I admire the celerity and exactitude with which your men perform, but what I cannot conceive, is the silence with which they manœuvre.' 'I don't know, Monsieur le Marquis,' he replied, 'whence noise should proceed, when even my brigadiers dare not open their mouths, but to repeat the orders.'

"The French troops were exceedingly loud in their evolutions and marches, and Monsieur la Val at all times louder than the rest. On a subsequent occasion, designed to show the degree of expertness at which our officers and soldiers had arrived, the baron was asked by one of the French generals, what manœuvres he intended to perform; on being informed;

‘Yes,’ replied the French chief, ‘I have seen, particularly the last you mention, performed by the Prussians in Silesia, but with a very complex addition,’ which he explained. ‘But you will recollect, general, that we are not quite Prussians.’ After his guests had retired, the baron said, ‘I will let these Frenchmen know that we can do what the Prussians can, and what their army cannot do. I will save those gentlemen who have not been in Silesia, the trouble of going there; they may come to Verplanck’s Point next week for instruction.’ They came, chiefs and subalterns; and everything was done in the finest style, to their real or pretended admiration.”

Nothing contributed more effectively to the final success of the American arms, in this war, than the exact discipline introduced into the army by Baron Steuben.





CHAPTER XXXV.

CONGRESSIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS
OF 1777—1778.



R. FRANKLIN had moved, in the summer of 1775, that certain articles of confederation and perpetual union which he submitted to Congress, should be entered into by the colonies; but the greater part of that body were not then prepared for such a decisive measure. The subject was suffered to rest until June, 1776, when the majority of the members having determined upon the declaration of independence, a union became obviously necessary, both for mutual security and succour, and for obtaining foreign aid. On the 11th of June, a committee, consisting of twelve members, was appointed to prepare and digest the form of a confederation. A plan was reported by this committee, on the 12th of July following. Eighty copies were ordered to be printed, the printer and the members being bound to secrecy in regard to

its contents. It was discussed, and held under consideration in committee, until the 20th of August, when an amended draft was reported to the house. Other important business prevented immediate action upon it, until the month of April, 1777, when it was again brought forward for consideration ; it was frequently debated until the 15th of November, when the measure was finally adopted.

By this act the thirteen states were formed into a confederacy, styled, the "United States of America ;" and they were bound into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare ; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

The sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and all powers, jurisdictions, and rights, not delegated to the United States, were secured to the states. Delegates were to be appointed to Congress annually, the number to be sent by each state not to exceed seven, or be less than three. The Congress was to assemble yearly, on the first Monday of November, and each state had the power of recalling its delegates and appointing others, within the year.

No state was to enter into a treaty, agreement, or alliance, with any foreign nation ; nor were any two or more states to enter into any confederation or alliance whatever between themselves, without the consent of Congress. All imposts which would in any manner interfere with treaties or stipulations made between Congress and any foreign power, were prohibited on the part of the states, which were also debarred from keeping any naval or military force, or engaging in war, except in case of an invasion. National expenses, and those incurred in time of war, were to be defrayed out of a common treasury, to be supplied by the several states, according to the value of the landed property in each state, the taxes for paying such proportion to be laid and levied by the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by Congress.

The general legislature had the sole and exclusive power of peace and war, except in case of invasion—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into alliances and treaties; with a proviso, that no treaty of commerce should abridge the legislative power of the respective states, of imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their people were subject to, or of prohibiting exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever—of deciding captures made on land or water—of granting letters of marque or reprisal, in time of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies or felonies committed on the high seas, and for the trial of appeals in all cases of captures. Congress was also empowered to determine finally all disputes and differences, which then existed or might arise, between two or more states, concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever, and the manner of exercising this power was specified in the articles, no state being subject to a deprivation of territory for the benefit of the United States. The regulation of the coinage of the country, of the standards of weights and measures, of the Indian trade and affairs, of post-offices, and military and naval appointments, was also vested in Congress.

A committee, called the committee of the states, was also appointed, to act during the recess of Congress, and was composed of one member from each state, or if circumstances should hinder any of the members from attending, nine were sufficient to constitute the committee. This was simply an executive committee, and had no power to engage in war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, define the sums necessary for the defence and welfare of the country, emit bills of credit, appoint commanders of land or naval forces, or determine the amount of the same; these functions requiring the assent of nine states in Congress. These articles, which were not to be altered unless the changes should be agreed to in Congress, and afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state, bound the states in a perpetual union, and provided that Canada, acceding to the confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, should

be admitted into the union ; but no other colony, without the consent of nine states.

These articles were to be submitted to the legislatures of the several states for consideration and approval, and their delegates being afterwards instructed to ratify them in the Congress of the United States, they "became conclusive."

Congress next resolved that the flag of the United States should be thirteen stripes, one for each state, and that the union thirteen stars, white, in a blue field ; representing a new constellation. On the 29th of October, on account of his ill health, Mr. Hancock took leave of Congress, having presided over the deliberations of that body two years and nine months ; and on the 1st of November, Henry Laurens was elected to succeed him. The people on the New Hampshire grants being left in a difficult situation by the declaration of independence, boldly declared their district an independent state, by the name of New Connecticut, or Vermont.

Leaving for the present the American Congress in session, let us revert to the meeting of the British parliament on the 18th of November, 1777. The king made a speech expressive of his firm hope as to the final result of the expensive and deplorable contest in America. After stating his confidence in the officers and soldiers employed by him in suppressing the colonial disturbances, as he was pleased to call them, he reminded the legislature of the necessity of providing for any farther military operations which might be rendered necessary. He again repeated his hollow, unmeaning declaration of the preceding year, that he continued to receive friendly assurances from foreign powers, adding, that as the armaments of France and Spain continued, he had thought it necessary to make a considerable augmentation of his own naval force ; being firmly determined never to disturb the peace of Europe, yet always to guard faithfully the honour of the British crown.

Lord Coventry opposed the address, in reply to the speech from the throne, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of the British fleets and armies, and the

instant recognition of the independence of America. He was followed by Chatham, who indignantly refused his assent to the blind and servile address which approved and endeavoured to sanctify the monstrous measures which had brought the British empire to the condition in which it then was. He treated with scorn the affected ignorance of the ministers of the fact that the colonies were secretly aided and abetted by France.

The news of the battle of the Brandywine, and the surrender of Burgoyne, had not yet reached England, and the sufferings of the army of that general were known only in part. The desperate state of the English arms was, however, described by Chatham, as follows: "No man thinks more highly of British arms than I do; I love and honour the English troops; I know their virtues and their valour; I know they can achieve anything except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America."

In allusion to the employment of German mercenaries to overcome the spirit of American liberty, the eloquent orator exclaimed, "You may swell every expense, and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little, pitiful German prince, that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign power: your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!"

When he came to speak of the employment of the Indians in the service of Britain, his tone was still more loud and indignant. "But, my lords," said he, "who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army,

has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character — it is a violation of the constitution — I believe it is against the law. Nor is it the least of our misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired — infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine — familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the ‘pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, that makes ambition virtue.’ What makes ambition virtue? — the sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, what other allies they have acquired? What other powers have they associated to their cause. Have they entered into an alliance with the *King of the Gipsies*? Nothing, my lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.”

He then expressed his desire that the struggle should not end in the dismemberment of the British empire; but warned the ministers of the consequences of persevering in the American war. He attacked the ministry personally, and seemed astonished at their remaining in office. He recommended to the ministry to retreat from office, lest the punishment they deserved should fall upon them. In conclusion, he proposed an amendment to the address, recommending an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.

Lord Chatham was replied to by Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, who merely explained the relations of Great Britain and France, and who was followed by Lord Camden, in an able speech, expressive of his opinion that if the war were prosecuted to the issue of this alternative, shall America be subdued, or shall she render herself independent? — he would wish for independence, because he thought that the subjugation of America by force of arms must be followed by the enslavement of England.

The Duke of Richmond followed in support of Chatham's amendment, and was answered by Lord Suffolk, in a speech in favour of the ministerial project of employing Indians against the colonists. His observations drew forth another burst of fiery eloquence from the great mover of the amendment, who closed his remarks, in order that the question might be taken on the amendment, which was lost by a vote of eighty-four to twenty-eight.

In the House of Commons, the Marquis of Granby made a similar motion, which was seconded in an able speech, by Lord John Cavendish. Lord North kept his majority together, notwithstanding the spirited opposition, who could only get eighty-six votes against two hundred and forty-three on the ministerial address.

The opposition members in both houses determined to call for a committee on the state of the nation, and this the ministers readily granted; but when the motion for papers was made, they were indignantly refused. On the occasion of the debate, Lord North and Lord George Germaine were made the butt of the witticisms of the great orators, Fox and Burke. The latter humorously and forcibly compared North to the "pigmy physician" appointed to watch over the health of Sancho Panza, who had placed before him a table most plentifully provided; but saw every dish snatched away, on various pretences, by the order of that functionary, before he could get a mouthful.

Fox followed Burke's example, and said that as the fat and good-natured North had been compared to the court-physician



Edmund Burke.

of Sancho Panza, he likened the haughty, starch, and imperious Lord George Germaine, the chief manager of American affairs, to Doctor Sangrado. "For two years," said he, "that a certain noble lord has presided over American affairs, the most violent scalping, tomahawking measures have been pursued. *Bleeding* has been his only prescription. If a people, deprived of their ancient rights, are grown tumultuous — bleed them! If they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection — bleed them! If their fever should rise into rebellion — bleed them! cries this state physician: more blood: more blood: still more blood! When Doctor Sangrado had persevered in

a similar practice of bleeding his patients, killing by the very means he used for a cure, his man took the liberty of remonstrating on the necessity of relaxing in a practice to which thousands of their patients had fallen sacrifices, and which was beginning to bring their name into disrepute. The doctor answered, 'I believe we have carried the matter a little too far; but you must know, I have written a book on the efficacy of this practice; therefore, though every patient we have should die by it, we must continue bleeding, for the credit of my book!'" In this comparison, the resemblance will not appear the less apt, when the reader remembers that Lord George Germaine had considerable fame as a pamphleteer, and was at that time one of the reputed authors of "Junius's Letters."

Notwithstanding the efforts of the opposition members to procure official papers, the motion was negatived by a vote of one hundred and seventy-eight to eighty-nine. On the day after this decision, December 3d, news arrived of the surrender of Burgoyne, and the popular idea was that ministers would be driven from their posts, to make room for those who had so long opposed them. In the afternoon of that day, Colonel Barré rose in the House of Commons, and asked Lord George Germaine what news he had received by his last expresses from Quebec; and called upon him to tell him, upon his honour, what had become of General Burgoyne and his brave army.

The haughty secretary was constrained to confess that he had received the unhappy intelligence; adding, however, that it was not official, and had not yet been authenticated. It had been brought, he said, by express from Quebec, where it had been received from Ticonderoga, to which place it had been carried by the reports of deserters. It was, he observed, a most unfortunate affair; but he expressed a hope that the house would suspend its judgment; declaring, in a cold, self-satisfied tone, that, if he had been in fault in planning the expedition, he was there to answer for it.

Barré then said that the man who planned so rash and incoherent an expedition was alone to blame. Charles Fox,



Colonel Barré.

Burke, and others, continued the attack, and vividly described the loss and disgrace the British arms had sustained. The solicitor-general, Wedderburn, attempted to check the torrent of words which were thus poured into the ears of the ministers; and Lord North moved the business of the day, which was to vote supplies; observing that these were indispensable, whether the war was to be prolonged, or a peace concluded.

On the 5th of December, Chatham moved for the production of copies of all orders and instructions sent to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. A long and tedious debate followed, upon the subject of the employment of Indian allies in America,

and the motion was at length negatived, by a vote of forty to eighteen. Estimates were passed after much angry debate, fixing the number of seamen for the ensuing year at sixty thousand, and the number of troops to be employed, in America alone, at fifty-five thousand. The ministry had, by this time, become tired of the fire of motions, kept up incessantly by the members of the opposition, and on the 10th of December, a motion for an adjournment of Parliament for six weeks, was carried, in spite of a vigorous opposition.

On the reassembling of the Parliament, motion was followed by motion, for persons and papers, on various subjects, all of which were most ably supported, but lost, by the usual ministerial majorities. On the 17th of February, 1778, Lord North produced a conciliatory plan, which he said he hoped would yet prove effectual, and moved for leave to bring in two bills—one for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies in North America—the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America. He said that he had always been favourable to peace, that he had tried conciliatory means before the sword was unsheathed, and would gladly try them again. He continued in a speech, renouncing the right of taxing the colonies, and recommending that Congress be treated with as a legal body. The members of the opposition triumphed over the ministers, who, they said, were now, when too late, adopting a scheme long since proposed by themselves and rejected.

Fox congratulated Lord North on at length becoming a proselyte to the doctrines delivered by his honourable friend Burke, three years ago. But the time, he said, was now gone by; the plan was useless. He attributed all the mischief that had happened, to Lord North's total ignorance.

Fox also informed the House, that a report had obtained currency, that within the last ten days, France had actually

signed a treaty with the Americans, acknowledging their independence, and entering into a close alliance with them.

When this was announced, Lord North remained for some time perfectly silent. The question was put to him, whether he had been apprised of the important fact, and several gentlemen called upon him for an answer. Yet he remained mute, until Sir George Saville pressed him in so direct and positive a manner, that he was constrained to confess that he had received the same intelligence; but as he had not been officially informed of it, he could not say that the report was either false or authentic.

The famous John Wilkes and others now attempted to take advantage of this occurrence, and asserted that these bills were merely meant to delude the Americans, as that people would now readily perceive. The two bills, however, passed both houses, after undergoing several amendments.

On the 17th of March, 1778, a message was transmitted to the house, from the throne, stating that information had been received from the French king, to the effect that he had concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the revolted subjects of the King of England in America; in consequence of which communication, the British ambassador at Paris had been ordered home. His majesty now declared that he relied fully on the affection and zeal of his people, to repel the insult and maintain the reputation of the country. After delivering his notification, the French ambassador departed for Paris.

Lord North now moved an address to the throne; and an amendment was immediately proposed, recommending to the king to dismiss the ministers; the first address was, however, carried through both houses.

Many debates followed concerning the state of the navy, the methods employed by ministers in making contracts for supplies, and on Irish affairs. On the 19th of March, Charles Fox moved a vote of censure upon Lord George Germaine, as being the chief author of Burgoyne's misfortunes. The proposition was rejected, by a vote of one hundred and sixty-

four to forty-four ; whereupon Fox indignantly tore to pieces a paper which he held in his hand, containing another proposition, and declared that he would make no more motions.

In May, a motion was made for a committee to examine into the causes of the loss of the northern army. Burgoyne rose to defend himself from the charges brought by some of the members of Parliament, and laid the blame of his unsuccessful operations in America upon Sir Henry Clinton and Lord George Germaine ; the latter, he said, had tied up his hands by orders positive and unqualified, in instances where latitude should be given to a general, to act according to circumstances. Much of the blame of his miscarriages was by him laid upon Howe, for neglecting to send a co-operating force up the North river, in proper season.

By this time, several of the opposition leaders had determined to advocate the recognition of American Independence, as the only means of avoiding a war with that country and with France. Shelburne, Chatham, Camden, and others, were averse to that measure ; and the great orator made his last speech in Parliament, on the 7th of April, 1778, deprecating in the most impressive manner, the dismemberment of the once noble British empire. He was brought into the house, by two of his friends, wrapped in flannel, pale and emaciated. Sickness and age had done their work. He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by two friends, to oppose a motion offered by the Duke of Richmond, entreating his majesty to withdraw his forces from America. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes upward, and said, " I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day — to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject that has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm ; I have one foot, more than one foot in the grave ; I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country — perhaps never again to speak in this House." At first, he spoke in a very low and feeble tone ; but, as he grew warm, his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever : oratorical and affecting,

perhaps more than at any former period. "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive, to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy! Pressed down, as I am, by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest — that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada — now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people that, fifteen years ago, were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient, their inveterate enemy — 'Take all we have, only give us peace!' It is impossible! I wage war with no man or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error; who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!"

The Duke of Richmond then rose to answer Lord Chatham, although he was evidently disconcerted at the course he had taken. When he concluded, Chatham rose to reply; but the

violence of his indignation at the measure overcame him ; his strength failed him ; he fell backwards in a kind of fit or swoon, and he would have fallen to the floor, but for the prompt support of some friendly arms. The whole house was agitated — every one pressed around him with anxious solicitude — and the debate was closed without another word. He was carried to the house of a friend, and thence to his dwelling at Hayes, where he lingered for rather more than a month, expiring on the 11th of May, in his seventieth year.

When intelligence was given to Parliament of his death, resolutions were passed, securing to him a public funeral, and a monument in Westminster Abbey, inscribed with an expression of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss. The debate on the Duke of Richmond's motion was continued on the next day, and many able speeches were made on either side. Upon the division, however, it was lost by a vote of fifty-five to thirty-three, and on the 7th of July, his majesty terminated the session.

Meanwhile, the success of the Americans in the campaign of 1777, had shown their strength and elevated them in the eyes of those whom they wished to obtain as auxiliaries. Their commissioners had been engaged in Paris, soliciting the acceptance of the Declaration of Independence, by his most Christian majesty, from December, 1776, to December, 1777. On the 18th of the latter month, the commissioners wrote to Congress, acknowledging the receipt of despatches of the 6th of October, dated at Yorktown. "They came to us," says the letter, "by a packet from Boston, which brought the great news of Burgoyne's defeat and surrender, news that apparently occasioned as much general joy in France, as if it had been a victory of their own troops over their own enemies; such is the universal, warm, and sincere good-will and attachment to us and our cause, in this nation. We took the opportunity of pressing the ministry, by a short memorial, to a conclusion of our proposed Treaty, which had so long been under their consideration, and been from time to time postponed. On signifying to the ministry the importance it might

be at this juncture, when probably Britain would be making some proposition of accommodation, that the Congress should be informed explicitly what might be expected from France and Spain, M. Gerard, one of the secretaries, came yesterday, to inform us, by order of the king, that after long and full consideration of our affairs and propositions in Council, it was decided, and his majesty was determined to acknowledge our independence, and make treaty with us of amity and commerce."

The capture of Burgoyne thus fixed the wavering politics of the French court; and on the 6th of February, Louis XVI. of France entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. It was declared, in the treaty of alliance, that if war should break out between France and England, during the existence of that with the United States, it should be made a common cause; and that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other, first obtained: and they mutually engaged "not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States shall have been formally, or tacitly, assured, by the treaty or treaties that should terminate the war."

France having now become a party in the war for the support of American independence, the political affairs of the United States assumed a new aspect. Fearful of the effect of the reception of the intelligence of the treaty, upon the people of the United States, the British ministers sent copies of their conciliatory bills, even before they became laws, to be there distributed. They were entrusted to Governor Tryon, who received them about the middle of April, and transmitted them to General Washington, and to the governors of some of the states. With an expression of his fears of their ill effects upon the public mind, unless measures were taken to counteract them, the general transmitted them to Congress. They were then referred to a committee, and on the 22d of April, Congress unanimously accepted a report from this committee, and ordered it to be printed with the bills.

The report contained many severe animadversions upon the bills, and cautioned the people against being deceived by the schemes which the ministry might employ to discontinue that union by which only the defence of their common rights and privileges could be effected. In conclusion, the committee reported, and Congress declared, that the United States could not, with any propriety, hold any conference or treaty, with any commissioners, on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the states.

Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, to whom Tryon sent a copy of the bills, returned an answer as spirited as the report of the committee. "The repeated rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions," said that patriotic governor, "the commencement of hostilities, the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part, in its several stages, the insolence, which displays itself, on every petty advantage, the cruelties, which have been exercised on those unhappy men, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great Britain, on any other conditions, than the most *absolute, perfect independence.*"

On the 2d of May, 1778, Mr. Silas Deane arrived in York, in Pennsylvania, with the treaties which had been made with France. Congress not being in session, immediately assembled, and the treaties were laid before them. On the 4th, they were unanimously ratified, and soon after published. The gratitude and joy with which the Americans received the intelligence of the treaty, were almost unbounded. They now expected, with confidence, that their wishes would be fully realized, and the hope of future independence reconciled them to present calamities. Had the alliance with France not been effected, many might have censured Congress for refusing to accept the terms offered by the British ministry; but when this happy connection was known, gratitude and national faith were additional incentives to pursue the line of conduct they



Silas Deane.

had adopted. After the colonies had declared themselves independent states—had pledged their honour to abide by that declaration—had, under the smiles of Heaven, maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid—after the greatest monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guaranteed their independence—after all this, to degrade themselves from the rank of freemen to that of subjects—from sovereign states to dependent provinces—were propositions universally detested by the citizens of the United States. The tide was now turned. Instead of that hankering after Great Britain, which had made a separation painful, the current of popular opinions and prejudices ran strong in

an opposite direction. In many parts of the country, the royalists, who had before taken part with the British, joined their countrymen, and took the oaths to the new government.*

Upon this occasion, Congress presented an address to the people, congratulating them upon the alliance which had been contracted with his most Christian majesty. It recounted to the people their struggles for the last three years, against the tyrannical attempts of the British nation to enslave them, and again cautioned them against the insidious designs of the ministry, which were hidden by the mask of the conciliatory bills, with which they had lately endeavoured to allure the colonists to their ruin. It warned them to beware of the specious arguments and the insidious fallacies with which the British emissaries endeavoured to entrap them. In conclusion, it said, "The sweets of a free commerce with every part of the earth, will soon reimburse you for all the losses you have sustained. The full tide of wealth will flow in upon your shores, free from the arbitrary impositions of those whose interest and whose declared policy it was to check your growth. Your interests will be fostered and nourished by governments, that derive their power from your grant, and will therefore be obliged, by the influence of cogent necessity, to exert it in your favour. It is to obtain these things, that we call for your strenuous, unremitted exertions. Yet do not believe that you have been or can be saved, merely by your own strength. No! it is by the assistance of Heaven; and this you must assiduously cultivate, by acts which Heaven approves. Thus shall the power and the happiness of these sovereign, free, and independent states, founded on the virtue of their citizens, increase, extend, and endure, until the Almighty shall blot out all the empires of the earth."

Meanwhile, Earl Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and William Eden, the British commissioners, were preparing themselves for their mission, by ascertaining, as far as possible, the opinion the Americans would be likely to have, of the terms they were about to offer. For this purpose, William Pulteney, a member

* Ramsay.



Dr. Franklin.

of Parliament, and brother-in-law to Governor Johnstone, went to Paris, about the last of March, and under a fictitious name, requested a conference with the American minister, Dr. Franklin. In this conference, he confidentially submitted to his consideration, the terms about to be proposed to the Americans. Dr. Franklin expressed his opinion against them, and candidly told Pulteney that they would never be accepted by his countrymen; and that every proposition, implying a voluntary agreement to return to a state of dependence on Great Britain, would be rejected.

Soon after, a member of Parliament, David Hartley, visited Franklin, with the same object and like success. Taking

leave of Franklin, he wrote in the postscript of his letter, "If tempestuous times should come, take care of yourself; events are uncertain, and men are capricious." "I thank you for your kind caution," said the doctor, in answer, "but having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Like a draper, when one chaffers with him for a remnant, I am ready to say, 'as it is only the fag-end, I will not differ with you about it, take it for what you please.' Perhaps the best use an old fellow can be put to, is to make a martyr of him." An Irish gentleman, named Chapman, also endeavoured to get the doctor to state what terms would satisfy the Americans; but the stern republicanism of the venerable philosopher could not be made to bend to the propositions of the British ministers.*

Notwithstanding this assurance that the terms they were about to propose would not be received by the Americans, the commissioners set sail, and landed at Philadelphia, about the 1st of June. After an unsuccessful application to the commander-in-chief for a passport for their secretary, they sent to Congress copies of their commission, the Acts of Parliament in reference to their appointment, and the terms they were instructed to offer. Their letter ended with some severe and unjust reflections upon the honour of the ally which the Americans had just obtained.

After some opposition, this letter was read and referred to a committee of five. Upon their report, the president was directed to answer the letter of the commissioners, and to inform them that, as preliminaries to any negotiation on the subject, Great Britain must first acknowledge the independence of the United States, and withdraw her fleets and armies. A second letter was then written by the commissioners, endeavouring to evade the two preliminaries, and attempting to open negotiations in the present state of affairs; but it was voted, that as their independence was not acknowledged, nor the hostile troops withdrawn, the second letter should not be answered. This determination of Congress gave the

* Franklin's Works.



General Joseph Reed.

commissioners but little concern, as their second letter was evidently intended more for the people at large, than for Congress.

The declarations and manifestoes of the British Commissioners were, however, derided; while the indignation of the people was excited by the attempts of Governor Johnstone, who was personally acquainted with many members of Congress, and one of the commissioners, to bribe some of them to desert their country's cause. Henry Laurens, President of Congress, Joseph Reed, Francis Dana, and Robert Morris, among others, were offered many advantages in case they would lend themselves to British views. But they found that British gold was no more efficacious than British arms had been. General Reed, in particular, was addressed by Johnstone in a letter, assuring him that if he would exert his abilities to promote a reconciliation, ten thousand pounds sterling, and the most valuable office in the colonies, were at his disposal. The incorruptible patriot answered, "that he was not worth purchasing; but that, such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to buy him."

These transactions caused a resolution of Congress, refusing to hold any further communication with men who could resort to such base and dishonourable means to promote his ends. A declaration of an intention to prosecute the war to extermination, then followed on the part of the commissioners; but the bearers of this publication being denied by Congress the protection of a flag, the commissioners soon after returned to Europe. Johnstone denied in Parliament ever having made such offers; in consequence of which, Reed published a pamphlet, in which the whole transaction was clearly and satisfactorily proved, and this paper was extensively circulated, both in England and America. These events served to keep alive the spirit of resistance in the breasts of the people, who were more fully determined to maintain their independence.

The views entertained by the most enlightened statesmen of continental Europe, respecting the pending contest, are evident from the following opinion, expressed by the able Turgot, to the ministers of Louis XVI., as early as the month of April, 1776:

“The supposition of the absolute separation between Great Britain and her colonies, seems to me infinitely probable. This will be the result of it: when the independence of the colonies shall be entire, and recognised by the English themselves, a total revolution will follow in the political and commercial relations between Europe and America; and I firmly believe that every other mother-country will be forced to abandon all empire over her colonies, and to leave an entire freedom of commerce with all nations, to content herself with partaking with others in the advantages of a free trade, and with preserving the old ties of friendship and fraternity with her former colonists. If this is an evil, I believe that there exists no remedy or means of hindering it; that the only course to pursue is to submit to the inevitable necessity, and console ourselves as best we may under it.”

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY
JOHN FROST, LL.D.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY
W. CROOME

Vol 2





THE
PICTORIAL HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA,
FROM THE
DISCOVERY BY THE NORTHMEN
IN THE
TENTH CENTURY
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JOHN FROST, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF BELLES LETTRES IN THE CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA.

EMBELLISHED WITH
FOUR HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS, FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, BY W. CROONE.

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General La Fayette.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.



HE campaign of 1778 commenced with one of the most splendid achievements which occurred during the whole of the war of independence; the retreat of Barren Hill, conducted by the Marquis de la Fayette. In May, he had been stationed by Washington at Barren Hill, seven miles in front of the American camp, with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men. Howe sent General Grant, with five thousand men, to surprise him. Some of the militia patrols had deserted their posts, and Grant, by his skilful measures, very nearly effected his object; but La Fayette out-generalled him, and by the most skilful manœuvres, succeeded in effecting a retreat without loss.

Fearful for the safety of their army, the British ministers had sent orders to Howe to evacuate the city of Philadelphia

and the river Delaware, without delay, lest the French fleet, which it was presumed would sail for America in the spring, might entrap him, and cause the loss of both fleet and army.

Accordingly, the royal army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, on the 18th of June. Washington had previously detached Maxwell's brigade to aid the Jersey militia in checking their march, whilst he should fall on their rear himself with the main body. The Americans crossed the Delaware in pursuit of the British, while six hundred men were detached under Morgan, to reinforce Maxwell. The British marched to Allentown, and there chose the road to Sandy Hook, to avoid crossing the Raritan, which they must have done, if they had marched direct to Amboy. They encamped on the 27th of June, near Freehold Court-House, in Monmouth county. Washington sent General Wayne, with one thousand men, to reinforce the troops already on their lines. La Fayette was sent to command this division, which amounted to four thousand men, and Lee soon after joined them, with two additional brigades, and took charge of the whole. Morgan hovered on the right flank of the British, with his corps, and Dickinson was on the left, with eight hundred Jersey militia. Washington was three miles in the rear, with the main body. He determined to make an attack upon the British before they should reach the strong grounds about Middletown. Lee was ordered to maintain his dispositions for an attack, and to keep his troops constantly on their arms, so as to take advantage of the first movement of the enemy. Knyphausen led the van, with the baggage; and the best troops were placed in the rear, under Cornwallis.

At break of day, on the 28th of June, the royal army began their march; but the rear waited until eight o'clock in the morning. Lee followed them into the plains; Clinton turned with his whole rear-division, to attack the Americans, and Lee began the engagement. Owing to some misunderstanding, part of the American forces began to retreat, and the rest soon followed in great disorder. Washington now came up, with the main body, and to his great astonishment and

mortification, met the advanced division in full retreat, Lee intending to renew the battle on higher ground. Washington rode forward and addressed General Lee in warm terms of disapprobation; yet his indignation could not get the better of his self-command; and he immediately set himself to repair the error which had been committed. He ordered Lee to arrest the progress of the flying soldiers, whilst he brought up the main body to their assistance. Lee executed his orders with his characteristic courage and skill. A sharp conflict ensued, the Americans were compelled to retreat, and were this time brought off by Lee in good order. The British advanced, and attacked the second line of the Americans, which was strongly posted and made such a vigorous resistance, that the enemy were compelled to give way; and at night Clinton withdrew his troops to a good position, where he remained till midnight, when he resumed his march, carrying most of his wounded along with him.

The Americans lost, in this battle, sixty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded, whilst the British, after burying some of their dead in the night, left on the field of battle, two hundred and forty-seven killed, who were buried by the Americans. They left forty-four wounded, and took many others with them. Clinton continued his retreat unmolested, owing to the bad state of the roads; but on his march through Jersey, a large number of his men, who had married in Philadelphia, deserted, and returned to that city. The British lost Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, and the Americans Lieutenant-Colonel Bonner and Major Dickenson, all able officers. Washington moved towards the Hudson, and D'Estaing sailed up the Delaware, with twelve ships of the line and three frigates, not ten days after Howe had quitted it; when, finding his enemy gone, he sailed for New York, and blockaded the British fleet in the harbour.

Lee, irritated by the harsh manner in which he was addressed by Washington on the field of battle, addressed an insulting letter to him in the evening; for which offence, added to his conduct in the field, he was put under arrest, and soon

after tried by a court-martial, for disobedience of orders. Lord Sterling presided at the trial; and Lee, after a masterly defence, was found guilty of all the charges, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the army, for the term of twelve months. The sentence was approved by Congress, and on the 10th of January, 1780, they informed him that they had no further need of his services. He lived in retirement until October, 1782, when he died at Philadelphia.

On the 5th of July, the British army arrived at New York, and the French fleet, under the Count d'Estaing, appeared off the coast of Virginia, when being informed of the departure of Lord Howe from the Delaware, he sailed northward, and arrived at New York on the 11th of July. Finding it impossible to get his fleet over the bar, he sailed, by the advice of Washington, for Newport, to act in conjunction with the Americans under Sullivan, in an attack on that town.

The British force in Rhode Island consisted of six thousand men, commanded by Major-General Pigot, and it was stationed principally at Newport. Sullivan commanded about ten thousand men, mostly militia, at the town of Providence. It was determined that both armies should land on the island, on the 9th of August; but Howe appeared without the harbour, on that day, and d'Estaing sailed out to give him battle. The British admiral, however, declined the action, and put to sea, followed by the French fleet, and both were soon out of sight. Meanwhile the British abandoned some of their works on the north of the island, and Sullivan crossed over with his army and took possession of them. On the 14th, the army moved forward to within two or three miles of Newport, and next morning the siege of the place commenced. After two days' manœuvring the hostile fleets were separated by a storm, and on the 19th, the French fleet arrived in the harbour in a shattered condition, when d'Estaing announced to Sullivan that instead of co-operating in the attack on Newport, he intended sailing to Boston to refit. The Americans were much dissatisfied at this conduct, and the militia began to desert in great numbers. La Fayette and Greene waited on d'Estaing, to

induce him to remain, but to no purpose, and on the 22d, the fleet set sail for Boston, and Sullivan found it necessary to raise the siege. He accordingly began his retreat in the night, and was pursued by the British in the morning. Soon after the Americans had gained the works on the north end of the island, an action ensued, August 29th, and after a short but sharp conflict, the enemy gave way, and retreated to Quaker Hill. The loss of the British in this engagement was stated at two hundred and sixty, that of the Americans at two hundred and eleven, of whom thirty were killed.

Sullivan was now informed by letter from Washington that a large body of troops had sailed from New York, probably destined for Newport. This intelligence made him determine to evacuate the island. The great judgment exercised in attempting this was crowned with complete success. The Americans made a remarkable escape; they crossed on the night of the 30th, by Howland and Bristol ferries, to the continent; and on the 31st, Sir Henry Clinton, having been detained four days in the Sound, by adverse winds, arrived with four thousand men, when a retreat by the Americans would have been impracticable.

Finding that Sullivan had eluded him, Howe sailed for New York, as far as New London, where he found that he could not effect a passage to the town by the river, and he therefore sent General Gray, with the transports and troops, to Bedford, where many American privateers resorted. Gray reached the place of destination on the evening of the 5th of September; the troops were immediately landed, to the number of four thousand, and marched about the town until Monday, when they re-embarked. During this stay they burned several houses, mills, and barns, and some small magazines. They then sailed to Fair Haven, intending to burn that village; but as they were beginning to land, Major Israel Fearing, with one hundred and fifty men, fired on them, and they retreated to their ships, carrying their dead and wounded.

After Gray's return to New York, the British army moved up each side of the Hudson, and Cornwallis, learning that

Colonel Baylor had crossed the Hackensack and encamped at Tappan, formed a plan of cutting them off. Gray was despatched for this service, and succeeded in completely surprising the whole regiment; giving no quarter, and using their swords and bayonets. Of one hundred and four privates, sixty-seven were killed, wounded, or taken.

During the summer of 1778, the western frontier of the United States was grievously harassed by a yet more cruel enemy than that which warred against the people on the seaboard. The Indian efforts on the back settlements of Virginia were fortunately defeated by the courage, talents, and singular capacity for Indian warfare, which centred in Colonel George Rogers Clarke. With a body of Virginia militia, he entered their country, overcame all obstacles, until he had penetrated to the British settlements on the Mississippi, where he took the town of Kaskaskias, and surprised and captured Colonel Hamilton, the commander of the British in that quarter. This man had made himself so conversant with the manners and language of the Indians, as to have acquired a great influence over them, and most of the Indian expeditions were prompted and often led by him; nor was he too humane to stimulate them, by ardent spirits and rewards, to commit barbarities which even they themselves would have revolted from. So odious was he to the colonists, that he was ironed and imprisoned by the Virginia council. His capture put an end to most of the barbarities which had before so deeply impressed the settlers.

In Pennsylvania, no effectual measures had been taken to repress the hostile spirit of the Indians, and numbers joined the Tory refugees, who had fled to the back settlements for safety. This union, headed by Colonel Butler, and a half-blood Indian, named Brandt, carried on their hostilities to great advantage, owing to the exact knowledge of the object of the expedition by the Tories, and the assistance they rendered them upon the spot. The weight of their hostilities fell upon the fine, new, and flourishing district of Wyoming, on the east branch of the Susquehanna river. Owing to the

dangers of their remote situations, four forts had been constructed, to prevent the irruptions of the Indians, which were garrisoned by Colonel Zebulon Butler, with about four hundred and fifty men. At length, in the beginning of July, Colonel John Butler, a cousin of the other colonel, and a Connecticut Tory, appeared on the Susquehanna, at the head of about sixteen hundred men, three-fourths of whom were Tories, disguised as Indians. One of the smaller forts was immediately betrayed into their hands. Zebulon Butler allowed himself to be enticed out of the fortress, for the purpose of holding a conference. He marched with the whole garrison, nearly four hundred men, and was lured into an ambuscade, from which he escaped with only seventy followers.

Fort Kingston was soon after invested; Butler escaped from it with his family, in the night, and the next day it fell into the hands of his kinsman, who inhumanly massacred all of the poor inhabitants, men, women, and children, who had sought refuge in the fortress. Some were taken away alive, the rest shut up in the fort, which was set on fire, and consumed, with all the prisoners it contained. No mercy was given to the vanquished; and fire, sword, and the other different instruments of destruction triumphed. But few, of a district containing nearly three thousand souls, escaped to the colonies.

Similar incursions were carried on in the summer of this year in the south, which was now destined soon to become the seat of war. Two bodies of refugees had made rapid incursions from East Florida into Georgia; one of them having advanced to Sunbury in boats, by means of the inland navigation; the other came over land to Midway. Colonel M'Intosh was summoned to surrender the fort which he commanded at Sunbury, and he requested the messenger to tell his officer to come and take it, which the latter declined, preferring to return to the place from whence he came. The other party marched toward Savannah; but the militia met and skirmished with them continually. They reached the Ogeechee river, where there was a force of two hundred

continentals, waiting to defend the passage. They then turned back, and on again reaching Midway, they burned it, and every dwelling-house within their reach, destroying the rice and other grain, and carrying off all the negroes, horses, cattle, and plate belonging to the planters. The inhabitants of Midway were dispersed; some fled to South Carolina, others to remoter places.

General Robert Howe next attempted to retaliate these incursions by leading a force of two thousand men into East Florida, for the reduction of St. Augustine. He reached that city, without much opposition; but disease carried off nearly one-fourth of his troops, and rendered his retreat absolutely necessary.

The attention of the British commander-in-chief was now directed to the southern states, and a plan was concerted for obtaining possession of Georgia, by two bodies of troops, one to invade the state on the north, the other on the south. For this purpose, Major-General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was now to march from St. Augustine, with his whole force, and invade the south, whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was sent from New York, with two thousand five hundred men, to invest Savannah. On the 23d of December, he appeared in the river, and six days after, he effected a landing, without much opposition, under cover of the fleet of Sir Hyde Parker, who convoyed him. To defend the state, General Robert Howe had about six hundred continental soldiers, and two hundred and fifty militia, and with this force he had taken a very advantageous position, surrounded, except in front, by a swamp, river, and morass; and the nature of the place was such, that had he been attacked in front, he could have easily defended himself. A negro, however, was aware of a small private path, through the morass, which led to the rear of the American army; and he undertook to conduct a detachment of light-infantry, under Sir James Baird, who was to fall upon the rear, while an attack was made in front. The scheme succeeded, and the Americans were completely entrapped. Although they fought desperately, upwards

of one hundred of the Americans were killed, and four hundred and fifty-three prisoners, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort, the shipping in the river, and a large quantity of provisions, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The remainder of the American army retreated into South Carolina. Augusta and Sunbury fell into the hands of the British, who now had the command of all Georgia.

After this time, the plan of operations of the British military commanders was changed. They had previously attempted the subjugation of the states, by coming from the north towards the south; but after the capture of Burgoyne, all their attempts at conquest were directed from the southern towards the middle states. While in the north the end of the campaign found the British army in nearly the same position as at the commencement of the struggle, they had conquered the State of Georgia, and Clinton determined to commence the campaign of 1779, by an attempt to plant the royal standard in the fortresses of the Carolinas.

Whilst this was the posture of affairs on the land, the infant navy had begun to distinguish itself. The privateers and small government vessels, fitted out in American ports, were very successful in cruising against the British merchantmen and West India ships. Of all the naval commanders of this period, none had more distinguished himself than Captain Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia. After many successes, he sailed from Charleston, in March, 1778, in the *Randolph*, of thirty-six guns and three hundred and fifteen men, accompanied by the *General Moultrie*, the *Polly*, the *Fair American*, and the *Notre Dame*. On the night of the 7th of March, his useful life was terminated by a fatal accident. The American fleet encountered a British vessel, which the *Randolph* engaged, not knowing her strength until it was too late to escape. Biddle fired the first broadside, and soon after the commencement of the action, he was wounded in the thigh. He caused a chair to be brought, and remained on the quarter-deck, animating his crew. The other American vessels were unable to come into the action. The *Moultrie*, however, ventured

to fire one broadside, which injured the Randolph as much as it did her opponent, which turned out to be the Yarmouth of sixty-four guns, Captain Vincent. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired three broadsides to one of the Yarmouth, and appeared to be in a continual blaze, while the battle lasted. But about twenty minutes after the action commenced, while the surgeon was examining Captain Biddle's wound, the Randolph blew up. All her crew were lost, except four men, who subsisted on rain-water, which they caught in a blanket, for four days, when they were discovered and taken up by the captain of the Yarmouth. So closely were the ships engaged, that the captain and crew of the Fair American were of opinion that the enemy had blown up, and he was bearing down upon the Yarmouth, trumpet in hand, to hail and inquire how Captain Biddle was, when he discovered his mistake, and escaped, with the rest of the squadron, the Yarmouth being too much crippled to pursue. Thus perished a gallant officer, who, at the early age of twenty-seven, had already given ample proof of his capability of serving his country, with patriotic bravery, and consummate skill in his profession.

In this year, the celebrated John Paul Jones resolved to take advantage of the unprotected state in which the British were in the habit of leaving their own coast. Accordingly, he sailed in the Ranger of eighteen guns, around the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and finally, after taking several prizes, he fell in with and was attacked by the Drake, a twenty-gun ship, which had lain in the harbour of Carrickfergus for some time. After hearing of a descent which Jones had made on White Haven, he sailed out of the harbour, with many more than his usual complement of men, whilst Jones had lost nearly half of the men which he had in the Ranger when he first set sail. The remainder had been sent away in prizes.

The two vessels engaged within pistol-shot, and after sixty-five minutes close fighting, the captain and first-lieutenant of the Drake were both dead, and the vessel was compelled

to strike her colours. Besides these two brave officers, the enemy lost upwards of forty men in the action. Jones sailed for Brest, with his prize, where he anchored, on the 7th of May, after an absence of twenty-eight days; during which time he had taken two hundred prisoners; and of one hundred and twenty-three men, his complement when he sailed, two only were left when he anchored at Brest. The rest had been distributed among the many prizes which he had taken.



Ruins of Wyoming.



General Lincoln

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.



THE South Carolina delegates had requested Congress to appoint General Lincoln to the command of the southern army. In making this request, they had a view to the conquest of East Florida; and when the general set out for Georgia, they put into his hands a plan for

the completion of their object ; but when on the 4th of December, 1778, he arrived at Charleston, he found that he was to repel the inroads of the very enemy whose territory Congress had ordered him to invade. North Carolina had raised two thousand militia, to serve for five months, and they moved forward under Ashe and Rutherford. Had they not been detained ten days at Charleston for want of arms, they would have been in time to join Howe before Savannah was lost.

On the 3d of January, General Lincoln established his headquarters at Purysburg, about thirty miles from the mouth of the Savannah, where he met the remains of Howe's army. His forces numbered less than fourteen hundred, until the arrival of General Ashe, on the 31st of January, who reinforced him with eleven hundred militia, increasing his numbers to two thousand four hundred and twenty-eight rank and file. About the same time, the British received reinforcements from St. Augustine. They wished to make an attempt on South Carolina, and accordingly planned an expedition against Port Royal Island. They landed on the 3d of February, but General Moultrie, with an equal number of militia, attacked and utterly routed them. The British lost nearly all their officers, and a great number of privates.

The British now determined to establish themselves firmly in Georgia, and use their utmost endeavours to incite the Tories to a general insurrection in South Carolina. Augusta and Ebenezer were their principal posts, and their emissaries were widely scattered among the Tory settlements in South Carolina. Many of these people were induced to take up arms in the royal cause, and several hundred of them marched under Colonel Boyd along the western frontier. They had such numbers of the most infamous characters among them, that their march resembled that of a body of plundering banditti. They appropriated to their own use every kind of property they could carry off. Colonel Pickens, on receiving intelligence of their progress and rapine, collected the Whig militia of the district of Ninety-Six. They succeeded in

engaging the Tories, in the vicinity of Kettle Creek. The engagement lasted about three-quarters of an hour, when the Tories gave way, and were totally routed. Boyd, with forty of his men, fell in the battle. Pickens lost nine killed and several wounded.

The Tories were dispersed all over the country. Some fled to North Carolina ; many returned home, and cast themselves upon the mercy of the state government. They were tried in a regular manner, for violating the sedition law of South Carolina, and seventy were condemned to die ; but the sentence was only executed on five principals : the rest were pardoned.

The British having extended their posts up the river, Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, and General Ashe was ordered to the upper part of the country. His force consisted of fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and the remains of the Georgia continentals, about one hundred in number. Ashe crossed the Savannah and took post at Briar Creek ; but Prevost determined to dislodge him. He accordingly made dispositions for occupying the attention of Lincoln by a feint of a march towards Charleston, and he sent a detachment to amuse Ashe with a show of attack on his front, whilst he himself, with nine hundred foot and a body of cavalry, took a circuit of fifty miles, crossed Briar Creek, fifteen miles above Ashe's encampment, and unexpectedly came down upon his rear. The continental troops commenced the action with great spirit and resolution ; but the militia were so completely surprised that they fled without firing a musket. The handful of continentals, aided by one regiment of militia, maintained their ground for a short time ; but they were overpowered, and compelled to surrender prisoners of war. The killed and prisoners amounted to three hundred men, whilst the victors made good their communication with the Indians, and their Tory friends. Of the militia who escaped from this battle, the greater part went home, and never returned to camp. About four hundred and fifty came back to Lincoln, who had by this movement lost the fourth part of

his army. He was soon after reinforced with a body of one thousand militia, and resumed his design of entering Georgia by way of Augusta.

The whole force now under Lincoln's command amounted to five thousand men. Leaving one thousand to garrison Purysburg and Black Swamp, he marched up the Savannah, with the remainder, on the 23d of April. Five days after, Prevost crossed the Savannah at Purysburg, with twenty-four hundred men and a large body of Indians. Moultrie could not oppose his progress, and therefore retreated towards Charleston, destroying all the bridges in the road. Prevost marched rapidly forward, and had he proceeded directly to Charleston, it must have fallen; but he halted a few days on his march, giving the citizens time to prepare for an attack. When he appeared before the town, negotiations for a surrender were begun, and the time was occupied with the passing of proposals until General Lincoln had nearly reached the place, when Prevost, fearful of being inclosed between two fires, crossed the Ashley, and encamped on some islands near the sea. Both armies watched each other's movements, Lincoln wishing to avoid a general battle, and cut off his opponents in detail. With this view he appeared with his army, on the 4th of June, at Stono Ferry; but he soon retired. Prevost shortly after retired towards Savannah, and it was also determined to abandon the post at Stono Ferry. Lincoln, knowing that the garrison must be much weakened, renewed his design of cutting it off, and on the 20th of June, he advanced against it with twelve hundred men. Owing to a failure of a part of his plan, the attempt was unsuccessful. The attack was made with some success, and continued for one hour and twenty minutes, when the assailants were compelled to retire, in consequence of reinforcements being received by the garrison. The Americans lost about one hundred and seventy-nine men in this affair, which caused the British army to retreat to Savannah. Lincoln took post with his army at Sheldon, near Beaufort.

The military aspect of things remained unaltered here until September, when the Count D'Estaing, who had been

prevailed on by General Lincoln, and President Lowndes, of South Carolina, to aid in the southern campaign, appeared off the coast, and roused the whole country to action.

After having victualled and repaired his fleet at Boston, he had sailed to the West Indies, where he had taken St. Vincent and Grenada. About the beginning of the year, he had retired to Cape François, and he afterwards sailed for the American continent. His fleet consisted of twenty sail of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eleven frigates. As soon as his arrival was known, Lincoln marched for Savannah. The British, to prepare for their defence, had nearly their whole army employed, day and night, in strengthening and extending their lines; while the American militia, sanguine in the hope of expelling the enemy from their southern possessions, joined the army with unusual alacrity. D'Estaing had demanded a surrender, and allowed a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, during which interval, Colonel Maitland, with about eight hundred men, from Beaufort, succeeded in joining the garrison. Prevost at length answered that he would defend the place to the last extremity. On the 4th of October, the batteries of the besiegers were opened with nine mortars and fifty-two cannon. Finding that a long time would be required to take the place by regular approaches, it was determined to assault the town. In pursuance of this design, on the 9th of October, while two feints were made with the militia, a real attack was made on Spring Hill battery, just as daylight appeared, with two columns, consisting of three thousand five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of Charleston. The allies marched boldly to the assault; but a very heavy and well-directed fire from the battery threw their front columns into confusion. They still pressed forward to a redoubt, where the conflict became fierce and desperate. A French and an American standard were for a time on the parapet; but the assailants, after sustaining the enemy's fire fifty-five minutes, were ordered to retreat. Of the French, six hundred and thirty-seven, and of the continentals and



Death of Pulaski.

militia, two hundred and forty-one, were killed or wounded. Among those who fell, none was more deeply lamented than the gallant Count Pulaski, a Polish officer in the American service. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia almost universally went to their homes, and Count D'Estaing, re-embarking his troops and artillery, left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Colonel John White, of Georgia. Previous to D'Estaing's arrival, about one hundred Tory regulars had taken post near the Ogeechee river, twenty-five miles from Savannah. There were at the same place, five British vessels, four of which were armed, and manned with forty sailors. The largest armed vessel carried fourteen guns, and the smallest four. Colonel White, with six volunteers, one of whom was his own servant, captured all this force. On the 30th of September, at eleven o'clock at night, he kindled a number of fires in different places, adopted the parade of a large encampment, practised a variety of other stratagems, and finally concluded his demonstrations by summoning the

captain of the Tories to surrender. The latter was so fully impressed with the opinion that nothing but instant compliance could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force, that he made no defence. White managed his bold enterprise with such address, that all the prisoners, amounting to one hundred and forty-one, were secured, and conducted by their captors to the town of Sunbury, twenty-five miles distant.

Whilst these operations were carried on in the more southern states, no great military enterprises had been undertaken in the north. Clinton confined his army to predatory excursions into the most defenceless parts of the country. On the first of these, he despatched Sir George Collyer and General Matthews, with about two thousand soldiers and five hundred marines. They arrived at Portsmouth, in Virginia, on the 10th of May, and immediately landed the troops and took possession of the town, which was defenceless. The Americans burnt several vessels, on the approach of the enemy, but the remainder fell into their hands. A detachment of the British made a forced march of eighteen miles by night to Suffolk, where they arrived at daylight the next morning, and destroyed a magazine, and the provisions and vessels which they found there. They proceeded to act in a similar manner at Kemp's Landing, Gosport, Tanner's Creek, and other places in the neighbourhood. Their march was everywhere marked with devastation by fire and sword. Most of the houses, and the public buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, were burned; and one hundred and thirty American vessels fell into the hands of the British fleet, during their fortnight's stay off the coast. The fleet and army, with their prizes and booty, arrived safe at New York, before the end of the month.

Soon after their return, a similar expedition was projected against the exposed coast of Connecticut. The command was given to Governor Tryon, who was assisted by General Garth, with two thousand six hundred troops. They embarked in transports, and, under convoy of a small fleet of armed

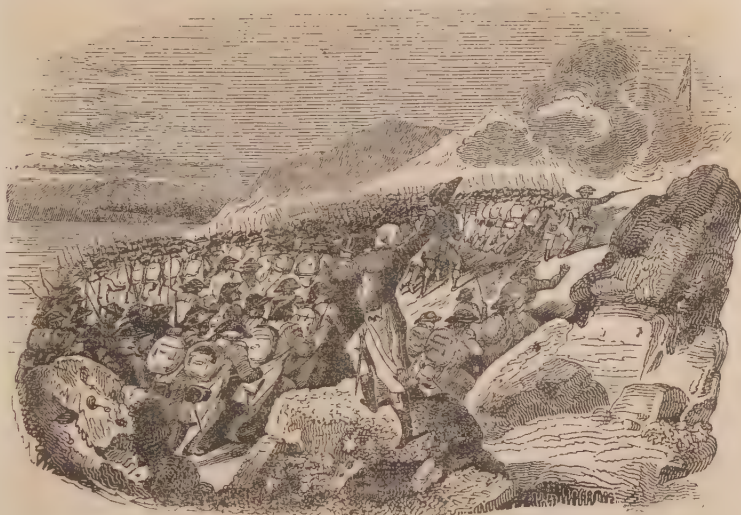
ships, commanded by Sir George Collyer, proceeded by the way of Hellgate, to East Haven, where they landed on the 5th of July. Tryon issued an address calculated to induce the people to return to their allegiance, and promising safety to all those who should remain in their houses; but simultaneously with the issuing of this proclamation, he proceeded to burn and plunder the town. He then marched to New Haven, where he was somewhat retarded in his movements by Captain James Hillhouse, with a small band of brave young men, mostly students of Yale College. After plundering New Haven, he suddenly re-embarked and proceeded to Fairfield. On their approach to the town, the militia met them in some force on the Court-House Green; but they were soon compelled to retire to the back of the town. The soldiers then entered the houses, broke open trunks, desks, closets, and chests, and carried off everything of value that presented itself to their rapacity. They robbed the inhabitants of any article of their clothing which pleased their fancies or suited their wants, and abused them with the foulest language. The town of Norwalk suffered the same fate. Towards evening they began to burn the houses they had previously spared; but they consented to respect the churches and one or two houses. On the following morning Tryon departed with the main body, and the remainder soon after followed. In about ten days the troops were ordered to return to New York. The whole British loss on this occasion did not exceed one hundred and fifty men.

Apprehending that by distributing his forces over the country to resist this kind of warfare, he should be attacked and beaten in detail, General Washington was obliged to retain his forces collected sufficiently to keep the British main army in check, and guard the passes in the highlands. He established his head-quarters at West Point, on the Hudson. He was frequently called on for large detachments of continental troops, which he durst not send; but in order to quiet the murmurs of the people, and to prevent any further attempts at invasion on the part of the British, he was powerfully

induced to undertake some enterprise against the enemy's posts on the Hudson.

Stony Point and Fort La Fayette, on opposite sides of the Hudson, some miles below the American camp, afforded two posts which might practicably be attacked. They had been taken from the Americans in the spring, when the works were incomplete, and Clinton had garrisoned them, and put the fortifications in the best state of repair. After reconnoitring the works in person, Washington determined to surprise them. The attempt was hazardous; for Stony Point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three-fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is in a great measure covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river, on the upper side, and continuing till it joins it below the fort. The marsh was passable only at one place; but at its junction with the river, there is a sandy beach, which may be crossed at ebb tide. The fort stood on the summit of the hill, and was well provided with artillery. Several breastworks and strong batteries were raised in front of the principal fortification, and there were two rows of abattis half-way down the hill. The fort was garrisoned by about six hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson; and several ships of war were stationed in the river, so as to command the foot of the hill.

On the 15th of July, General Wayne marched from Sandy Beach, fourteen miles distant from Stony Point, at the head of the detachment of troops, which were chiefly New Englanders. The road was mountainous, rugged, and difficult; the heat was intense, and it was eight in the evening before the van of the party reached Spring Heels, a mile and a half from the fort, where the detachment halted and formed, while General Wayne and some of his officers proceeded to take a view of the works. At half-past eleven, the party, in two columns, advanced towards the garrison. One hundred and fifty volunteers, under Colonel Fleury, formed the van of the right, and one hundred volunteers, under Major Stewart, composed the van of the left. Both advanced with unloaded



Capture of Stony Point

muskets and fixed bayonets, and each was preceded by a forlorn hope of twenty men, led by Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, to remove the obstructions and abattis, and to open a passage for the columns, which followed close in the rear. Having taken care to secure every person on the route who could give information of their approach, the columns reached the marsh undiscovered. In crossing it, unexpected difficulties occurred, and it was twenty minutes past twelve when the attack commenced. A tremendous discharge of musketry and grape-shot opened on the assailants; but both columns rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and soon gained possession of the fort.

This was a brilliant exploit, and the assailants gained more noble and permanent honours by their humanity than by their bravery; for although the place was taken by storm, and the American troops were greatly exasperated by the merciless ravages and devastations committed by the enemy on the coast of Connecticut, yet not one individual of the garrison suffered after resistance ceased. The garrison lost twenty men killed in the conflict, and seventy-four wounded, including



General Wayne.

six officers. The Americans had sixty-three killed, two of whom were officers, but the wounded did not exceed forty. Seventeen out of twenty of Lieutenant Gibbons's forlorn hope were either killed or wounded. The prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, including officers, and the military stores, ordnance, and standards, which fell into the hands of the victors, were considerable.

Owing to the defenceless state of the works on the river side, which would now be exposed to attacks from the British shipping in the river, it was estimated that it would require a garrison of fifteen hundred men to defend the place; and General Washington could not spare that number from his

little army, which amounted in all to scarcely nine thousand men. He therefore deemed it expedient to evacuate the place, after having to a certain extent demolished the works.

Clinton soon after again took possession of Stony Point, ordered the fortifications to be repaired, and stationed a strong garrison in the fort ; but failing in his attempts to draw Washington from his strong position in the Highlands, he again sailed down the river to New York.

Two other occurrences, which happened about this time, deserve notice. A daring and dangerous enterprise against the enemy's post at Powles Hook, was committed to Major Lee. The object was to acquire credit for the American arms, and encourage a spirit of enterprise in the army, by surprising the posts and immediately retiring, with such prisoners as the major could conveniently take. Should it appear too hazardous, either in the execution or the difficulty of effecting a retreat, he was at liberty to abandon the enterprise. The necessity of making a timely and safe retreat, was strongly inculcated by General Washington ; and the major was desired to lose no time in attempting to remove or destroy any stores, or even in collecting stragglers.

Lee, with a party of three hundred Virginians, a troop of dismounted dragoons, and one company from the Maryland line, proceeded on the service, and before daylight in the morning of July 19th, completely surprised the post. Major Sutherland, the commandant, with a number of Hessians, favoured by the darkness, had the good fortune to escape to a small blockhouse, on the left of the fort. Major Lee killed about thirty of the enemy, and took one hundred and sixty-one prisoners, seven of whom were officers, at the expense of about half a dozen men killed and wounded. He made an immediate retreat, without either spiking the guns, or firing the barracks. The proximity of the main body of the enemy, added to the approach of daylight, made this measure absolutely necessary. Lord Stirling took judicious measures to forward the enterprise, and to secure Lee's retreat. This may be considered as one of the most gallant actions of the war.



General Putnam.

About this time, General Putnam performed his famous feat of riding down the stone stairs at Horse Neck. These stairs consisted of nearly one hundred steps hewn out of the solid rock, for the accommodation of foot-passengers wishing to ascend the precipice. Putnam had his main body stationed at Reading, in Connecticut, and at the time the affair happened, he was busied with a picket of one hundred and fifty men, at one of his outposts at Horse Neck. Suddenly, General Tryon came upon him, with fifteen hundred men, and he vainly attempted to retard the enemy's advance, by the use of only two small field-pieces. Putnam finally ordered his men to retire into a neighbouring swamp, to avoid the charge

of the British dragoons, and putting spurs to his horse, he dashed fearlessly down the precipice. The dragoons arrived at the brow of the hill, but not a man had courage enough to follow the bold American. Whilst they rode round the hill in pursuit of him, the infantry poured a volley of musketry after him; but though the bullets whistled by his head in every direction, one only took effect, and that passed through his hat. Ere the dragoons could ride round to the bottom of the stairs, Putnam had escaped. He rode as far as Stamford, for reinforcements, when having reunited himself to his men, he boldly pursued Tryon on his retreat.

To the credit of these exploits there was a sad drawback in the failure of an expedition which had been fitted out at Boston, for the destruction of a British post at Penobscot.

General M'Lean was sent, in the early part of June, from Halifax, to establish a fort at that place; and his arrival and operations gave alarm to the government at Boston, who agreed upon vigorous measures for preventing its establishment. The militia for the service were put under the command of General Lovel; and Captain Saltonstall, of the Warren continental frigate, was to command the whole fleet. When ready for sea, the armament lay wind-bound in Nantasket roads for some days, so that it did not reach Penobscot until the 25th of July. M'Lean, meanwhile, was informed of the intended expedition against him, four days before; but his fort was in almost a defenceless state, and had Lovel commenced vigorous operations immediately, he could have accomplished his object. He however contented himself with summoning the fort to surrender, and then employed the troops two days in constructing a battery, seven hundred and fifty yards distant from the fort. During the interval, M'Lean was actively employed in completing his fortifications; and by the time the battery was finished, the cannonade which Lovel commenced was ineffectual. M'Lean was at length informed by a deserter, on the 12th of August, that the post was to be stormed in the course of a day or two; but on the 14th, when he expected and had prepared for an assault,

he was surprised to discover that the Americans had abandoned their works and re-embarked in the night. The reason of this was explained, when he learned, soon after, that Sir George Collyer, having heard of the intended expedition, had sailed to the assistance of M'Lean, with six large armed vessels. On the morning of the 14th, the American fleet was drawn up in order of battle, and Collyer prepared to attack it; but the resolution of the Americans soon failed, and a precipitate flight, and a general destruction of the vessels, ensued.

The Warren, a fine new frigate of thirty-two guns, and fourteen other vessels of inferior force, were either blown up or taken. The transports fled in confusion, and the sailors and troops landed in a wild and uncultivated part of the country, and burnt the vessels. After encountering many hardships, in a march of one hundred miles, through an uninhabited and pathless wilderness, in which many of them perished for want of provisions and other necessities, the detachment reached the settled country. Collyer returned to New York, and resigned the command of the fleet to Admiral Arbuthnot, who had arrived with reinforcements.

During the year, General Sullivan was employed on an expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations, all of whom, except the Oneidas, had joined the enemies of America. In consequence of delay, Sullivan was unable to effect anything of importance against his subtle and light-armed adversaries. They retreated as he advanced, and the chief result of the expedition was the destruction of eighteen of their towns, and about one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of corn, besides many apple and peach orchards. He rejoined the main army with his troops, in October; and the Indians, on his return, attacked some of the frontier settlements in New York, and killed and captured many of the inhabitants. Colonel Brodhead now marched into the Indian country from Pittsburgh, and met with considerable success. General Williamson and Colonel Pickens also compelled many of them to remove into the settled towns of the Creeks; after which they burned eight of their villages, and all the standing corn,



General Williamson and Pickens pursuing the Indians.

that they might have no inducement to return to their old abodes.

The Spanish governor of Louisiana, hearing of the commencement of hostilities between Spain and England, also determined to render some service to the common cause, by marching with his whole disposable force against the British posts on the Mississippi. They were defended by about five hundred British and Germans, who were obliged to capitulate.

The arms of America acquired new lustre upon the sea, by a bold and successful enterprise of the celebrated commander, Paul Jones.

During the summer, a squadron was fitted out by the American commissioners of Paris, the command of which was given to Jones. He sailed from Port L'Orient, in July, in the *Bon Homme Richard* of forty guns, accompanied by the *Alliance*, thirty-six, the *Pallas*, thirty-two, and the *Vengeance*, twelve. He steered for the western coast of Ireland, and appeared off Kerry. He ranged from thence round the north of Scotland, and soon appeared off the port of Leith.



Commodore Paul Jones.

After capturing several vessels, in sight of the port, he threatened to lay the town under contribution ; but a storm coming on, he set sail, and directed his course to Flamborough Head. On the night of the 23d of September, while cruising off the Head, he fell in with the *Serapis*, an excellent ship of forty-four guns, which was convoying the Baltic fleet, in company with the frigate *Countess of Scarborough*. The people of the surrounding country were gathered on the heights about the Head, and witnessed the novel scene. The *Serapis* had every advantage over the *Richard* in the number and calibre of guns, and in being more manageable than her antagonist. This advantage was somewhat lessened, however, by the

Serapis running her bowsprit between the poop and mizzen-mast of the *Bon Homme Richard*, when Jones, with his own hands, lashed it fast, and brought the two vessels together. The ships were thus engaged from half-past eight till half-past ten, the muzzles of their guns touching each other's sides. One of the men in the *Bon Homme Richard* carried a basket of hand-grenades out on the mainyard, and threw them among the crew of the *Serapis*. At half-past eight, one of these combustibles exploded a cartridge-magazine, blew up among the people abaft the main-mast, and rendered all the guns on that side useless. The two ships were frequently on fire during the action, and the spectacle was inexpressibly awful. Finding that he was unable longer to defend his ship, and his convoy having in the mean time escaped to such a distance as to remove any fears of their capture, Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* struck his flag, when Jones immediately transferred his crew on board of her, as the *Bon Homme Richard* was in a sinking condition.

Whilst the action between the two larger vessels was maintained, the *Pallas* engaged, and after two hours' fighting, compelled the *Countess of Scarborough* to surrender. On the 25th, the *Bon Homme Richard*, after every exertion on the part of Commodore Jones to save her, went down. Jones sailed for Holland with his prizes, and on the 3d of October anchored off the Texel, having taken during the short cruise prizes estimated to amount to more than £40,000.

In 1780, Commodore Jones took command of the *Ariel*, a small store-ship of twenty guns, and sailed for the United States; but, losing his masts in a gale, he was obliged to return to L'Orient to refit; and, thus delayed, he did not reach America until February, 1781. The gallant sailor was honoured with the thanks of Congress, and a gold medal struck in commemoration of the victory over the *Serapis*.

The exertions of the Americans during this campaign were still more feeble than those of the enemy. Many of the people were of the opinion that the mere espousal of their cause by the French and Spaniards, would be sufficient to decide the

contest. The endeavours to expel the British forces from the foothold which they had acquired in the country, were neither as prompt nor as vigorous as in the first years of the war. Every scheme which had been undertaken by the combined forces of France and America, had failed ; and to this circumstance much of the despondency of the Americans may be attributed.

Subsequent events proved that both sides had expected too much from the alliance ; and when the Americans found that the aid of the French had contributed nothing towards the downfall of British power in the country, they became disheartened, and their exertions were paralyzed. On the other hand, the French charged their allies with having failed in their promises of men and provisions. But while such were the feelings of the main body of the common people, there were those, whose ardour could not be damped by any reverses, and whom danger and losses only roused to greater sacrifices and still more vigorous exertions in the cause of liberty.

The failure of Congress and their officers to perform their promises, was also occasioned in part by the enormous depreciation of their bills of credit, better known by the title of "Continental Currency." These bills had been originally issued to represent specie, and the faith of Congress was pledged for their redemption. They were designed to be used as a currency, and the provisions and supplies which were bought for the army were paid for in them. The first emission was made in June, 1775, to the amount of two millions, and it was followed in the next month by the issue of another million. The credit of the country was at that time good, and the bills were rapidly circulated. The amount in circulation was proportionably increased, and by the close of the year 1776, nearly twenty millions had been emitted. Their current value now began to decrease, and it was daily more and more diminished. To remedy this depreciation, Congress continued to multiply the amount in circulation, and by the year 1780, two hundred millions had been issued.



Specimens of Continental Bills.

At this time, one good silver dollar would purchase thirty dollars' worth of the "Continental money."

An attempt was made by Congress to remedy this evil by making them a legal tender in payment of debts; but this only served to benefit the debtor at the expense of the creditor, and it failed in its object.

Taxation was then resorted to, and many of the states were called on for quotas of provisions and forage; but much opposition was shown to this system in the different states, and their quotas were either retarded or never completely filled. No resource was now left to Congress but to solicit loans from the European states and from private individuals. Many of the American capitalists made loans to the government: among the most liberal of these was Robert Morris, a merchant of Philadelphia. Some aid was likewise obtained in Europe; but still the army was badly supplied with provisions and other necessities.

One division of the army was quartered for the winter in huts at Morristown, under Washington himself, and the other was at West Point. General Green and Colonel Wadsworth were at the head of the quarter-master and commissary



Robert Morris.

departments; but without funds they found it impossible to lay up magazines of provisions, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they obtained supplies to satisfy the temporary wants of the army. Before the month of January expired, the soldiers were put upon allowance, and soon the whole stock of provisions in store was exhausted, and there was neither meat nor flour to be distributed to the troops. To prevent the dissolution of the army, the commander-in-chief was reluctantly driven to vigorous measures. He exacted a certain quantity of meat and flour from each county in New Jersey, to be brought into camp, by the end of six days. Notwithstanding the great demand which had been made upon them in former campaigns, the people cheerfully and seasonably afforded the full quantity of provisions required by the commander-in-chief.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.



URING the year 1780, the contest between Great Britain and America was chiefly carried on in the southern states. The gallant defence of Fort Moultrie in 1776, had deterred the British from making any further attempts to conquer the south ; but the operations of the last year had exposed the weakness of that portion of the union, and Sir Henry Clinton determined to reduce it in person.

As soon as he had ascertained that Count D'Estaing had sailed from the American coast, he left the command of that part of the royal army stationed in New York to General Knyp-hausen ; and, on the 26th of December, set sail for the south. He did not, however, reach Savannah until the end of January. The voyage was very unprosperous ; several of the transports being lost, damaged, or taken by the Americans, on account of the tempestuous weather. One ordnance-ship went down with all her stores, and nearly all the horses, both draught and for the cavalry, were lost. After other delays, Clinton

landed his troops on the 11th of February, on John's Island, about thirty miles from Charleston.

The Assembly of South Carolina broke up its session on the news of Clinton's arrival, having first delegated to Governor Rutledge power to do everything necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial. The governor, thus armed with dictatorial authority, immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous; but the people were generally disheartened by the result of the operations at Savannah, and but few obeyed the call. Rutledge then issued a proclamation, ordering all the militia who had been drafted, and all the property-holders and other inhabitants in Charleston, to join the American standard without delay, under pain of confiscation of their goods.

The defences of Charleston were, however, repaired, and new fortifications erected. General Lincoln and Governor Rutledge were indefatigable in improving the time which the slow motions of Clinton afforded them. Six hundred slaves were employed on the works, and vigorous measures were pursued in order to assemble the regulars and militia. The defences of the city consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from Ashley to Cooper river, on which were mounted nearly eighty pieces of artillery, and on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable, batteries were erected and covered with cannon.

General Lincoln, trusting to these defences, and expecting reinforcements from the north, remained in Charleston, at the earnest request of the inhabitants. On the 21st, the British fleet crossed the bar, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. Commodore Whipple, who commanded the American vessels, finding himself unable to defend the bar, fell back to Charleston, and the guns of his vessels were taken out to defend the batteries. In a few days the town was invested by sea and land, and Lincoln was summoned to surrender; the demand was, however, firmly refused.

The batteries of the first parallel were now opened, and soon made a visible impression on the town. A party of

American cavalry and militia, which had been stationed at Monk's Corner, to keep up a communication between Charleston and the surrounding country, was surprised and dispersed with the loss of about thirty of their number, by the activity of Sir Henry Clinton.

A council of war, held on the 21st of April, agreed that a retreat would be impracticable, and an offer was made of surrendering the town ; but the proposed conditions were rejected by the besiegers, and hostilities recommenced. Clinton's operations were now more extended, as he had received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New York. Colonel Henderson made a vigorous sally on the right, with some success ; but the British had now completed their third parallel and taken Fort Moultrie. The guns of their batteries soon made a decided impression on the town, and many of the garrison were killed at their posts.

Lincoln was desirous of evacuating the town ; but on the citizens entreating him not to leave them to the fury of the enemy, he complied with their request, and offered to surrender on the terms before proposed. A capitulation was accordingly signed on the 12th of May, and next day, General Leslie took possession of the place.

By the articles of capitulation, the garrison were to march out of the town, and deposit their arms in front of the works ; but their drums were not to beat a British march, and their colours were not to be uncased ; the seamen, citizens who had fought during the siege, and the continental troops, were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged, while the militia were to be allowed to go to their homes on parole ; the officers were to retain their arms, baggage, and servants ; and the militia, as well as the inhabitants generally, were to remain unmolested in person and property as long as they should keep their parole.

The fall of Charleston was a matter of much exultation to the British, and spread a deep gloom over the aspect of American affairs. The whole southern army was lost, which, although small, could not soon be replaced. The number of

Tories had always been considerable in the south; and though they had been previously deterred from entering the field by the superior force of their opponents, yet the recent British successes roused all their lurking partialities, decided the wavering, and encouraged the timid.

Clinton was well aware of the advantage he had gained, and immediately adopted measures to overawe the inhabitants, and induce them to return to their former allegiance, by the rapidity of his movements, and the sudden appearance of his troops in different parts of the country. For this purpose he despatched a body of two thousand men towards North Carolina, to repel the small parties of militia who were hastening to the relief of Charleston. Tarleton, with seven hundred horse and foot, by marching one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, met and defeated Colonel Buford, at the Waxhaws. Buford was advancing towards Charleston, at the head of a body of four hundred continental infantry, and a few horsemen. Tarleton easily defeated them by his superior forces, and the Americans were compelled to throw down their arms and implore quarter; but by Tarleton's orders, the work of butchery was continued and nearly all of the regiment were killed or so badly wounded that they could not be removed from the field. This sanguinary proceeding spread dismay and indignation throughout the state, and the remembrance of "Tarleton's quarters" imparted a similar character to future conflicts.

Clinton now placed military posts in various parts of the state, and issued a proclamation, inviting all to join the royal standard, and take the oath of allegiance; threatening punishment to all who should neglect to acknowledge themselves British subjects, as enemies and rebels. At the same time, he promised pardon and oblivion to all past offenders, and exemption from taxation except by their own legislatures. Owing to the universal presence of the enemy, and the want of an American army, many of the inhabitants were induced to comply with these requisitions. The whole state was unusually calm; and Clinton, believing that the country was subdued,



Tarleton's Quarters.

delegated the command of the southern army to Lord Cornwallis, and sailed for New York. Four thousand men were left to keep down any opposition, although there appeared to be but little need of them, as the Americans had no army south of Pennsylvania, and nearly all the inhabitants were willing to submit to the British power.

Sir William Howe had been much censured for not attempting to employ the inhabitants in the royal service, and Clinton now instructed Cornwallis to make the experiment. This was done in the following manner: A proclamation was first issued, discharging all persons from their parole, except such as were taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, that they might be restored to their rights and duties as citizens and inhabitants. The people were informed as to the nature of these duties by a clause in the proclamation stating the propriety of all persons taking an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government. Those who failed in so doing were menaced with the treatment due to rebels and enemies. Thus reduced to the necessity of taking up arms on one side or the other, many became enrolled with the British, until

they could get an opportunity of joining with their countrymen, whilst many others refused to fight against their friends. Fired with indignation against their merciless invaders, great numbers seized their arms, and resolved upon a vindictive war. A party who had taken refuge from British tyranny in North Carolina, chose Colonel Sumpter for their leader. At the head of these he returned to his own state, attacked and defeated many separate small detachments of the enemy, and kept alive the spirit of resistance. His first effort was made on the 10th of July, at Williamson's plantation, where he routed a detachment of royal forces and militia, with one hundred and thirty-three men.

The friends of American independence were very numerous in the north-western part of the state, and thus encouraged, they came with alacrity to join Sumpter, who soon found himself at the head of about six hundred men. A strong party of the enemy, posted at Rocky Mount, in good entrenchments, became next the object of Sumpter's attack. Being destitute of artillery, however, he was obliged to retire without success. He met with better fortune soon after at Hanging Rock, where the Prince of Wales's regiment and a large body of Tories were posted. The regiment was reduced in number from two hundred and seventy-eight to nine, and many of the Tories fell. The remainder were dispersed.

In the hope of relieving Charleston, Congress had ordered the Maryland and Delaware troops to march to South Carolina; but they were delayed so much that they did not reach the Head of Elk until April 16th, when they marched directly towards South Carolina. The Baron De Kalb commanded this detachment; but as he was a foreigner, unacquainted with the country, and not accustomed to undisciplined troops, Congress thought it advisable to give the command of the southern army to General Gates. It was hoped that his fame, and his presence as commander of the southern army, would animate the friends of independence.

A council of war had advised De Kalb to file off from the direct road to Camden, through the well-cultivated settlements

in the district of the Waxhaws; but when, on the 27th of July, Gates joined the army and took the command, he determined to go by the shortest road to the British encampments. This route led through a country of pine-barrens, sand-hills, and swamps, infested by a host of fugitive Tories, whose poverty afforded no subsistence to the army, and whose politics prevented any secret enterprises. Soon after they began their march, they were joined by Colonel Porterfield, with one hundred Virginia militia. The army soon felt the want of provisions; and fatigue, fasting, and disappointments as to supplies, exasperated them to a high degree. *Starvation* became a cant term among both officers and soldiers, and the whole army subsisted on a few lean cattle found in the woods, and green corn and peaches, which unwholesome diet naturally produced dysenteries.

The army at length reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the 13th of August. On the next day, General Stephens joined them with a large body of the Virginia militia, making the whole number of the army three thousand six hundred and sixty-three, of which nine hundred were regulars, and seventy cavalry. Cornwallis had now joined his army, which was concentrated at Camden. It had been somewhat reduced by sickness, and the whole number at Camden amounted to no more than two thousand men.

Gates had issued a proclamation on entering the state, inviting the patriotic citizens to join in attempting to rescue their state from its conquerors. Although this proclamation brought many into the field, yet the number did not equal Gates's expectations. The whole country, however, appeared to be rising, and Cornwallis found that he must either retreat to Charleston, or risk a battle. He chose the latter; and as his position in Camden was unfavourable for repelling an attack, he moved out on the night of the 15th, intending to assault the American camp at Clermont. Gates had sent his sick, wounded, and baggage, to the Waxhaws, and was advancing to a more eligible situation about eight miles from Camden. The advance of both armies met in the night, and

an engagement ensued. Some of Armand's cavalry, who led the American van, being wounded, fell back on others, who suddenly recoiled; by which movement the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia; but the Americans soon recovered their order, and both armies retained their positions during the night.

In the morning, a severe and general engagement took place. At the first onset, General Stevens led forward his men within fifty paces of the enemy, who were also advancing under Lieutenant-Colonel Webster. Stevens then cried out, "Now, my brave fellows, we have bayonets as well as they; we will charge them." Cornwallis, who had mistaken Stevens's movement for a change of position, gave orders to Webster to begin the attack, and the British advanced with a loud shout. The courage of the Virginia militia failed, and they immediately threw down their arms and fled with precipitation, communicating their panic to the greater part of the North Carolina militia. The continentals, who formed the right wing of the army, stood their ground, and, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, behaved with great resolution. For some time they had the advantage of the enemy, and were in possession of a number of prisoners; but owing to their want of cavalry, and to the cowardly desertion of the militia, they were surrounded and overpowered by numbers. Tarleton charged them as they broke, and pursued them as far as Hanging Rock, twenty-two miles from the scene of action.

Two hundred and ninety American prisoners were carried into Camden, of which number two hundred and six were continentals, eighty-two North Carolina militia, and two Virginians. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field-pieces, and nearly all their baggage. Their loss in killed and wounded in the battle could not well be ascertained. That of the British was stated at sixty-nine killed, two hundred and forty-five wounded, and eleven missing.



Battle of Camden, and death of Baron De Kalb.

The Baron De Kalb, while making a vigorous charge at the head of the regiment of infantry, fell under eleven wounds. His aid-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Du Buysson, received him in his arms, and endeavoured to save him from the fury of the foe, by announcing his name and nation. He was wounded while attempting to shield his friend; but a British officer coming up, ordered every attention to be paid to the unfortunate De Kalb. He was a German by birth, and had formerly been long in the French service. He was second in command in this action, and gave new proofs of his bravery and experience. When he made his last charge, he was still ignorant of the flight of the left wing and centre, as the fog-giness of the morning prevented him from seeing what was passing; and when wounded and taken, he would scarcely believe that Gates was defeated. He expired in a few hours, spending his last breath in dictating a letter, expressing the warmest affection for the officers and men of his division,

and the most exalted admiration of their courage and good conduct.*

Before the battle of Camden, General Sumpter had sent an express to Gates, informing him that a convoy of supplies and stores for the British was coming up from Charleston to Camden, and that they must cross the Wateree at a ferry about a mile from his encampment. He therefore asked for a reinforcement, in order to enable him to capture the party. Gates sent a detachment of four hundred men, with two brass field-pieces, to his aid; and Sumpter succeeded in effecting his object, taking three hundred prisoners, and all the stores.

Hearing of Gates's defeat, Sumpter began to retreat up the south side of the Wateree with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton was sent after him, with his legion and a body of infantry; and owing to the negligence of Sumpter's sentinels, Tarleton was enabled to ride into his camp at Fishing Creek, near the Catawba Ford, before preparations could be made for their defence. His whole party was dispersed, between three and four hundred killed and wounded, and all the stores and baggage recaptured. Sumpter also lost all his artillery.

On the 17th and 18th, the remnant of Gates's army rendezvoused at Charlotte; one hundred and fifty of them having been so fortunate as to escape. Thence they retreated to Salisbury, and finally to Hillsborough, where Gates endeavoured to devise plans for recommencing military operations. The ill-health of his army prevented Cornwallis from pursuing his success, and he therefore resolved to employ himself in breaking the spirits of the Whigs. He ordered that those who, after having submitted, had again taken up arms, should be punished with the greatest rigour; that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. He also ordered, "that every militia-man who had borne arms with the British and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death," and at Augusta, Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged.

In pursuance of the British policy of forming a royal militia

* Marshall.

of the conquered inhabitants, Major Ferguson had been ordered to train and attach to his corps, some of the Tories. He was now sent into the western part of North Carolina, to embody the loyalists in that quarter. Meanwhile Cornwallis advanced to Charlotteville, in North Carolina; and Colonel Clarke, of Georgia, at the head of a small body of men, laid siege to Augusta. Colonel Brown defended it with much resolution, and Colonel Cruger approaching with a reinforcement from Ninety-Six, Clarke was obliged to make a hasty retreat.

Ferguson endeavoured to intercept Clarke and cut off his retreat; but the mountaineers of Virginia and North Carolina had collected in considerable force, and rapidly advanced towards Ferguson. Colonel Williams led a party from near Ninety-Six, and Colonels Tracy and Bamar also led each a party towards the same place.

Ferguson received notice of their approach, and commenced his march for Charlotteville. The militia, now all collected, met at Gilbert-town, which Ferguson had just quitted. They numbered about three thousand in all; and sixteen hundred riflemen were selected, mounted on the swiftest horses, and sent in pursuit. They came up with the enemy at King's Mountain, where Ferguson, finding escape impracticable, had chosen a position and awaited an attack. The Americans formed themselves in three divisions, led by Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, and Campbell, and began to ascend the mountain, in three different and opposite directions.

Ferguson fell upon the first assailants with fixed bayonets and drove them back; but while he was thus occupied, the second party arrived and poured in a galling fire, when Ferguson again used the bayonet with success. But now the third party had come into action, in another quarter, and Ferguson applied the bayonet once more; but before he could drive them down, the other two divisions had returned to the charge. He continued the action nearly an hour, when he was mortally wounded and instantly expired. His party immediately surrendered.

In this action, one hundred and fifty of the royal troops were killed, and as many wounded; eight hundred were taken prisoners, of whom one hundred were British troops, and fifteen hundred stand of excellent arms were among the spoils of the victory. The American loss was small; but in it was included that of Colonel Williams, who was greatly and justly lamented.

The indefatigable Sumpter, after the dispersion of his corps by Tarleton in August, soon raised a band of volunteers, and kept the field in South Carolina, in the midst of the British posts, for three months. Continually changing his position, he was found at one time on the Broad, then on the Enoree, and again on the Tyger river; he harassed the enemy greatly, and they were very anxious to get rid of him. He was attacked by a detachment of infantry and dragoons, under Major Wemyss, at Broad river; but he defeated them, and took Wemyss prisoner; and a few days afterward he was attacked near Tyger river, by Tarleton, who was obliged to retreat with considerable loss, leaving Sumpter master of the field. Cornwallis had advanced in the direction of Salisbury; but when he received news of the defeat and death of Ferguson, he retired into South Carolina, and when he at last was obliged to go into winter-quarters, Sumpter kept the field, and was ever on the alert to capture a foraging party, or take any advantage of the enemy. For his zeal, activity, and bravery at this trying period, he received the thanks of Congress and the applause of the country.

The partisan warfare which was so essential in contributing to the expulsion of the British from the more southern states found another able leader in General Francis Marion. His efforts were directed more to the rendering of effective service to the cause than the acquisition of mere personal fame, and his heart was ever active to the calls of humanity, not less than to the demands of honour. His name will always maintain a prominent position in the military annals of the south, as one of the most efficient of those partisan leaders who aided in expelling the formidable enemy.



Capture of André.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.—CONCLUDED.



HILE the war was actively raging in the southern states, some interesting events happened in the more northern parts of the Union, where General Washington was beset by many pressing and formidable difficulties. Not only were the urgent wants of the army ill supplied, owing to the depressed state of the finances; but the evils of short enlistments were now understood and felt when they could not be remedied. The soldiers almost universally demanded their discharge when their term of service had expired, and their places could not be filled. The troops were also in danger of perishing from cold and famine. In consequence of the exhausted state of the national finances, no persons were

willing to make contracts with the government; and many of those which were entered into were not fulfilled.

In the course of the winter, forage had failed, and many of the horses attached to the army had died, or were rendered unfit for use. The pay of the officers was reduced to a nominal value, and although Congress promised to make good to them the losses which they had sustained through the depreciation of their pay; yet this promise of future compensation was considered but a feeble aid to support them in the endurance of present privations of every kind.

At length, mutiny broke out in the camp; two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, and announced their intention of returning home, or of procuring subsistence by force. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument that might arouse their pride or their passions. All these remonstrances were answered with the reply, "Our sufferings are too great, and we want present relief." They were finally, with great difficulty, induced to return to their duty.

While the men were thus murmuring under their privations, a printed paper was circulated through the camp. It was addressed to the soldiers of the continental army; and after reminding them of their many grievances and sufferings, invited them to join the British standard. In addition to the reasons urged in this paper, to induce them to desert the republican standard, their spirits were depressed by the news of the fall of Charleston, and the loss of the whole American southern army. Yet their attachment to the cause of their country was so strong, that on the arrival of a small quantity of meat to supply their hunger, military duty was performed with a cheerful alacrity, and desertions were rare.

An exaggerated report of these discontents having reached Knyphausen, he passed over into New Jersey, with five thousand men, to avail himself of any favourable circumstances; but the firmness of the Americans soon convinced him that he had been deceived by the accounts of their disaffection.

The regulars detached to oppose his progress fought with uncommon obstinacy, and the inhabitants seized their arms,

and vied with the troops in spirit and courage. Meeting with such serious opposition, the general retreated to Elizabethtown Point, opposite Staten Island. In the mean time, Clinton having returned from Charleston with his victorious troops, ordered a reinforcement to support Knyphausen, who again advanced towards Springfield. General Greene opposed him with a considerable body of continental troops; but after a severe action, he was compelled by superior numbers to retire to a range of hills. He took post on the top of these, hoping to be attacked; but Knyphausen, having burned the town, retreated, and on the next day set out for New York. In this action the Americans lost about eighty men; the British considerably more.

Late in the spring, the Marquis La Fayette returned from France with the pleasing intelligence that his government had resolved to assist the United States by employing, this year, a respectable land and naval force in America. On his arrival he was joyfully received by all classes of the people; and Congress passed a highly complimentary vote of thanks to him for his exertions in behalf of America. In July, the French fleet arrived at Rhode Island, consisting of two ships of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, two frigates of forty, a cutter of twenty, an armed hospital-ship, and thirty-two transports, containing six thousand men. The fleet was commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau. The count brought information that the second division would follow him as soon as transports could be fitted out to receive them. A mutual regard for each other was instantly cultivated by the officers of the two armies; and General Washington recommended to his officers, in general orders, the placing a white relief on the American cockade, as an emblem of the alliance.

Owing to the scarcity of military stores and provisions in the American camp, the continental army was unprepared to act with their French auxiliaries on their arrival; and before anything could be effected, news arrived that the second portion of the French army was detained in the harbour of Brest

by a blockade; and in consequence, would not reach the American coast this year. All the brilliant hopes which had been raised of being able during this campaign to conclude the war by capturing all the British posts in the country, were now dashed to the ground, and general disappointment succeeded.

In September, Washington, accompanied by General Knox, La Fayette, and the other officers of his suite, made a visit to the Count Rochambeau, and the Chevalier de Ternay, at Hartford. He met them on the 21st of that month, and after arranging a plan of operations for the next campaign, he set out to return. During their absence, a scheme for delivering West Point into the hands of the enemy was discovered.

This post was of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it defended the camps of the American army on both sides of the North river, and commanded the river itself. Rocky ridges, rising one behind another, had rendered it incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men, and it was generally deemed impregnable. It was the strongest post of the Americans, affording the means of communication between the eastern and middle states, and in it were deposited their most valuable stores. At this time it was commanded by General Arnold. He had been among the first to take up arms in the cause of America, and from the time when, with Allen, he took Ticonderoga, in the first year of the war, until the battle of Stillwater, he had continued in the field, daily evincing proofs of the most determined bravery. At Stillwater, he received a wound in the leg from a musket-ball, which rendered him unfit for active service. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of that place. During his residence there he made the best house in the city, that of Governor Penn, his head-quarters. This he furnished in the most costly manner, and lived in a style far beyond his income. In his retreat from Canada he had wasted the plunder which he had seized at Montreal, and at Philadelphia he determined to make new acquisitions. He continued his extravagant course of living, and in order to support it, he had

recourse to trade and privateering ; but all his speculations and ventures were unsuccessful, and his creditors were importunate in their demands. Other schemes of raising funds failing, he had recourse to fraud and speculation. In July, 1779, he exhibited his accounts with heavy demands against the public ; but the commissioners appointed to examine his accounts, rejected about one-half of the amount. Indignant at this treatment, he appealed from the commissioners to Congress. A committee appointed by that body confirmed the judgment of the commissioners, and even expressed an opinion that they had allowed the general more than he had a right to expect or demand. This provoked him to outrageous proceedings and expressions ; and he was finally tried by a court martial, upon charges preferred by the Governor of Pennsylvania, found guilty, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. This sentence was approved by Congress, and soon after carried into effect.

Soured at the treatment he had received, his proud spirit revolted from the cause of America. He now sought for the command of an important post which would give a value to treason, and enable him to meet his pecuniary difficulties with British gold. He applied for the command of West Point, the Gibraltar of America ; a recommendation of him for that post was given to Washington, by a member of the New York delegation ; and General Schuyler also requested the commander-in-chief to confer the appointment on Arnold. Washington replied that as there was the prospect of an active campaign, he should be gratified with the aid of Arnold in the field ; but intimated that if the appointment requested should be more pleasing to him, he should receive it. Arnold soon after came to the camp, and renewed in person the former applications. He was offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was then advancing against New York. He declined this, under the pretext that, in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. The command of West Point was then immediately conferred upon him.

Previous to receiving the appointment, Arnold had signified by letter to Colonel Robinson, his change of principles, and desire of joining the royal army. This led to a correspondence and negotiation between him and Sir Henry Clinton. His plan was to put the British in possession of the fortress by drawing the garrison out to fight the enemy in the defiles, and leaving unguarded a designated pass, by which they might surprise and carry the works, while his troops would be compelled to surrender, or be cut to pieces. Arnold having signified his intention of delivering West Point to the enemy, Major André, Adjutant-General of the British army, was selected as the person to whom the arrangements for the execution of the treason should be committed. After some correspondence had passed between them, in a mercantile style, and under the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson, the Vulture sloop-of-war moved up the North river, and took a station near enough to be convenient, without exciting suspicion.

Washington being absent from the neighbourhood, on the night of the 21st of September, Arnold sent a boat to the Vulture, which received André and brought him to the beach, without the posts of both armies, with a pass, under the name of John Anderson. Arnold met him at the house of a Mr. Smith; but before their conference was finished, daylight appeared, and for fear of discovery, André was secreted through the day within the American posts, his regimentals, in which he had come ashore, being concealed by a surtout coat. When on the following night he proposed to return to the Vulture, the boatmen refused to take him, that vessel having moved her position farther down the river, to avoid an American battery. In this extremity, he was induced by Arnold to lay aside his regimentals, and attempt to reach New York by land. In order to facilitate this attempt, Arnold gave him a passport, authorizing John Anderson "to go to the lines at White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper, he being on public business." André set out on horseback, and passed all the guards and outposts without suspicion, until he was near the British lines, when on the 23d of September, as he

was riding along in fancied security, one of three militia-men, who were employed as a scouting party between the lines, springing suddenly from his covert by the roadside, seized his bridle and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, André, with a singular want of self-possession, asked the man where he belonged, and being answered, "to below," replied immediately, "and so do I." He then declared himself to be a British officer on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia-men now came up, and André discovered his mistake; but it was too late to repair it. His confusion was so great that they proceeded to search his person, until in his boot they found his papers. These were in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men commonly on duty to man them, and a copy of a report that had been laid by Washington before a council of war, on the sixth of the month.

André offered his captors a purse of gold, with his valuable watch, to let him pass; but they nobly disdained his temptation, as well as the offer of permanent provision and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New York. They conducted him to Colonel Jameson, who had command of the scouting parties of militia. As these men were placed thus near the enemy by Arnold's orders, the colonel and his officers had such suspicions of him, that they determined to seize him at all events, had he come down among them. Nevertheless, Jameson was the means of Arnold's escape. When André was brought before him, fearful of involving Arnold, he supported his name of Anderson, and procured permission from the colonel to write a note to Arnold, acquainting him with Anderson's detention. After this note had been despatched, André addressed himself by letter to General Washington, stating his real name and rank, enclosing all the papers which he had on his person when taken, and endeavouring to show that he did not come under



Major André.

the description of a spy. This letter Jameson also forwarded, but the bearer missed Washington by taking a different road from that which the general took on his return from Hartford. He was thus obliged to make a circuit, and allow time enough for the letter to reach Arnold some hours before Washington arrived at his quarters.

On receiving this note, Arnold hastened on board the *Vulture*, which lay some miles below Stony Point. The commander-in-chief crossed over to West Point, expecting to meet Arnold there; but finding him absent, he returned to his camp,

where he received the packet from Jameson, which explained the cause of Arnold's disappearance. André had been forty-eight hours in custody, before Arnold's design was known in camp. Had it succeeded, the consequences must have been disastrous in a high degree. All the forces in the fortress would have been killed or taken with the post, and this loss would have exposed the remainder of Washington's army to the joint attacks of the British land and naval force, when the result might have been fatal to the cause of America.

Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers, to examine the case of Major André; and before this tribunal the prisoner made a free and full confession of more than was asked him, seeking only to place his own character in as honourable a light as possible, without implicating any one else. Declining to examine any other witnesses, the board reported upon his own confessions, that in their opinion, and agreeably to the laws of nations, he was a spy, and as such, ought to suffer death.



André's Prison.

Clinton was deeply concerned for the fate of André, and while he was confined under sentence, made every exertion to rescue him from his fate. He first represented that André

was entitled to the protection of a flag ; but the gallant major himself disclaimed this false pretext. Clinton then proposed an interview between Lieutenant-General Robertson and General Green ; but no new facts were elicited at this meeting. As a last resort, a letter from Arnold, filled with threats, was presented ; but this was treated with the contempt it deserved.

André was very anxious to have his sentence mitigated. The idea of death by hanging, usually inflicted upon persons in his situation, affected him deeply. He wished to die as a soldier, and not as a criminal. Washington consulted his officers upon this subject ; but they were of opinion that the public good required his punishment in the usual way. Of this he was kept ignorant until the time had arrived for his execution, October 2d, when, on first beholding the fatal preparations, he inquired "Must I die in this manner?" He soon after added, "It will be but a momentary pang," and only requested them to witness that he died like a brave man. His melancholy fate was universally regretted. The sympathy he had excited in the American camp was unexampled under any similar circumstances, and the event deeply affected the whole royal army.

The three militia-men whose unshaken attachment to their country was perhaps the means of preserving its liberties, were not suffered to go unrewarded. On the 3d of November, it was resolved, "That Congress have a high sense of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of JOHN PAULDING, DAVID WILLIAMS, and ISAAC VAN WERT," and that each of them should receive annually, during life, two hundred dollars in specie, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, emblematic of their fidelity and patriotism, to be presented by the commander-in-chief, with a copy of the resolutions.

Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British army ; and it was hoped that with the aid of the loyalists, and the discontented of all sorts, he would raise a considerable body of troops, to act under his own separate command. But

neither an address of his to the inhabitants of America, nor his proclamation, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, had any effect. Notwithstanding the numerous discontents of the American army, occasioned by their distressing privations, Arnold's example and endeavours, instead of being instrumental in bringing over small bodies or detachments, do not appear to have produced the desertion of a single soldier.

He remains the solitary instance of an American officer who abandoned the side he first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms. He survived the war but to drag on in perpetual banishment from his native country, a dishonourable life. He transmitted to his children, a name of hateful celebrity. He obtained only a part of the stipend of an abortive treason, and his complaints soon caused it to be known, that all the promises by which he had been inveigled were not fulfilled. Notwithstanding his rank of brigadier-general, the officers of the British army manifested a strong repugnance to serve with him. He possessed their esteem while he fought against them; they loaded him with contempt, when treason brought him over to their side. He resided chiefly in England, until June, 1801, when he died unlamented; while a handsome monument has been erected to the memory of his victim in Westminster Abbey.

In obedience to the orders sent him to prosecute the war with vigour in North Carolina and Virginia, Clinton despatched General Leslie, in October, to the Chesapeake Bay, with three thousand choice troops. He was to co-operate with Cornwallis, who was expected to have by this time entered Virginia. The troops were landed in different parts of the state, and Leslie engaged himself in establishing a post at Portsmouth, until he could learn exactly where his lordship was. Cornwallis at length ordered him to sail to Charleston with his troops, and when he had arrived there with another detachment of eight hundred men, sent by Clinton, the forces under command of Cornwallis amounted to eleven thousand three hundred and six effective rank and file. During his stay

in the Chesapeake, Leslie took many valuable vessels, and a quantity of tobacco.

A small expedition undertaken in November by Major Talmadge, deserves a passing notice. He crossed the Sound to Long Island, with eighty men, and leaving twenty to guard the boats, made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and easily reduced it. He had but one man wounded. Eight of the enemy were killed or wounded, and a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and fifty-five privates were made prisoners.

As soon as the winter of 1780 commenced, the American troops retired to the quarters which they had last occupied, to undergo the same privations and distresses which had so much affected their operations during the preceding winter. There had been a plentiful harvest; yet want was felt in the camp of the country's defenders. The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, stationed at Morristown, complained that they not only suffered in common with the other soldiers, but that they were retained in service after their terms of enlistment had expired. On the night of the 1st of January, at a given signal, thirteen hundred of these men paraded under arms, and announced their intention of marching to Philadelphia, and demanding a redress of grievances from Congress. In an attempt to compel them to desist from their purpose, one of the officers was killed and several wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breast, and said, "We love and respect you; but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, were they now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will no longer be amused; we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." No entreaties or remonstrances of their commanders could stop them in their design. They elected temporary officers, and marched to Princeton, in good order, with their arms and six field-pieces. Here they were met by a deputation from Congress, who finally induced them to accede to a compromise. Meantime, Clinton had endeavoured to persuade them to renounce



General Wayne attempting to quell the Mutiny.

their principles, and join the British ranks; but, to his surprise, instead of listening to his offers, they seized his emissaries and delivered them to General Wayne. They were afterwards tried, condemned, and executed as spies. A similar attempt was soon after made by a part of the Jersey line; but it was soon suppressed, and a few of the ringleaders executed.

These revolts disclosed to the people the true condition of the army, and the amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them. This sum was joyfully received as an evidence of the share they yet held in the memories of their countrymen.



CHAPTER XL.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.



AMERICAN Independence, for which so much blood had been shed, so many sacrifices made, during the previous campaigns, seemed, at the beginning of the year 1781, as remote as ever. The prospect of success was indeed far from being encouraging. In the south, the whole army under Greene amounted to only two thousand three hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were militia; and these were almost all nearly naked, destitute of magazines, and dependent upon daily collections of food for their subsistence. The region about Charlotte had been made nearly desolate, and the nature of the country, filled with swamps and woods, and infested with Tories, rendered it extremely difficult for the American general to bring provisions from any distance. He saw that the best course would have been to go to the river Pedee, where he could have

obtained plenty of food and forage ; but that was farther from Camden than Charlotte, and the confidence of the people and his own soldiers might be diminished by anything having the appearance of a retrograde movement. It only remained for him therefore to divide his army ; and even this step could not be taken without much hazard.

Gates had appointed Morgan to the command of the light troops, and Greene retaining him in his command, increased his numbers to three hundred infantry, under Colonel Howard, one hundred and seventy Virginia riflemen, and seventy of Colonel Washington's light dragoons. With this force he was sent to the westward of the Wateree, into South Carolina, to watch the motions of the enemy at Camden and Wynnsborough, and to find provisions for his men.

Marion was employed in the lower parts of South Carolina, in watching the Tories and British in Charleston, Georgetown, and their other posts, and in his own system of partisan warfare. Greene left Charlotte and marched to Hicks' Ferry, on the Pedee. He was here when the campaign of 1781 commenced.

On the 27th of December, 1780, Morgan detached Colonel Washington, with his dragoons and about two hundred militia, to the neighbourhood of Ninety-Six, where he succeeded in surprising a body of Tories, one hundred and fifty of whom were killed or wounded, and forty, with a large number of horses, captured. Morgan was soon after joined by about two hundred and sixty militia from North and South Carolina, under Major M'Dowel and Colonel Pickens ; and Greene was joined by Lee, with his partisan legion, on the 13th of January, 1781.

On the 11th of January, General Leslie had joined Cornwallis with a body of fifteen hundred and thirty men, and his lordship now prepared to advance into North Carolina. Such a movement, however, would leave the indefatigable Morgan in his rear ; and Cornwallis determined to drive him from his station, and dispirit the inhabitants, who were about rising to join him. Tarleton was despatched on this business, with

near eleven hundred efficient royal troops, and two field-pieces. This force was known to be superior to that under Morgan; and no doubt was entertained of the sudden flight or total defeat of the Americans. Tarleton moved with his usual celerity, in the hope of surprising his enemy; but Morgan got notice of his approach, and the amount of force under his command. He immediately retreated across the Pacolet and halted; but learning that Tarleton had forded the river a short distance above him, he moved off, and his pursuers reached the place he had quitted about ten o'clock in the evening of the 16th of January. He recommenced the pursuit at three o'clock next morning, and Morgan finding escape by flight impossible, and fearing that he might be overtaken and attacked on unfavourable ground, resolved to hazard a battle. He therefore drew up his men at a place called the Cowpens, about three miles from the division line between North and South Carolina.

Morgan's arrangements were judicious. His militia were posted in advance, with orders, when forced to retire, to form on the right of the second line, composed of the regulars and Virginia riflemen. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry and about forty-five mounted militiamen, formed the reserve, and were stationed in a small copse in the rear. Tarleton advanced with his usual speed, and discovered the dispositions of Morgan just before daybreak. He immediately ordered his troops to form, and without waiting for the execution of the order, led on his troops to the attack. They rushed on with shouts, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry, which, however, does not appear to have produced any great effect. The first line of militia, under Pickens, reserved their fire until the enemy were within forty or fifty yards; but the British pressed on, and the militia fell back. Mistaking this for a retreat, the British rushed on in disorder and engaged the second line. This, after an obstinate conflict, separated and fell back upon the cavalry. Meanwhile, Ogilvie, with a troop of cavalry, had commenced an attack on the flank of the militia; but being exposed simultaneously to a galling



Battle of the Cowpens.

fire, and a charge from the cavalry under Washington, was obliged to give way.

Howard had observed the movement of Washington, and finding that the British, owing to the loss of some of their officers, did not improve their advantage, rallied and made a charge with the regulars upon the confused enemy, who were almost at the same instant charged by the militia, who were renewing the battle under Pickens. Panic-stricken at these unexpected charges, the British advance fell back, and the whole body was thrown into confusion. Tarleton's legion cavalry, which had not yet been engaged, fled with the utmost precipitation; and upon Colonel Howard's promising them quarters, several hundred of the enemy surrendered. The only part of the infantry which escaped was a detachment which had been left to guard the baggage. The officer who commanded them, destroyed the greater part of the baggage, and mounting his men on the horses, escaped and joined the army of Cornwallis. Tarleton was pursued several miles by Colonel Washington, who gave him a slight wound in the

hand ; but, with the greater part of his cavalry, he escaped to bear the news of his defeat to Cornwallis. In this battle, where the American militia were taught by Morgan that the legion of Tarleton "was not invincible," ten commissioned officers and one hundred privates of the British were killed, twenty-nine officers and two hundred privates wounded; and above five hundred privates prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans, who lost only twelve men killed and sixty wounded. Upwards of eight hundred stand of arms, one hundred dragoon horses, thirty-five baggage wagons, and two standards, were among the trophies of this victory. The two cannon, which had been taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga, and captured by Cornwallis at Camden, now again changed owners.

General Morgan was honoured by Congress with a gold medal for his success in this battle, which in the end proved nearly as disastrous to Cornwallis as did the victory at Bennington to Burgoyne. In order to demolish Morgan and regain the prisoners, Cornwallis determined upon a vigorous pursuit. Morgan immediately after the battle sent on the prisoners with the militia to Charlottesville, in Virginia, and followed them with his cavalry and infantry. Cornwallis destroyed nearly all his baggage, and retained no wagons except those containing the hospital stores and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. On the 19th of January, he began his remarkable pursuit, and had not Morgan shown as much activity and prudence after the victory as bravery in gaining it, he certainly would have lost his whole detachment of eight hundred men, and five hundred prisoners. He succeeded in crossing the Catawba river, on the 28th; just two hours after, Cornwallis appeared on the other side.

Owing to recent rains in the mountains, the river had commenced rising, and it rained so incessantly during the night, that when Cornwallis would have crossed in the morning, it was no longer passable. He was detained here two days, waiting for the inundation to subside, by which time the

prisoners were so far advanced on their way to Virginia, as to be out of his reach. Morgan called out the neighbouring militia and prepared to defend the passage of the river; but on the 31st of January, General Greene suddenly appeared in the camp, and took the command on himself, having ridden one hundred and fifty miles to lead Morgan's force towards effecting a junction with the remainder of his army, which he had left at Hicks's Creek, under General Williams, with orders to proceed to Charlotte or Salisbury.

Greene attempted to defend the passage of the river, and guarded the fords; but owing to the death of General Davidson, and the misconduct of the militia lately under his command, the passage of the river was effected by the British. Tarleton directly after attacked and defeated a considerable body of militia that were assembled at Tarrant's Tavern, about ten miles distant from the place of crossing. Greene now marched toward the Yadkin, and Cornwallis pushed after him, hoping to overtake him before he could cross that river. So near were the two armies during the pursuit, that the van of the one was frequently in sight of the rear of the other.

Greene, however, succeeded in crossing the Yadkin, partly by fording, and partly in flatboats and scows, although the van of the British army arrived on the western side but a short time after the last detachment had crossed. Greene had secured all the boats on the eastern bank, and owing to another sudden rise of the waters, the river was no longer fordable, and the enemy was obliged to march to a higher point. The people throughout the country were cheered and enlivened by this second rescue of their army from danger by the swelling of the waters; and it was generally represented as a direct manifestation of the fact that Omnipotence was enlisted in their behalf.

Greene now marched northward and effected a junction with the remainder of his army, under Huger and Williams, at Guilford Court-House. Cornwallis had been completely baffled in his designs of retaking the prisoners of the Cowpens, overwhelming Morgan, and preventing a junction of the two

detachment of Americans. He still had, however, a force superior to that of Greene, who expected reinforcements from Virginia, and Cornwallis endeavoured, by keeping in the upper country, to gain so much upon Greene as to intercept his retreat over the Dan into Virginia. Both armies were destitute of tents, and subsisted on what they could procure in their hasty marches through the country. Knowing the superiority of his opponent, Greene determined if possible to cross the Dan and avoid an engagement. He therefore, in order to check the advance of Cornwallis, who was now marching upon him, formed a light corps of Lee's legion, Howard's infantry, Washington's cavalry, and Campbell's Virginia riflemen, numbering in all about seven hundred men, the best troops in the whole of his army. General Morgan being sick, Colonel Williams commanded this body, which was so bold and active as to compel Cornwallis to keep his troops as compactly together as possible during the whole march; for on one occasion, Lee made a furious charge upon the British advanced cavalry, and after killing several, took a number prisoners.

Greene was attended on this occasion by his usual good fortune, and succeeded in finding boats at Boyd's and Irwin's ferries, sufficient for the passage of his army. So closely was he pursued, however, that though he marched forty miles on that day, the van of the British arrived in time to see the landing of the rear division on the opposite shore. Cornwallis had deemed it impossible for Greene to escape into Virginia, and when he thus saw all his hopes defeated by the prudence and activity of his adversary, he was greatly disappointed. Further pursuit was now impracticable, as the army of General Greene was advantageously posted on the other side of the river, which was too deep to be forded, and no boats could be procured. During this retreat of more than two hundred miles, both armies suffered extremely from the inclemency of the season, bad roads, heavy rains, want of tents, and scarcity of provisions. The Americans, however, were nearly all destitute of shoes and clothing, and many were the gashes

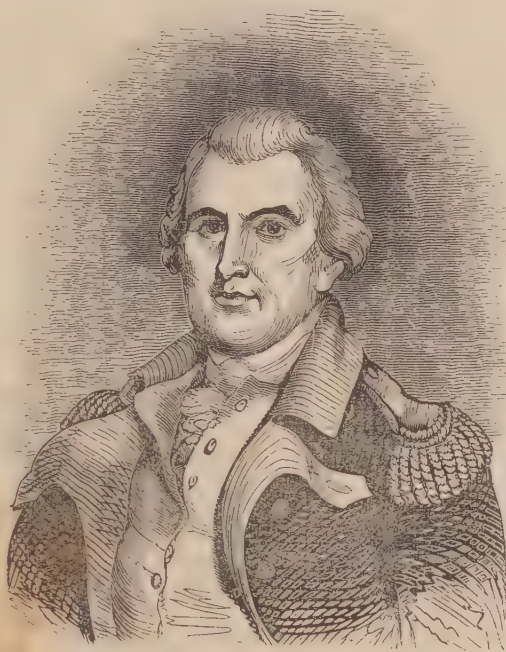
inflicted upon the naked feet of the champions of liberty ; while the British were all comfortably clothed, and supplied with good shoes ; yet no complaints escaped the lips of the Americans, who lost not a single man by desertion.

Greene being driven out of North Carolina, Cornwallis marched to Hillsborough, where he set up the royal standard, and endeavoured to incite the friends of the king to come out openly and espouse his cause. The Tories, however, were not so numerous now as they had been at the commencement of the war. Many of them had gone into South Carolina, and of those who were left, the greater part had resolved to watch the course of events, and not rashly expose their lives and fortunes in a doubtful cause. Several companies of them were, however, formed, and were on their march to join Cornwallis. Tarleton was sent to meet them, and escort them to the British camp ; but Lee and Pickens having received intelligence of their proceedings, resolved to check them. The Tories, under Colonel Pyle, were met, February 25th, by Lee and Pickens, in a lane, about a mile from Tarleton's camp, and mistaking the American cavalry for Tarleton's legion, were completely surprised and slaughtered without much opposition. A party escaped, and when at a short distance from the field of battle, encountered Tarleton, who had heard the firing and was coming up to ascertain its cause. That officer immediately attacked them, and they sustained a second defeat. Thus they were equally slaughtered by those whom they came to oppose and those they intended to assist. Of between two and three hundred, but a very small remnant escaped, and after this occurrence, the spirit of the Tories was completely damped.

Meanwhile, Greene had recrossed the Dan, with his whole army, on the 21st and 22d, and having been reinforced by six hundred militia under Stevens, he made such use of his light troops, and manœuvred in such a masterly manner, that he succeeded for three weeks in avoiding a battle ; and by cutting off all Cornwallis's foraging parties, so straitened him that he was obliged to fall back from Hillsborough, across the

Haw river. Greene was further strengthened by two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and four hundred regulars. He now resolved to risk a battle, as he had the superiority of numbers, and could not keep the militia long in the field. His army now numbered four thousand two hundred men, of whom nearly two thousand five hundred were militia; whilst Cornwallis commanded about two thousand four hundred British veteran troops. On the 15th of March, Greene advanced and took a position at Guilford Court-House, within ten miles of the British camp, where he drew up his army in three lines. The front was composed of the North Carolina militia, under Butler and Eaton, the second of the Virginia militia, under Stevens and Lawson, and the third of continental troops, under General Huger and Colonel Williams. Stevens posted forty riflemen in the rear of his militia, with orders to shoot every one who should leave his post without orders.

The British advanced in three columns; the Hessians on the right, the British guards in the centre, and Webster's brigade on the left. The attack was commenced, after a brisk cannonade, on the first line, which was thrown into confusion by the misconduct of a militia officer, who rashly gave a false alarm, and the whole line soon quitted the field. The Virginians were then attacked, and fought like veterans, until ordered to retreat, when the regulars came into action. They sustained the conflict with obstinate valour for an hour and a half; but when the British succeeded in turning the second Maryland brigade, and were getting into the rear, Greene ordered a retreat, which was well conducted. Both sides claimed the victory; but from the relative loss in the battle, and the movements of Cornwallis directly after, it would seem to belong to the Americans. They lost three hundred of the continentals and one hundred Virginia militia; the British lost over six hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. Colonel Stewart and Colonel Webster, both valuable officers, were killed, and Brigadier-Generals O'Hara and Howard, with Colonel Tarleton, were wounded. After the battle many of the militia went to their homes, and did not rejoin the army,



General Greene.

which fell back to Speedwell's Iron Works, on Troublesome Creek. Cornwallis, three days after the battle, issued a proclamation, setting forth his complete victory, calling upon all good subjects to stand forth and take an active part in restoring good government, and offering pardon to all rebels; yet he decamped on the 11th, leaving all his advantages, and his hospital at the Quaker Meeting-House, containing between seventy and eighty wounded British officers and soldiers. All the wounded Americans taken in the battle, were also left behind, whilst his lordship retreated towards Wilmington. Greene had expected to be again attacked; but when he found his opponent retreating, he pursued in all haste. Cornwallis retired before him, and Greene advanced as far as Ramsay's Mills, on Deep river, where the pursuit stopped; whilst his lordship continued to retreat until he reached Wilmington, and after three weeks, he marched from thence to Petersburg,

in Virginia, where we will now leave him, to attend to Greene.

Knowing that Cornwallis had approached sufficiently near to the main army to be under the eye of Washington, Greene resolved to return to South Carolina, and endeavour to drive from that state the portion of Cornwallis's army which was commanded by Lord Rawdon. He discharged nearly all his militia, refreshed his regular troops, and after collecting a few days' provisions, marched on the 5th of April, towards Camden.

On the march, Colonel Lee, with his legion, was sent forward to join Marion, and effected a junction with that officer on the Santee. Pickens meanwhile had received orders to cut off all supplies from the British posts of Ninety-Six and Augusta. The British had erected a chain of posts in the vicinity of the Santee and Congaree, to secure the provisions growing near those rivers. Of these the most important was Fort Watson, on Wright's Bluff. Marion and Lee, although provided with nothing but musketry, closely invested this fort on the 15th, and constructed a tower which overlooked the works, although the latter stood upon an Indian mound, thirty or forty feet high. From this work, which astonished the garrison, as well from its novelty, as the rapidity of its erection, the American riflemen fired into the fort with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. After defending the post until the 23d, the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, surrendered themselves prisoners.

General Greene had by this time completed his march from Deep river to Camden, and on the 24th took a good position on Hobkirk's Hill, about one mile from that place. His army numbered nine hundred and thirty regulars, and about two hundred and fifty North Carolina militia, who had joined him a day or two previous. Rawdon was well fortified in the town, which was garrisoned by about nine hundred men. Greene was not sufficiently strong to carry the town by assault, and he therefore endeavoured to tempt Rawdon to come to an engagement.

On the morning of the 25th, the British general sallied out with great spirit, and began the attack. Greene's dispositions for the battle were made in his usual masterly manner, and he would probably have gained the day, but for the misconduct of two companies, who prematurely retreated. The early part of the engagement promised victory to the Americans, and at one time, Colonel Washington, who had attacked the right flank of the British, had near two hundred prisoners. Suddenly, however, the two companies before mentioned began a hasty retreat, without any apparent cause, and although their officers succeeded in rallying them for a few moments, they would not be again led to the charge. A general retreat now took place, and Colonel Washington, who had already paroled nearly all the officers he had taken, collected his men, wheeled round, made his own retreat good, with the loss of but three men, and carried off with him fifty of his prisoners. The day was inevitably lost; but Greene had already taken such measures as to prevent his adversary from profiting much by his victory. He retreated in good order and with deliberation, and succeeded in bringing off all his ammunition and baggage, nearly all his wounded, and six royal officers, with Colonel Washington's prisoners. The action was continued at intervals until four o'clock in the afternoon, when Colonel Washington charged and dispersed a body of the enemy's cavalry which pursued too closely, and thus the battle terminated. Greene halted for the night at Saunder's Creek, about four miles from the field, and Rawdon returned to Camden. The British lost two hundred and fifty-eight in killed, wounded, and missing; the Americans about the same; but most of their missing returned in a few days.

The victory at Hobkirk's Hill was of no permanent advantage to the British cause, because Lord Rawdon was not in a condition to follow up his success; and Greene retreated no farther than Rugely's Mills, whither he led his army after the battle. Some days after, being joined by a reinforcement of four hundred men, under Colonel Watson, which Marion had in vain attempted to intercept, he advanced and endeavoured



Lord Rawdon.

to surprise Greene in his camp by night. That active general, however, had heard of the arrival of the reinforcement, and evaded this attempt by leaving the ground he had lately occupied and taking a strong position behind Saunders' Creek. Rawdon marched here after him, and drove in his outposts; but upon reconnoitring his camp, he determined not to attack it, and returned to Camden. On the 10th of May, he burned the jail, mills, private houses, and part of his own stores, and, evacuating Camden, retired to the south of the Santee, leaving behind him thirty wounded British, and the same number of Americans.

Several of the British posts now fell in quick succession. On the 11th, Orangeburgh, garrisoned by seventy loyal militia and twelve regulars, surrendered to Sumpter. Marion and Lee laid siege to Fort Motte, which was constructed around the dwelling of Mrs. Motte, who had retired to a neighbouring hut. It became apparent that firing the house was the easiest method of reducing the garrison ; upon which, anticipating the wish of the commander, she presented him with a quiver of African arrows to be employed in the service. Success attended this noble sacrifice of private property, and the garrison of one hundred and sixty-five men were compelled to surrender at discretion, on the 12th of May.

The post at Nelson's Ferry was evacuated on the 14th by the British, and next day the garrison at Fort Granby was compelled to capitulate to Lee, who had effectually used a field-piece against it, which had been taken at Fort Motte. The garrison numbered three hundred and fifty-two men, mostly royal militia, and they obtained comparatively good terms, as Lee had received information that Rawdon was marching to relieve it. Lee next marched to join Pickens, who commanded a body of militia in the neighbourhood of Augusta. Captain Rudolph, with a detachment of Lee's legion, succeeded in reducing the British fort at Silver Bluffs, on the 21st, when he gained a field-piece, and a considerable quantity of stores.

Pickens and Lee having united their forces, commenced a siege of Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta, which was garrisoned by Colonel Brown, with over three hundred men. The assailants carried on their works with skill and activity ; but Brown made a most obstinate defence. Several towers were raised, which overlooked the fort, and two of them within thirty yards of the parapet ; from these the American riflemen were enabled to shoot down any one who dared to show himself. At length, Brown, finding escape impossible and further resistance useless, surrendered on the 5th of June. The Americans lost about forty men in killed and wounded during the siege. Marion had meanwhile invested Georgetown, the garrison

of which place, fearing the fate of the other posts in the state, embraced an opportunity to evacuate the town.

Whilst these operations were going on in Georgia, Greene had laid siege to Ninety-Six, with his main army. This post was garrisoned by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, with upwards of five hundred men. It was not originally very strongly fortified; but by the greatest diligence and activity, the commander had been able to put the works in a complete state of defence.

On the 25th of May, the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the fort and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works. On the night of the 26th, Greene erected two strong block batteries, at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards from the fort. These were soon followed by another twenty feet high, at two hundred and twenty yards distance, and a third was now added at one hundred yards. A fourth work, a rifle battery, was then erected, thirty feet high, at the distance of thirty yards from the ditch; and from all these the besiegers fired into the fortress. The abattis was turned, and a mine had been dug to within six feet of the ditch, when the garrison were informed by a messenger that Rawdon had received a large reinforcement from Ireland, and was marching to their relief. Greene had now no alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt to carry the works by storm. He chose the latter, and made a vigorous but unsuccessful attack upon the place on the 18th of June, after which he raised the siege and retreated across the Saluda.

It was in the siege of Ninety-Six that the Polish General Kosciusko, who had joined the American army, particularly distinguished himself; his conduct on this as on all other occasions contributed to win the highest esteem of Washington and the other American officers. The American loss in the siege and assault was about one hundred and fifty men. Rawdon, who was near the fort at the time of the assault, pursued Greene as far as the Enoree. He then divided his forces, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree.



General Kosciuszko.

Rawdon had believed that Greene had retreated out of South Carolina, but he had only retired behind Broad river; and now, hearing that the British had divided their forces, he advanced towards the Congaree. Lee suddenly attacked and defeated a foraging party of British, within a mile of Rawdon's camp, taking forty cavalry prisoners. This bold act gave the first intimation to Rawdon of Greene's approach; and he

immediately abandoned the Congaree, two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. Here Greene offered him battle on the 12th of July ; but Rawdon kept within his entrenchments, and summoned Colonel Cruger to come to his assistance, with the garrison of Ninety-Six.

Greene at first tried to prevent this junction, but failing in his attempt, he was obliged to fall back to the high hills of the Santee. He now endeavoured to draw the enemy from their position, and with this purpose despatched Marion, Sumpter, and Lee, with their troops, to Monk's Corner and Dorchester, whence they could effectually interrupt all communication between Charleston and Orangeburgh. Finding their supplies thus cut off, the British evacuated all their posts to the northward of the Santee and the Congaree, and to the westward of the Edisto, and concentrated themselves near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. Finding his scheme thus far successful, Greene resolved, if possible, to draw his enemy still nearer Charleston ; he therefore crossed both the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force to the southward of the latter river, intending to act on the offensive. On his approach, the British retired and took post at Eutaw Springs, forty miles nearer Charleston. Greene followed him by easy marches until he was joined by Marion, who arrived in the camp on the 7th of September, and it was resolved to attack the British next day.

Greene's army, consisting of about two thousand men, marched to the attack in two lines, the first consisting of militia, supported by a second of regulars. Strong flanking parties were commanded by Colonels Lee and Henderson, while Colonels Washington and Kirkwood commanded the reserve. As the Americans moved on to the attack, they encountered two parties of the enemy about four miles from the camp of Eutaw. These were soon compelled to retire, and the militia pursuing, continued the action, which soon became general. After fighting with firmness for some time, the American militia gave way ; but they were well supported by the regulars. Colonels Williams and Campbell,

with the Maryland and Virginia regiments, charged with great effect. Rushing through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, they bore down all before them.

While leading on his men, Campbell received a mortal wound. After he had fallen, he inquired who gave way; and, being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, he replied, "Then I die contented," and immediately expired. While Williams charged in front, Lee succeeded in turning their flank and getting in their rear, when the British were broken and fled from the field. Upwards of five hundred of them were taken prisoners. A portion of the British took post in a large three-story brick house, at some distance from the field of battle, and renewed the action. Four field-pieces were ordered up before the house; but the Americans were obliged to leave these and retire. They left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and marched to the nearest water in the rear. On the evening of the next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart left seventy of his wounded men, and one thousand stand of arms, and moved from Eutaw towards Charleston.

The loss of the British, including prisoners, was upwards of eleven hundred; that of the Americans over five hundred, including sixty officers. Such was the heat of the action that the officers on each side fought hand to hand with the sword.* On the 29th of October, Congress resolved to honour General Greene with a gold medal and a British standard, and voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders.

The Battle of Eutaw Springs was the last important act of the revolution in South Carolina. After their defeat, the British no more acted with their former vigour; but were always disposed to flee on the slightest appearance of danger. Their conduct in this respect was but little different from that exhibited in the preceding year by the American militia. On the contrary, the latter now exerted themselves greatly, and with such success that the British were obliged to confine themselves to their strong posts, large parties being sent out to escort foragers. On the 29th of November, Greene compelled

* Ramsay.

the enemy to evacuate Dorchester, and retreat to the Quarter-house, on Charleston Neck.

Soon after Charleston had fallen into the hands of the British, many of the Whigs of South Carolina were induced to take the protection which was offered to them by Cornwallis. Those who were taken at the capture of that city were induced to believe in the enemy's specious promises of allowing them to remain peaceably in their homes, taking no part in the contest. The British generals soon after violated their agreement by calling out those citizens of South Carolina who had taken protection, to assemble under arms and assist the regular troops in slaughtering their own countrymen. Many refused to bear arms in the royal cause, and determined that if they must fight, they would assist in ridding the country of her invaders. Not the least conspicuous of this number was Colonel Isaac Hayne, a man justly esteemed throughout his native state for his intelligence, integrity, and patriotism. He was a senator in the state legislature, and in the beginning of the war, he had lived on his plantation. At the siege of Charleston, he served as a private and was taken prisoner. He was allowed to return home on parole, engaging not to bear arms. In 1781, he was required to take an active part on the British side, or return to Charleston. He was induced to go to the city, where he was threatened with close confinement unless he would subscribe a declaration of allegiance to the British king, and engage to bear arms in the support of the royal government. The sickness of his family called for his presence at home, and he would immediately have subscribed the declaration, but for the last clause. He was assured, however, that this would not be demanded of him; when he complied, and returned home.

He was soon after summoned to repair to the British standard, in disregard of the assurances he had received; whereupon he deemed himself absolved from his engagement. He finally joined the American army, and received command of a regiment. General Williamson was captured by him, when the cavalry of the whole British army was sent out to

recapture him, and Colonel Hayne fell into their hands. Lord Rawdon was then commandant at Charleston, and he ordered him "knocked into irons," when a mock trial, called by Rawdon a court of inquiry, sentenced him to be hung. All heard the sentence with horror except he upon whom it was pronounced. Numbers of the British and loyalists, with Governor Bull at their head, petitioned Lord Rawdon in his behalf. All the ladies of Charleston, loyal and Whig, joined in a most touching appeal to the iron hearts of Rawdon and Balfour; but to no purpose. His little children, who had lately lost their mother, were introduced, and fell at the tyrant's knees, praying him to pity their motherless situation, and give them back their only remaining parent; but in vain.

The victim alone appeared prepared for the failure of the many exertions thus made by friends and foes. He spent the last days of his life in endeavouring to fortify his son, a lad of thirteen, for the coming catastrophe. On the day before its occurrence, he said to him, "To-morrow, I set out for immortality. You will accompany me to the place of my execution, and when I am dead, take and bury me by the side of your mother." The youth here fell on his father's neck, exclaiming, "O my father! my father! I will die with you." But the father's hands were loaded with irons, and he could not return his son's embrace.* On the next morning, August 10th, 1781, he was led forth to be murdered, in the bloom of life, a victim to the cowardice and tyranny of his country's invaders.

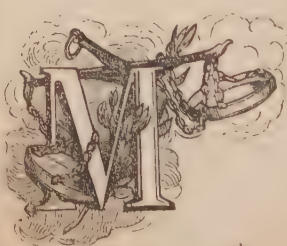
* Horry's Life of Marion.



Sir Henry Clinton.

CHAPTER XLI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.—CONCLUDED.



MANIFOLD as were the privations of the American soldiers in the Northern States, to which arena we must again conduct the reader, those patriotic men endured them with admirable fortitude, and amidst every temptation adhered to the cause of their country. Besides the want of clothing suited to the season, the troops in the various garrisons were nearly all in danger of starvation.

The fact that the army was kept together under the circumstances, is almost incredible, when we consider that many times there were not enough provisions in store for the troops to enable them to subsist three days. Officers were sent out in all directions, with orders to seize provisions wherever they could be found; and the only return they made was to give the owner, in each instance, a certificate of the quantity and quality of the provisions that were taken from him. For a time these certificates were valued by the people as an evidence of obligation on the part of the public; but they soon became so common as to be considered worthless. West Point, Fort Schuyler, and the other posts on the North river, were more than once on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. Fortunately, however, a small supply of provisions would occasionally arrive, and the men would then willingly go back to their duty. The sum of eight thousand dollars, which had been sent to the commander-in-chief by the State of Massachusetts for the payment of her troops, was taken by him and applied to refund the quartermaster's department.

In 1781, the continental currency *ceased altogether* to circulate; but this event, long hoped for by the enemies and dreaded by the friends of American liberty, failed to produce the effects which had been expected to result from it. The leaders in Congress had long foreseen that this must at last happen; and they had exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the consequences. They were not disappointed. A beneficial trade with the West Indian Islands, brought much gold into the country, and the French army in Rhode Island was well provided with gold and silver. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens went as special minister to France to procure a loan from that government. He succeeded in obtaining a loan from the King of France of six millions of livres; and ten millions more were borrowed in the Netherlands, for the use of the United States, the King of France becoming security for the repayment of the loan. The financial concerns were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who reduced

them to a state of order, and by the skilful use of the gold now introduced into the country, aided by the bank which that able financier had established in the preceding year, Congress were enabled to maintain their army in a condition fit for service.

Meanwhile, the enemy was not idle. Many censures had been passed upon Sir Henry Clinton for having kept his large army in New York, whilst, it was alleged, that by distributing his troops properly he might have made serious impression upon several of the states at the same time. We have already noticed the attack upon the shores of the Chesapeake by General Leslie, in the latter part of 1780. Soon after his departure for Charleston, another party from New York sailed up that bay, under the direction of Arnold. He commanded about sixteen hundred men, and a considerable number of armed vessels. He landed at Westover, and soon afterwards entered the city of Richmond, destroying large quantities of salt, rum, tobacco, and other stores. From thence he went to Portsmouth, from whence, as a centre, small parties were sent all over the country, doing immense damage in the destruction of public and private property, and committing such havoc as induced General Washington to despatch the Marquis de la Fayette thither with twelve hundred men. The French commander in Rhode Island, being informed of the operations of Arnold, eagerly set out for the Chesapeake, with the hope of cutting off his escape.

The capture of the arch-traitor, as Arnold was styled, had been a cherished object with the Americans. Two methods of getting possession of his person had been suggested; one, that a few daring individuals should carry him off by making a sudden incursion into his camp; the other that he should be blockaded by an overwhelming force, by sea and land, so closely as to prevent the possibility of his escape. A furious storm which scattered the British fleet, and severely damaged a part of it, gave the French, who had long been blockaded in Newport, a temporary naval superiority. Washington now endeavoured to profit by this circumstance, and wrote to Rochambeau and Destouches, representing to them the



Benedict Arnold.

necessity of sending the whole fleet and a thousand land troops, to co-operate with La Fayette. But Destouches had already resolved to send but one sixty-four gun ship and two frigates, under command of M. de Tilly. This force sailed for the Chesapeake on the 9th of February; but, as Washington had predicted, M. de Tilly found Arnold so well posted as to defy attack. The French admiral therefore was contented with showing himself in the bay, and then proceeded to return to Newport. On the voyage thither he fell in with and captured the *Romulus*, a fifty gun ship, bound

from Charleston to the Chesapeake. But the great scheme for capturing Arnold was not abandoned. A personal conference was held on the 6th of March, at Newport, Rhode Island, between Washington, Rochambeau, Destouches, and other French and American officers. It was there resolved to embark part of Rochambeau's army, amounting to eleven hundred men, under the command of the Baron de Viomenil, and to risk the whole of the French fleet to escort it. Notwithstanding a favourable wind, Destouches did not sail until the evening of the 8th, and he was soon followed by Admiral Arbuthnot, who brought him to action on the 16th of March,



Action between the French and British fleets off Cape Henry.

off Cape Henry. Arnold was saved by the delay in the sailing of the French fleet; for after an hour's fighting, the French bore up and ran to leeward. Next day, Destouches called a council of war, wherein it was resolved neither to risk another action, nor attempt ascending the Chesapeake; but to return instantly to Rhode Island, whence they came.*

* Marshall, Tucker, Stedman.

On the 26th of March, Major-General Philips, who had been taken prisoner at Saratoga, and since exchanged for General Lincoln, arrived in the Chesapeake, with a reinforcement of two thousand men, from New York. He soon formed a junction with Arnold, and the small bodies of militia were everywhere put to flight. The whole country bordering on the bay was ravaged by Arnold, who finally marched to Petersburg, after an ineffectual resistance by Baron Steuben. Four thousand hogsheads of tobacco were destroyed in that place alone; and immense quantities of tobacco, flour, shipping, public and private stores, and private property, were taken and destroyed, in the neighbouring towns. On the 9th of May, they returned to Petersburg, where General Philips terminated his military services with his life.

On the 20th of May, Lord Cornwallis reached Petersburg, having completed his march from Wilmington to that place in less than a month. He was joined by the forces which had been commanded by Philips, and a further reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, which had lately arrived from New York.

General La Fayette had been ordered to join the southern army; but when the news of Philips's arrival in Virginia had reached head-quarters, he was ordered to defend that state. His forces were principally composed of soldiers from New England, who had a great dislike and dread of a campaign in the hot south; desertions, therefore, became so prevalent, that it was at one time feared that La Fayette would be left with none except his staff. The ardent Frenchman made strong appeals to the patriotism and pride of the troops, telling them, in an order of the day, that he was about to enter on a service of great importance, danger, and difficulty, and felt persuaded that they would not abandon him; but that if any individual was unwilling to accompany him, he would give him a permit to return. This measure was successful, and desertion almost wholly ceased. Their good disposition was cherished by a supply of money sufficient to purchase shoes, shirts, and some other articles for the use of the detachment. This money he raised among the merchants of Baltimore, on his own private

bills of credit.* He soon after forced a march to Richmond, where he succeeded in saving the military stores from a visit of the enemy.

Cornwallis advanced and crossed the South Anna or Pamunkey river, whence he sent off two expeditions; one to Charlotteville, the other to Point of Fork. Tarleton led the first, intending to surprise and capture the Assembly, which was in session at Charlotteville; he succeeded in making prisoners of seven of the members, and in destroying a large quantity of stores. The second, under Colonel Simcoe, was but partly successful, the Americans having previously removed the greater part of the stores from Point of Fork.

Whilst La Fayette was effecting a junction with Wayne, who was coming to join him with eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line, the British took post between the marquis and his stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle Old Court-House. Anxious to save the supplies, La Fayette marched after the British, and got within a few miles of their army, when they were two days' march from the place where they were deposited. Cornwallis was of opinion that the stores must of necessity fall into his hands, there being but two roads by which they could be reached, one of which he occupied. By taking the other road, the Americans would be liable to be attacked at a disadvantage by the British. The marquis, however, freed himself from this dilemma, by opening a shorter road in the night, which had long been disused, and which the British supposed impassable. Next day, June 18th, Lord Cornwallis found that the "boy," as he arrogantly styled La Fayette, had encamped between himself and the American stores, which were thus saved from capture.

Cornwallis fell back to Richmond, and La Fayette was reinforced by Steuben's troops and the neighbouring militia, and his whole force was thus raised to four thousand men, one half of whom were regulars. Suspecting the American force

* Marshall.

to be greater than it really was, Cornwallis retired to Williamsburg, and the marquis followed him cautiously. When near Williamsburg, Colonel Butler attacked the British rear under Colonel Simcoe, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which the Americans had the advantage; but the advance of the whole British army, compelled Butler to retire.

Cornwallis had no intention of fighting a general battle, and he had just received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to send part of his troops back to New York, as the British commander-in-chief had learned, by intercepted letters written by Washington to Congress, that the Americans and French were contemplating a joint attack upon New York, as soon as the Count De Grasse should arrive with a fresh fleet.

On the 4th of July, Cornwallis marched from Williamsburg to a ford across James's river, and sent part of his army to the opposite bank, in the Island of Jamestown. On the following day, the wheel-carriages were sent over to the island, and on the 7th, the baggage followed. La Fayette now supposed that nothing remained on his side the river but the rear-guard of the British army, and encamped within nine miles of their camp, intending to assault their rear. Cornwallis suspected that an attempt of the kind would be made, and encamped the greater part of the main army in the most compact manner possible, whilst he displayed the troops on the island so as to induce the belief of the American scouts and light parties that the main body had crossed over.

Believing this to be the fact, La Fayette detached some riflemen to harass their outposts, while he advanced at the head of the continental troops to cut off the rear. Every appearance, says Marshall, was calculated to countenance the opinion he had formed. The British light parties were driven in, and the picquets were forced by the riflemen, without much resistance; but an advanced post, which covered the encampment from the view of the Americans, was perseveringly maintained, although three of the officers commanding it were successively picked off by the riflemen. La Fayette, who arrived a little before sunset, suspected, from the obstinacy

with which this post was maintained, that it covered more than a rear-guard, and determined to reconnoitre the camp, and judge of its strength from his own observation. It was in a great measure concealed by woods; but from a tongue of land stretching into the river, he perceived the British force to be much more considerable than he had supposed, and hastened to call off his men.

He found Wayne closely engaged. A piece of artillery had been left weakly defended, which Wayne determined to seize. Scarcely was the attempt made, when he discovered the whole British army, arranged in order for battle, moving out against him. To retreat was impossible; and the boldest had become the safest measure. Under this impression, he advanced rapidly, and, with his small detachment, not exceeding eight hundred men, made a gallant charge on the British line. A warm action ensued, which was kept up with great spirit, until the arrival of La Fayette, who, perceiving Wayne to be out-flanked both on the right and the left, ordered him to retreat, and form in a line with the light-infantry, who were drawn up about half a mile in his rear. The whole party then saved itself behind a morass.

Fortunately for La Fayette, Lord Cornwallis did not improve the advantage he had gained. Suspecting this to be a stratagem of the American general to draw him into an ambuscade, a suspicion equally favoured by the hardiness and time of the attack, Cornwallis would allow no pursuit, but crossed over with his whole army in the night to Jamestown, whence he soon afterwards proceeded to Portsmouth.* The American loss in this bold attempt was one hundred and eight privates and ten officers, in killed and wounded; the British stated their whole loss at five officers and seventy privates. Two cannon also fell into the hands of the British.

At Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis embarked the troops that were required at New York; but before they sailed, he received fresh orders from the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to keep them where they were, as he had no longer

* Marshall's Life of Washington.

any fear of Washington or Rochambeau. He was also directed not to think of quitting the Chesapeake; but to occupy a good defensive post, and one capable of protecting ships of the line. Old Point Comfort, on Hampton Road, or Yorktown, on York river, were suggested as suitable places; but the first was declared unfit for the purpose, and Yorktown and Gloucester Point were selected. The army commenced a march thither, and on their arrival, the whole force was employed in securely fortifying the place.

The British fleet was expected to arrive in a short time from the West Indies, and the leaders of their forces were congratulating themselves upon the prospect of successful operations in Virginia, when the Count de Grasse, with a fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line, suddenly appeared in the Chesapeake, August 30th. Intelligence was directly after received that the combined army of France and America was advancing from the north into Virginia; and the dreams of Cornwallis and his officers were dispelled.* York river was immediately blockaded by three large ships and some frigates, whilst the rest of the French fleet was anchored in Lynhaven Bay. Thirty-two hundred troops were landed, under the Marquis de St. Simon, and effected a junction with La Fayette. Cornwallis determined to abide the issue of a siege, hoping that Clinton, from New York, and Admiral Greaves, with the fleet from the West Indies, would afford him timely relief. That admiral appeared off the Capes of Virginia, and De Grasse went out to meet him. Much manœuvring took place, without any decisive engagement, and on the 7th of September, instead of continuing the action, De Grasse sailed back to his former position at Yorktown.

Though the French commander may have lost glory by declining an engagement, yet he effected his object, which was, to afford a chance for De Barras to gain the shelter of the Chesapeake. That commander had sailed from Newport about the same time that De Grasse had left the West Indies; but he had been compelled to sail around the Bermudas to

* Ramsay.

avoid the British. De Grasse knew of his situation, and came out to afford him relief. Whilst the two large fleets were manœuvring outside, De Barras entered the Chesapeake by night, with eight ships of the line. His object being thus effected, De Grasse retired, and Greaves soon after sailed for New York.

Although no single brilliant achievement was performed by La Fayette, his services in Virginia had enhanced his military reputation, and raised him in the general esteem. That with so decided an inferiority of effective force, and especially of cavalry, he had been able to keep the field, in an open country, and to preserve a considerable portion of his military stores, as well as his army, was believed to furnish unequivocal evidence of the prudence and vigour of his conduct.*

Leaving Cornwallis at Yorktown, let us turn our attention to the operations of the commander-in-chief, in the north. Washington, with some of his staff, had had a meeting with the French commanders in the spring, and a plan of operations for the campaign was agreed upon. New York was to be invested by the combined military and naval forces, and the states were urged to send in their quotas. But the same causes which had delayed the operations of the Americans in former years, still continued to exist, and the expected additions to the army were not made in season. Meanwhile, large reinforcements had arrived at New York, and the position of Cornwallis at Yorktown, promised another and an easier method of ridding the country of a large portion of her invaders. De Grasse also had announced his destination to be the Chesapeake. This intelligence was decisive; and accordingly in August, the plan of the campaign was changed. Leaving to General Heath the command of the posts on the Hudson, General Washington resolved to march into Virginia, in person, with the allied army. Letters stating the original plan of the campaign, were suffered to be intercepted by Clinton, who was thus completely misled; while preparations made for an encampment in New Jersey, opposite Staten

* Marshall.

Island, the direction in which the allies marched, and various other appearances, all tended to confirm the British in New York in the belief that Washington's real design was to attack them in that place. The whole army had crossed the Delaware, beyond Clinton's reach, before he was undeceived. Finding himself safe from pursuit, Washington hastened his march; and at Chester he heard of the arrival of De Grasse in the Chesapeake, and the landing of the troops under St. Simon. Leaving his army at the Head of Elk, he proceeded to Virginia with Rochambeau, Knox, Chattellux, and Du Portail.

After Clinton had ascertained that Washington was on his way to Virginia, he sent an expedition to New London, in the hope of bringing him back. The command of it was given to Arnold, who had returned to New York, shortly after Cornwallis took the command in Virginia. He first proceeded to capture Forts Griswold and Trumbull, which protected the approach to the town, on each side of the river. The latter fort and the town, were immediately evacuated; but Colonel Ledyard, who commanded Fort Griswold, with about one hundred and sixty men, resolved to attempt the defence of his post. The summons to surrender being refused, the British marched to the assault in three columns, September 6th, and although the garrison made considerable havoc in their ranks, they succeeded in carrying the works. An officer of the British troops asked who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered, "I did, but you do now," tendering his sword as he uttered the words. The Briton, exasperated at the loss of his troops, suddenly plunged the sword of the brave American into his breast. His men promptly followed their officer's example, and a general massacre commenced. The hand of carnage was not stayed until nearly all of the prisoners were killed or wounded; but forty being left uninjured of the one hundred and sixty composing the garrison. The enemy lost forty-three killed and one hundred and forty-five wounded, all before they entered the embrasures. Colonel Eyre, their commander, was killed, and Colonel Montgomery wounded.

The British then marched into New London, which was sacked and burned, and an immense amount of property was consumed. Arnold having performed as much mischief as possible, and finding no other object within his reach, returned to New York.

This attempt of Sir Henry Clinton to divert Washington from his plan of operations in the south, was totally unsuccessful. We left him, with Knox and the French generals, on his way to the immediate theatre of action.

On the 14th of September, they reached Williamsburg, and proceeded to settle the plan of operations. On the 25th, the remainder of the army arrived, and were joined by Governor Nelson, with a part of the Virginia militia. Orders were immediately issued for making the necessary preparations for an attack on the intrenchments of Cornwallis.*

Yorktown is situated on the southern side of York river, where the banks are high, and ships of the line may ride in safety. Gloucester Point is a piece of land on the opposite shore, projecting some distance into the river. The British occupied both these posts, and kept up a communication between them by their batteries, and by several ships of war. The main army of Cornwallis was encamped about Yorktown, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works; and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with a detachment of six or seven hundred men, kept possession of Gloucester Point.

The French general De Choisy, with Lauzun's legion, and a brigade of Virginia militia, watched and enclosed Tarleton's force, at Gloucester, whilst the main army moved to invest Yorktown, on the 30th of September.

On the night of the 6th of October, advancing within six hundred yards of the English lines, they began their first parallel, with such silence and industry, that they had raised a work of sufficient magnitude to protect them, before morning discovered their operations to the British. On the 9th and 10th of October, the allies opened a fire from their batteries, and the second parallel was opened, within three

* Hinton.

hundred yards of the enemy's works, on the night of the 10th; but here their progress was somewhat impeded. Two British redoubts were advanced in front of the other works, and the workmen in the trenches were much annoyed by them. It was determined to carry these posts by storm; and to avoid national jealousy, and to profit by the natural emulation of the troops, one was to be attacked by the French, whilst the Americans should assail the other. On the evening of the 14th, the two detachments moved to the assault. La Fayette led the Americans against the redoubt on the extreme left of the British, and the Baron Viomenil led the French grenadiers and chasseurs to attack the other, which was more toward the British right, and near the French lines. The Americans rushed to the assault with fixed bayonets, and unloaded arms, and the redoubt was carried in a few minutes, with the considerable loss of nine killed and thirty-two wounded. Notwithstanding the frequent examples of severity displayed by the British, not a man was killed after resistance had ceased, either by the American or the French party, who also were successful. Viomenil, however, in capturing the other redoubt, employed more time and suffered greater loss than La Fayette, nearly one hundred men being killed or wounded.*

On the 16th, a sortie was made from the garrison by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, with about three hundred and fifty men; two batteries were forced, and eleven cannon spiked; but the British were soon forced to retreat, and the cannon were again fitted for use. In the afternoon, the batteries in the second parallel, in which the two redoubts had been included, were opened, and about one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were brought to bear upon the enemy's lines. These latter were now almost in ruins, and a day or two more would leave the British at the mercy of their foe. In these circumstances, Cornwallis resolved to attempt a retreat by land to New York. For this purpose several boat-loads of troops were sent over to Gloucester Point; but a storm of

* Holmes.

wind and rain dispersed the boats, and the design was consequently abandoned.

On the 17th, several new batteries were opened, and the British works were no longer tenable. At ten in the morning, Cornwallis begged for a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours; but Washington, in answer to his lordship's letter, stated his "ardent desire to spare the farther effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible," but refused to suspend hostilities for more than two hours. Propositions were then submitted by Cornwallis, the nature of which were such as to lead to an adjustment of terms of capitulation, and the suspension of hostilities was continued throughout the day and night.*

Commissioners were appointed to digest into form the rough draft of articles which Washington had proposed to Lord Cornwallis; and on the morning of the 19th, the commander-in-chief sent them by letter to his lordship, expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven in the morning, and that the garrison would march out by two in the afternoon. Clinton had failed to fulfil his promise of relief; there was no prospect of a dissension between the French and Americans, by which his lordship might hope to escape, and he was compelled to submit to the humiliating, though inevitable necessity. The articles were signed, on the 19th of October the garrison marched out of the town, with colours cased, and General Lincoln received the submission of the royal army, on the same terms which had been granted to himself under similar circumstances, at Charleston.

The posts of Yorktown and Gloucester, with their garrisons and stores, were surrendered to the United States; the shipping and seamen to the Count de Grasse. There were upwards of seven thousand prisoners, exclusive of seamen, six thousand of whom were rank and file. Five hundred and fifty-two of the garrison were either killed or wounded during the siege. The French and Americans lost about three hundred.

* Holmes.



Surrender of Cornwallis.

The commissioners for adjusting the terms of capitulation were Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Nouilles, on the part of the Americans and French, and Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, on that of the British. No provision was made for persons in a civil capacity on the British side, except traders; that matter being referred by Washington to the civil power. But at the request of Lord Cornwallis, the Bonetta sloop-of-war was left at his disposal for sending an aid-de-camp, with despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and in this vessel, which was suffered to depart without examination, the Tories took passage for New York. The Bonetta was to be subsequently surrendered. Cornwallis's large train of artillery, his arms, ammunition, warlike stores, and provisions, formed a good prize for the Americans; but the French got only one frigate, two sloops-of-war, and a few transports.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton had embarked seven thousand of his best troops to succour Cornwallis ; but owing to sundry delays, the causes of which do not seem to be sufficiently explained, the fleet did not leave Sandy Hook until the 19th of October, the very day on which the capitulation was completed at Yorktown ; and it was the 24th before it reached the Capes of Virginia, where Clinton received some vague accounts, which led him to suspect the truth. Admiral Greaves, who had now twenty-five ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eight frigates, to oppose to De Grasse's thirty-six sail of the line and nine frigates, did not venture up the Chesapeake, but lay off the mouth until the 29th, when he and Clinton agreed to return to New York, it having been fully proved to them that they had come too late to be of any service to Cornwallis.

The capture of Cornwallis, with so considerable a part of the British army in America, was accomplished more easily than had been anticipated ; and the prospect which it afforded of a speedy termination of the war, occasioned the liveliest sensation of joy and triumph throughout the country. Congress passed a vote of thanks to each of the commanders, and to the officers and troops who had been engaged in the siege ; and resolved to erect a marble column at Yorktown, adorned with emblems of the alliance between France and the United States, with a suitable inscription, in commemoration of the victory.

After the surrender of Cornwallis, General Washington endeavoured to induce Count de Grasse to co-operate in an expedition against Charleston, in South Carolina, or at the least, in an expedition against Wilmington, in North Carolina, which was still occupied by Colonel Craig's small detachment. He felt that General Greene might easily reduce Wilmington, but his great object was to reinforce that commander promptly by means of troops sent by sea, instead of undergoing the long fatiguing land march ; and this detachment could only be trusted under the protection of the French fleet. After writing a very earnest letter, the American commander-in-



Lord Cornwallis.

chief paid the French admiral a long visit, on board the *Ville de Paris* ; but he failed altogether in his attempt, as De Grasse stated that he had peremptory orders from his court to execute other projects, and that his engagements with the Spaniards rendered it impossible for him to remain any longer on that coast. He even refused to take on board the troops designed to reinforce Greene ; and, as soon as he had covered the transportation of Washington's own troops, and of the ordnance, to the Head of Elk river, he hastened down the Chesapeake, and there made all sail for the West Indies. He, however, left the French troops he had brought, who continued in Virginia, with Rochambeau's army from Rhode

Island. Their head-quarters were at Williamsburg. The American troops belonging eastward of Pennsylvania, after being transported by water to the Head of Elk, marched to their cantonments in New Jersey and near Hudson river.

The prisoners were conducted to Winchester, in Virginia, and Fredericktown, in Maryland; and a part of them were afterwards sent to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. Lord Cornwallis and his principal officers were paroled, and sailed for New York.

While the Americans were thus successful upon land, many remarkable achievements were performed upon the seas. After the fall of Charleston, the navy of the United States was so reduced that four frigates, a few small vessels, and one or two ships borrowed from Europe, were almost all that remained under the direction of Congress. Many privateers and men-of-war, fitted out by the states, still scoured the seas, and inflicted heavy vengeance on the British commerce. The aid of the French navy, and the want of funds, both contributed, in a measure, to prevent Congress from equipping a large marine. The British, however, were anxious to preserve a naval superiority, and for this purpose, the ministry were empowered by Parliament to keep eighty-five thousand men employed as seamen and marines.

Notwithstanding the great disparity in the forces of the two countries, the little navy of the Americans boldly ventured out to sea, and rarely refused the offer of a combat with the enemy. In June, 1780, the *Trumbull*, twenty-eight, Captain Nicholson, met and engaged a vessel of superior force, and a close combat was maintained for two hours and a half, when the masts of the *Trumbull* began to totter, and she hauled off. Soon after, all her masts and spars, the fore-mast alone excepted, came over the side. The enemy did not attempt to profit by his advantage, but pursued his course. He lost his main-top-mast, before he was out of sight. This vessel was afterwards ascertained to be the *Watt*, letter-of-marque, and her captain, Coulthard, subsequently claimed the victory, acknowledging a loss of ninety-two men in killed

and wounded. His ship was every way superior to the Trumbull, except in sailing; yet Nicholson lost but thirty-two in killed and wounded.

In October, the sloop *Saratoga*, sixteen, Captain Young, succeeded, after a sharp conflict, in capturing a ship and two brigs, which she was convoying into port, with one other prize, when the *Intrepid*, seventy-four, came up, and recaptured the prizes; but the *Saratoga* escaped. She is supposed to have afterwards foundered at sea, as she never returned to port.

On the 2d of April, 1781, the *Alliance*, Captain Barry, captured two Guernsey privateers; one of twenty-six, and another of fourteen guns. Soon after, she fell in with two English men-of-war, one a sloop rating sixteen, the other a brig of fourteen guns. Owing to a calm, these two vessels were enabled to select their own position, and the *Alliance* suffered severely. Captain Barry was wounded, and the enemy were certain of a victory, when a breeze sprang up, and they were both captured. One was sent by Barry to England, as a cartel of prisoners; the other sailed to America, where she was retaken by the British fleet, cruising off Boston.

In June, the *Confederacy*, thirty-two, Captain Harding, was captured while returning from Cape François, with a convoy, by a large armed ship and a frigate; and in August, the Trumbull was captured by three British cruisers, off the capes of the Delaware, in consequence of an accident happening to her rigging, and preventing her sailing. On the morning of the 6th of September, the *Congress*, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Geddes, met and engaged the British sloop-of-war *Savage*, sixteen, Captain Sterling, and after a most desperate engagement, compelled her to strike. The *Savage* was recaptured by a British frigate, and taken into Charleston.



George III.

CHAPTER XLII.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS AFTER THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

N EWS of the surrender of the southern army under Cornwallis, reached London on the 25th of November, and as parliament was to assemble on the 27th, some alterations became necessary in the speech from the throne. The king addressed Parliament in the same decided

tone which he had assumed the year before. He spoke of the favourable appearance of British affairs in the East Indies, and of the safe arrival of the commercial fleets; but he added that his efforts to preserve the unity of the empire had not been so successful in other parts of the world; that the events of the war had been very unfortunate in Virginia; his forces in that quarter being totally lost. Nevertheless, he wished for further exertions in that part of America.

The opposition were vehement in the debates that followed. Mr. Fox, particularly, was very violent in his charges of mismanagement on the part of the ministry. "He would not say that they were paid by France; he could not prove the fact. But he would say they deserved to be paid by the Grand Monarque; for they had served him more faithfully and more successfully than ever ministers served a master." He then proceeded to censure the ministers, one and all, but Lord Sandwich particularly; and he laid the blame of the loss of Cornwallis's army upon that minister, for not having provided a superior fleet to contend with the French vessels known to be in the American seas.

Lord North replied to Fox in his usual manner, expressing great indignation at the implied charge of bribery; and urging a continuation of the war, on account of the *rights* which it was intended to support.

Burke spoke next on the side of the opposition, and pronounced a tremendous philippic against Lord North. He called his speech not only imprudent, but audacious—a speech which froze his blood and harrowed up his soul. He said that the war was not unfortunate, but disgraceful; and that the king's speech was the greatest calamity of all, as it showed the disposition of ministers not to retreat an inch, but to plunge deeper in disgrace, and augment the unhappiness of the nation. "Are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war? Oh! excellent rights! Oh! valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh! valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, one hundred thousand

men, and more than seventy millions of money. Oh! wonderful rights, that have lost to Great Britain her empire on the ocean, her boasted, grand, and substantial superiority, which made the world bend before her. Oh! inestimable rights, that have taken from us our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home; that have taken from us our trade, our manufactures, and commerce; that have reduced us from the most flourishing empire in the world, to be one of the most compact, unenviable powers on the face of the globe? Oh! wonderful rights, that are likely to take from us all that yet remains!"

Fox's amendment was nevertheless lost by a large majority, and a similar motion made in the House of Lords by the Earl of Shelburne, was also rejected. When the address was reported to the House, the younger Pitt, now rising into fame as an orator, made an eloquent speech against its passage, and charged the losses and suffering of the American loyalists upon the misconduct of Cornwallis and the ministers. Burke followed him, and continued the denunciations of the ministry. The address was nevertheless carried, by a large majority.

Other business engaged the attention of Parliament, until the 12th of December, when Sir James Lowther, in a full house, moved two resolutions: "1. To declare, that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken, of affording protection to his majesty's loyal subjects there, and of defeating the hostile intentions of our confederated enemies. 2. That it was the opinion of the House that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of this country, *by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies.*"

Mr. Powys seconded this motion in an able and eloquent speech, and Lord North soon after declared that it would be neither wise nor right to prosecute the war in America on a continental plan; that is, by sending fresh armies to march through the colonies. He then continued to urge the necessity

of defending the British posts in America, and of protecting British trade from American privateers, whose influence was extensively felt by London merchants. Lord North then retreated, leaving Germaine to combat the torrent of words which began to flow from the opposition.

Lord George Germaine then said that if that resolution were adopted, he would immediately resign the post he held ; as, to his mind, the independence of America, and the ruin of Great Britain, were synonymous terms. A motion of the order of the day was finally carried, though by a much reduced ministerial majority, the vote standing two hundred and twenty to one hundred and seventy-seven.

During the month of December, American affairs continued to occupy the attention of the House ; and Burke, early in the session, brought before them the case of the American envoy, Henry Laurens, who was still confined a prisoner in the Tower, and the orator reprehended ministers for their harsh treatment of that distinguished person.

Germaine denied the charge of ill-treatment, and read a letter, purporting to be from Laurens himself, thanking ministers for indulgences received by him in the Tower. Burke, on the 20th of December, presented a petition to the House, written by Laurens himself with a black-lead pencil on the blank leaf of a book, that being the only medium by which he could make his case known to parliament. Burke, at the same time, gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill providing for the exchange of prisoners with America. This, however, produced beneficial results to Laurens, who was soon after liberated on bail, and ultimately exchanged for General Burgoyne.

The House adjourned on the 20th of December, to reassemble on the 21st of January. During this recess, bad news was received from all quarters. The intelligence of the entire loss of the Island of Minorca, more particularly, formed a rallying point for the renewal of the attacks of the opposition on the ministers. Despairing of success, Germaine had requested leave to resign his place at the head of American

affairs; but failing in this, he reappeared in Parliament, fully expecting a repetition of the invectives which had been before heaped upon him. Sparing him, however, the opposition principally directed their attacks at Lord Sandwich, who was at the head of naval affairs. Fox began the debate, and was followed by Lord Mulgrave, who defended Sandwich. Fox finally moved a resolution, affirming that during 1781, naval affairs had been grossly mismanaged. Admiral Lord Howe seconded Fox, and though the ministry were supported, yet their majority was now reduced to *twenty-two*.

The Duke of Richmond moved an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Rawdon in regard to the execution of Colonel Hayne; but he was unsuccessful. Germaine's resignation was at length accepted, and as a reward for that minister's acquiescence in his majesty's opinions in regard to American affairs, he was made a peer of the realm. This honour produced a great sensation in the House of Lords, and sharp debates followed it. On the 22d of February, Fox renewed his attack on Sandwich, in which he was warmly seconded by Pitt. His motion failed, but the minister's majority was reduced to *nineteen*. On the 22d, General Conway moved an address to implore his majesty "to listen to the advice of his commons, that the war in America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and to express their hopes that his majesty's desire to restore the public tranquillity might be forwarded, and made effectual, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies." Upon a division, two hours after midnight, ministers were left with a majority of *one*! This night's debate may be said to have fairly terminated the American war.

Instead of resigning immediately, Lord North brought a bill before the House, through the attorney-general, for the purpose of making a truce between England and America; but this time the ministers were defeated by a majority of nineteen. An address to the king, presented by General Conway to the House, praying for the discontinuance of the American



Lord North.

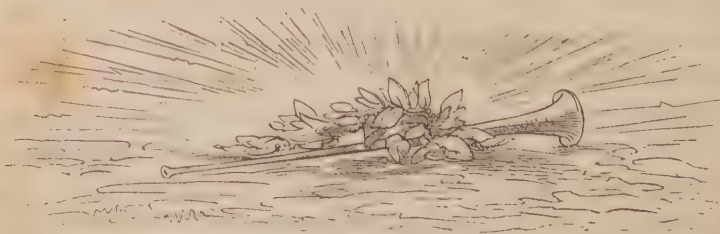
war, was then carried by the victorious opposition. A vague answer was returned by the king, and after voting thanks, Parliament passed another motion of General Conway, declaring those enemies to the king and country who should advise the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America. Various debates followed until the 15th of March, when Sir John Rous moved "that the House could no longer repose confidence in the present ministers," and although this motion was not immediately passed, a few days terminated the struggle.

Lord North finally obtained the reluctant permission of the king to resign, and a new cabinet was to be formed.

The Marquis of Rockingham became premier, as first lord of the treasury, Shelburne and Fox were made secretaries of state; Camden, Grafton, and Cavendish, were all promoted; Keppel was placed at the head of naval affairs, whilst General Conway took charge of the military; Burke was made paymaster, Barré got the place of treasurer to the navy, and Townshend was secretary at war. Pitt, destined to shine hereafter, was left without an office.

In the cabinet were five of the friends of Lord Rockingham, and five of Shelburne's; the eleventh being Lord Chancellor Thurlow, the king's-man. Such a cabinet could not long hold together. Shelburne was opposed to the recognition of American independence; and before any important action could be had on the relations with that country, the death of the Marquis of Rockingham put an end to the administration.

This happened on the 1st of July, 1782, and the king immediately put Shelburne at the head of the ministry, whereupon all the friends of Rockingham, Conway excepted, resigned their offices. Pitt was now made chancellor of the exchequer, and the other vacant places were filled by Shelburne's friends; two days after, on the 11th of July, the king prorogued Parliament.





CHAPTER XLIII.

CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.



PECIAL instructions had been given to Dr. Franklin and the other commissioners in Paris, not to conclude peace without the consent of the French government, in compliance with the articles of the treaty with that power. They were now placed in a complicated and embarrassing situation. The right of fishery on the Grand Bank and the western boundary of the United States, were subjects of the utmost importance to America, whilst France was indifferent about either, and Spain was interested in restricting the United States as much as possible, on the west. Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, who acted as commissioners for Great Britain, met those on the part of the United States, Franklin, Adams, Jay, and Laurens, and provisional articles of peace between England and America, were then agreed upon, November 30th, and were to be afterwards inserted in

the treaty which was about to be concluded between those two countries and France. These articles secured the independence of the United States, and all that could reasonably be expected by them.

Meanwhile another European power had recognised the independence of America, the United Provinces of Holland. Upon learning the capture of Laurens, Congress had commissioned John Adams to be minister plenipotentiary to the States General, and he was empowered to negotiate a loan of money from the Hollanders. Adams soon after presented to them a memorial, informing the States of his mission ; but it was not until a year afterwards, that he was received and acknowledged as an American minister. Influenced by the consideration of the advantage they must derive from the commerce of the Americans, the United Provinces of Holland acknowledged the independence of America, on the 19th of April. By the 8th of October, Adams succeeded in concluding a treaty of amity and commerce, and a loan of money was also obtained.

The Spanish envoys were very strenuous in their endeavours to procure the cession of Gibraltar to Spain by England ; but they were unsuccessful, and preliminary treaties of peace were signed on the 20th of January, 1783, by France, Spain, and Great Britain.

But few military events occurred in America, during 1782. A British galley, in Ashley river, manned with forty-three men, and mounting twelve guns, was taken by Captain Rudolph, with thirteen men, without loss, on the 19th of March. He removed such stores as he found on board of her, and returned to his place of embarkation. After the capture of Cornwallis, Wayne had led the Pennsylvania line to the aid of Greene, and he was then sent into Georgia, where he performed some active service.

On the 21st of May, Colonel Brown marched out of Savannah in force, with the intention of having an engagement with Wayne ; but that commander advanced rapidly from Ebenezer, where the legislature was sitting, and by a bold

movement, threw himself between Brown and Savannah. He surprised the British about midnight, and routed their whole party. This battle, fought about four miles south-west from Savannah, on the Ogeechee road, resulted in the loss of forty of the enemy killed and wounded, and twenty taken prisoners. Notwithstanding the action was fought with the sword and bayonet, the Americans lost but five killed and two wounded. On the 24th of June, General Wayne was attacked about five miles from Savannah, in the night, by a party of Creek Indians, who by their impetuous assault, compelled the advanced troops to fly, and succeeded in taking two pieces of artillery; but Colonel White charged them with the cavalry, and the Indians retreated. They were engaged at close quarters, and fought with uncommon bravery, until the death of one of their bravest chiefs caused them to retreat.

The royalists came out from Savannah to join the Indians, and were attacked by Wayne, who drove them back, taking one British standard and one hundred and twenty-seven loaded pack-horses. On this occasion, Wayne lost thirteen killed and wounded. In July, Savannah was evacuated by the British. Wayne took possession of it, and the war was ended in Georgia.

A few incidents are to be noticed in South Carolina. A large party of the British were sent after provisions, to Combahee ferry. General Gist marched at the head of three hundred men to oppose them, and he succeeded in capturing one of their schooners, and in frustrating their design. It happened, on the 27th of August, and in a slight skirmish of the advanced parties, that the gay, young, and talented Colonel John Laurens, who led the Americans, was mortally wounded. His fall, thus late in the struggle, and when the independence for which he fought was on the eve of accomplishment, was long lamented by the nation, to whom his many virtues had endeared him.

A party of the British on James island, near Fort Johnson, were attacked by Captain Wilmot, who, with some of his men, was killed, when the rest of the party retreated. This

was the last blood shed in the revolution, and the close of the war in South Carolina. Charleston was evacuated by General Leslie, on the 14th of December, and Wayne took possession of it, at the head of about five thousand troops.

We must pay to the ladies of the southern states, the tribute which is so justly due to their heroism and patriotism in the time of danger, which, in the expressive language of General Moultrie, contributed much to the independence of America.



Capture of the General Monk.

Some naval incidents of note occurred during this year, the first of which, in the order of time, was the capture of the ship General Monk, eighteen, by the American vessel, Hyder Ally, mounting sixteen six-pounders. The Hyder Ally had been purchased and fitted out by the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of clearing the Delaware of the small craft of

the enemy, by which it was infested. The merchants of Philadelphia were so anxious for the equipping of the vessel, that they advanced the necessary funds, and the General Monk was captured before the act authorizing the cruise of the Hyder Ally had gone through all the necessary legal forms. She was commanded by Lieutenant Joshua Barney, who entered on the service of convoying a fleet of merchantmen to the capes, and protecting them from the privateers. While near the capes, he was attacked by two ships and a brig belonging to the enemy, which attack he coolly sustained whilst the convoy was sailing up the bay. One of the enemy's ships employed herself in attempting to follow them, another captured one of the vessels, which grounded, whilst Barney waited for the brig. When near her, the Hyder Ally poured in a heavy broadside, and by a naval stratagem secured a position which enabled him to rake the enemy. Twenty broadsides were fired in twenty-six minutes, when the General Monk was compelled to strike. She had twenty killed and thirty-three wounded, whilst the Hyder Ally lost four killed and eleven wounded. Barney followed his convoy up to Philadelphia, bringing along the prize. Soon after he captured a refugee schooner, which had done much injury to Philadelphia commerce.

Towards the close of this year the South Carolina, a frigate hired by the state whose name she bore, of the Duke of Luxembourg, was captured by a force of three large armed ships, purposely sent to watch her motions. This vessel, during the years 1781 and '82, had been unusually fortunate in her cruises in the narrow seas and the West Indies. The American privateers were also very successful; and the English actually fitted out privateers, at the close of the war, for the express purpose of recapturing American prizes.*

The English Admiral Rodney also succeeded in capturing the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, who desperately defended his vessel, the Ville de Paris, until himself and two others were the only men left standing on the upper deck,

* Cooper.

when he consented to strike. This vessel had been presented to the King of France, at the time of the Old French War, by the citizens of Paris, and had cost four millions of livres. It was the pride of the French navy. The English also captured thirty-six chests of money, and a large train of artillery, which was to have been used in an attack on Jamaica. All the settlements on the shores of Hudson's Bay, were destroyed by the French Admiral La Perouse, who took and destroyed property to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds.

In December, 1782, soon after going into winter-quarters, the officers of the army sent a deputation to Congress, with a petition and memorial upon the subject of their arrearages of pay. In October, 1780, Congress had passed an Act, granting the officers half-pay for life, after the close of the war; but nine states had omitted to ratify this grant, and it was in danger of becoming a dead letter. The officers, many of whom had exhausted their private fortunes in the service of the country, petitioned that the half-pay for life should be changed to full pay for five years, and that the arrearages should be paid. This reasonable request was not immediately complied with by Congress, and indications were apparent in the camp at Newburgh, of an approaching appeal to the fears of Congress.

Fortunately, Washington was present; and though he knew the justice of their claims, he was aware that duty to the country required the prevention of rash and disorderly measures for redress. He assembled them together, and calmly addressed them, in his usual dispassionate and sensible manner; and they were induced to wait still longer for the compliance of Congress with their demands. Washington then addressed a letter to Congress, in which he so strongly enforced the claims of the officers, that their request was granted.

Soon after, a letter from La Fayette announced a general peace, and early in April, an authentic copy of the declaration of the exchange of the preliminary articles between France and England being received, peace was proclaimed

to the army by the commander-in-chief, on the 19th of that month.

This the reader will recollect, was precisely eight years from the shedding of the first blood in the revolution, at Lexington. Large arrears were due to the army, and many apprehended that an attempt to disband them without pay would occasion a revolt. The treasury was not only empty, but the Superintendent of Finances had already expended more than his receipts justified ; and before he could issue his notes for the payment of three months' wages, Congress had granted unlimited furloughs to the officers and privates engaged for the war. Much distress was felt by the officers at the prospect of being turned penniless on the world ; but Washington succeeded in pacifying them. In October, a proclamation was issued by Congress, declaring that all soldiers who had engaged during the war were to be discharged, on the 3d of December. Whilst the old troops endeavoured to submit patiently to the will of Congress, several of the new levies proceeded to express, in an open and decided manner, their discontent. About eighty of this class, stationed at Lancaster, marched in a body to Philadelphia, and after being joined by several others, they took up their march to the State House, where Congress and the Executive Council were assembled, and having posted sentinels with fixed bayonets at the doors, they sent in a message, threatening vengeance if their requisitions were not complied with in twenty minutes.

After being confined three hours, the members of Congress separated, to reassemble at Princeton ; and Washington immediately sent a strong detachment to Philadelphia ; but the tumult had subsided before it reached the city. New York was soon after evacuated, and the Americans took possession of it, November 25th. Washington entered it on horseback, attended by Governor Clinton, and a large procession of civil and military officers and citizens. On the 4th of December, he took leave of the officers at Francis's Tavern, after which they escorted him to White Hall, where a barge carried him to Powles Hook. He proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress

was in session, where, in public audience, he resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies, on the 23d of December, after which he retired to his private seat at Mount Vernon.

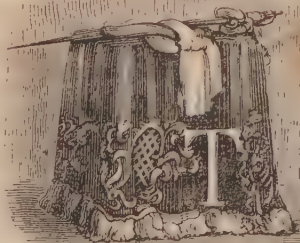
Meanwhile, the different courts of Europe had acknowledged the independence of the United States—Sweden and Denmark, in February, Spain, in March, and Russia, in July. The final treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, on the third day of September, 1783, by David Hartley, on the part of George III., and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the part of the United States.

By the first article of this treaty, his Britannic majesty acknowledges the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and relinquishes for himself and his heirs, all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same. The second article defines the boundaries of the states, and the third secures to them the right of fishing on the Grand Bank and other banks of Newfoundland, and other places in the possession of the British, formerly used by the Americans for fishing grounds. The fourth article secures the payment to creditors the debts heretofore contracted; whilst the fifth recommends to Congress the restitution of estates formerly belonging to British subjects, which had been confiscated. The sixth article prohibits any future confiscation. The seventh provides for firm and perpetual peace; the eighth secures the navigation of the Mississippi to both Englishmen and Americans. The ninth orders all conquests made after the treaty of peace to be restored; the tenth provides for the ratification of the treaty within six months from the signing thereof.



CHAPTER XLIV.

FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.



THE treasury of the United States, which was never full, was now completely exhausted; the responsibilities of the general government were daily increasing; the public faith of the nation was burdened with a national debt of forty-two millions; yet Congress seems to have remained unmoved by the symptoms of approaching ruin and decay. The legislature of New York first directed the public attention to the inefficiency of the confederation, in July, 1782, and among other things, pointed out the inability of the general government to provide itself with a revenue. In February, 1783, Congress passed a resolution, "that the establishment of permanent and adequate

funds throughout the United States, were indispensable to do justice to the public creditors." Resolutions were also passed asking power from the states for Congress to levy certain specified duties on various articles of importation. These were to continue for twenty-five years, and the revenue thus collected was to be applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt. The collectors were to be appointed by the states, removable by Congress. Congress further proposed that other requisitions might be laid on the states, to establish a revenue for other purposes, according to a fixed quota. This system was to go into operation upon the consent of *all* the states.

These measures met with the cordial support of Washington, who publicly expressed himself in their favour; but the country was in no condition to respond to such a call. Even in 1786, when all the other states had agreed to the measure, it was lost by the refusal of New York alone. That state reserved to itself the right of levying duties, and refused to make the collectors amenable to, or removable by Congress. The obstinacy of the governor of that state, also, who refused to assemble the legislature to reconsider their vote upon the measure, although several times solicited to do so by Congress, was another bar to the final passage of the bill. Congress could therefore only make requisitions which were not complied with.

In Massachusetts, an insurrection, directed against the state government, took place. On the 22d of August, a convention of delegates from fifty towns in that state, met at Hatfield, and voted a censure upon various parts of the executive and judicial systems of the state as grievances and unnecessary burdens imposed on the people. Very soon after, a number of insurgents, supposed to be nearly fifteen hundred, assembled under arms in Northampton, took possession of the court-house, and prevented the sitting of the courts; and in the counties of Worcester, Middlesex, Bristol, and Berkshire, the people were more particularly exasperated. On the 23d of November, a convention of delegates from several towns in Worcester

county, sent out an address to the people. A number of the insurgents, headed by Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the continental army, attempted to prevent the sitting of the supreme judicial court. The general court, at this period, passed three laws for easing the burdens of the people; an act for collecting the taxes in specific articles; an act for making real and personal estate a legal tender in the discharge of executions and actions; and an act for rendering law processes less expensive. They provided for the arrest and trial of dangerous persons; but tendered pardon to all the insurgents. Shays and his followers ascribed these measures to weakness, and as the courts were to sit at Springfield, on the 26th of December, he marched thither, at the head of three hundred rioters, and took possession of the court-house. A committee was sent to the court with an order not to proceed to business, couched in the form of a petition. After this, the mob retired.

A similar spirit was manifested in Exeter, New Hampshire; but the vigorous measures of the governor crushed the disturbances in their infancy. Eight of the rioters were tried for the offence, but none suffered capital punishment. But in Massachusetts, the insurgents being emboldened by success, continued to assemble, and endeavoured to impede the operations of the government by an armed force. Above four thousand troops were ordered out to support the authorities, and General Lincoln was appointed to the command of them. Previous to the marching of this body from Roxbury, General Sheppard, with twelve hundred men, took post at Springfield, near the arsenal. Shays advanced with eleven hundred men to attack this party, after being several times cautioned to desist and warned of his danger by Sheppard, who threatened to fire if they continued to advance. Braving his force, they marched on, when he fired a few muskets over their heads. They still advanced shouting, when Sheppard aimed his artillery against the centre of their column. A cry of murder arose from the mob, which retreated ten miles with the utmost precipitancy, leaving three dead and one wounded on the

field. They took post at Pelham, and addressed a petition to the general court; but during a conference of officers, the rioters retreated from Pelham to Petersham, where Lincoln determined to surprise them. He set his troops in motion at eight in the evening, and by nine in the morning they had reached Petersham, having marched thirty miles, through a violent storm of wind and snow. It was the 4th of February, when Lincoln suddenly appearing in the midst of the falling snow, completely surprised the insurgents, who quitted the town in great confusion, without firing a gun. Lincoln pursued them about two miles, taking one hundred and fifty prisoners. In March, three commissioners were appointed to grant indemnity to those concerned in the rebellion, upon certain conditions; and though fourteen persons received sentence of death, all were ultimately pardoned.

Meanwhile, some slight difficulties occurred in the completion of the articles required by the treaty of peace, and a legislative action upon it in the Virginia assembly, induced Congress to send Mr. Adams as minister to England, when the differences were arranged. Treaties of amity and commerce were concluded between the United States and the principal European powers. The confederation, among many other important errors, vested no power in Congress for the regulation of foreign and domestic commerce. The absence of any national provisions on the subject greatly embarrassed the commercial intercourse among the states, and operated disadvantageously on their foreign trade. An effort was made by the State of Virginia to remedy this defect, in a proposition for a convention of delegates for that purpose. This proposal was responded to by five other states, who sent delegates to a convention held at Annapolis, in September, 1786. Though deeply sensible that the national government was lamentably defective, this assembly did not feel themselves competent to undertake any alteration of its provisions. Yet they suggested to Congress a general convention, which should take into consideration the condition of the National Government, and make such provisions or alterations as

would render it adequate to the exigencies of the union. Complying with this suggestion, Congress passed a resolution, recommending a convention of delegates from all the states, to be held at Philadelphia, "for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures, such alterations and provisions therein, as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the Federal constitution adequate to the emergencies of government, and the preservation of the Union."

The convention was appointed to be held in May, 1787, and at the specified time, the delegates, except from Rhode Island, assembled. The members consisted of the ablest statesmen in the country. Washington was chosen president. After the most mature deliberations, they reported to Congress a draft of the present constitution; at the same time recommending that it should be submitted to a convention of delegates in each state, chosen by and from the people thereof, for ratification. For several months it underwent a critical examination. Its articles were carefully canvassed by all the members of the Union, and the whole people of America were made familiar with its provisions.

During the period while the constitution was under consideration, its provisions were ably explained and defended, and its adoption earnestly recommended, in a series of essays, under the title of "The Federalist," written by Madison, Jay, and Hamilton. This title gave names to the parties who defended or opposed the adoption of the constitution; its friends being called Federalists, and its opponents Anti-Federalists. These parties formed respectively the basis of those which have since divided the people of the United States.

The constitution in its original state was by no means considered perfect. It was a compromise of conflicting interests; and some portion of it was regarded as exceptionable by each of the states. This resulted from the fact that it united thirteen independent republics into a consolidated government, having a control over the whole—republics which differed

widely in situation, extent, habits, and domestic institutions. Rights and privileges were on all sides surrendered without apparent equivalents. Patrick Henry opposed its adoption with his usual vehemence, and even Franklin said in the convention, "I consent to this constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good." Washington, in a letter quoted by Dr. Sparks in his "Life," says, "There are some things in the new form, I will readily acknowledge, which never did, and I am persuaded never will, obtain my cordial approbation; but I did then conceive, and do now most firmly believe, that in the aggregate, it is the best constitution that can be obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution, awaits our choice, and is the only alternative." Again; "It appears to me little short of a miracle, that the delegates from so many states, different from each other in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government, so little liable to well-founded objections. Nor am I yet such an enthusiastic, partial, or indiscriminating admirer of it, as not to perceive it is tinctured with some real though not radical defects."

"If we judge," says Dr. Sparks, "from the tenor of Washington's letters, after it was sent out to the world, he watched its fate with anxious solicitude, and was animated with joy at the favour it gradually gained with the public, and its ultimate triumph. It was universally agreed, that his name affixed to the constitution, carried with it a most effective influence on the minds of the people."

It was necessary for nine states to ratify the constitution in order to give it validity. Conventions were assembled in the several states to consider its provisions, and it was nearly a year before the requisite number had decided in its favour, and thus enabled Congress to take measures for organizing the new government. The first electors for the office of president, were to be chosen on the first Wednesday in February, 1789; they were to meet and vote for the person

of their choice, on the first Wednesday in March following.

All eyes were now turned on Washington, as the future president. He was reluctant to engage again in the arduous duties of public life. His fondness for retirement, and for agricultural pursuits, was well known; but it was also known that he never refused the call of public duty. His acceptance of the office was earnestly solicited by his friends, and the reluctance which he felt was at length overcome. The following extract of a letter, written at this time, shows his feelings on the occasion.

“Should the contingency you suggest take place, and should my unfeigned reluctance to accept the office be overcome by a deference to the reasons and opinions of my friends, might I not, after the declarations I have made, (and Heaven knows they were made in the sincerity of my heart), in the judgment of the impartial world and of posterity, be chargeable with levity and inconsistency, if not with rashness and ambition? Nay, farther, would there not be some apparent foundation for the two former charges? Now justice to myself and tranquillity of conscience require, that I should act a part, if not above imputation, at least capable of vindication. Nor will you conceive me to be too solicitous for reputation. Though I prize as I ought the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, yet, if I know myself, I would not seek or retain popularity at the expense of one social duty or moral virtue.”

When the day of election came, he received the unanimous vote of the electors, “and probably without a dissenting voice in the whole nation, was chosen the first President of the United States.”*

* Sparks.

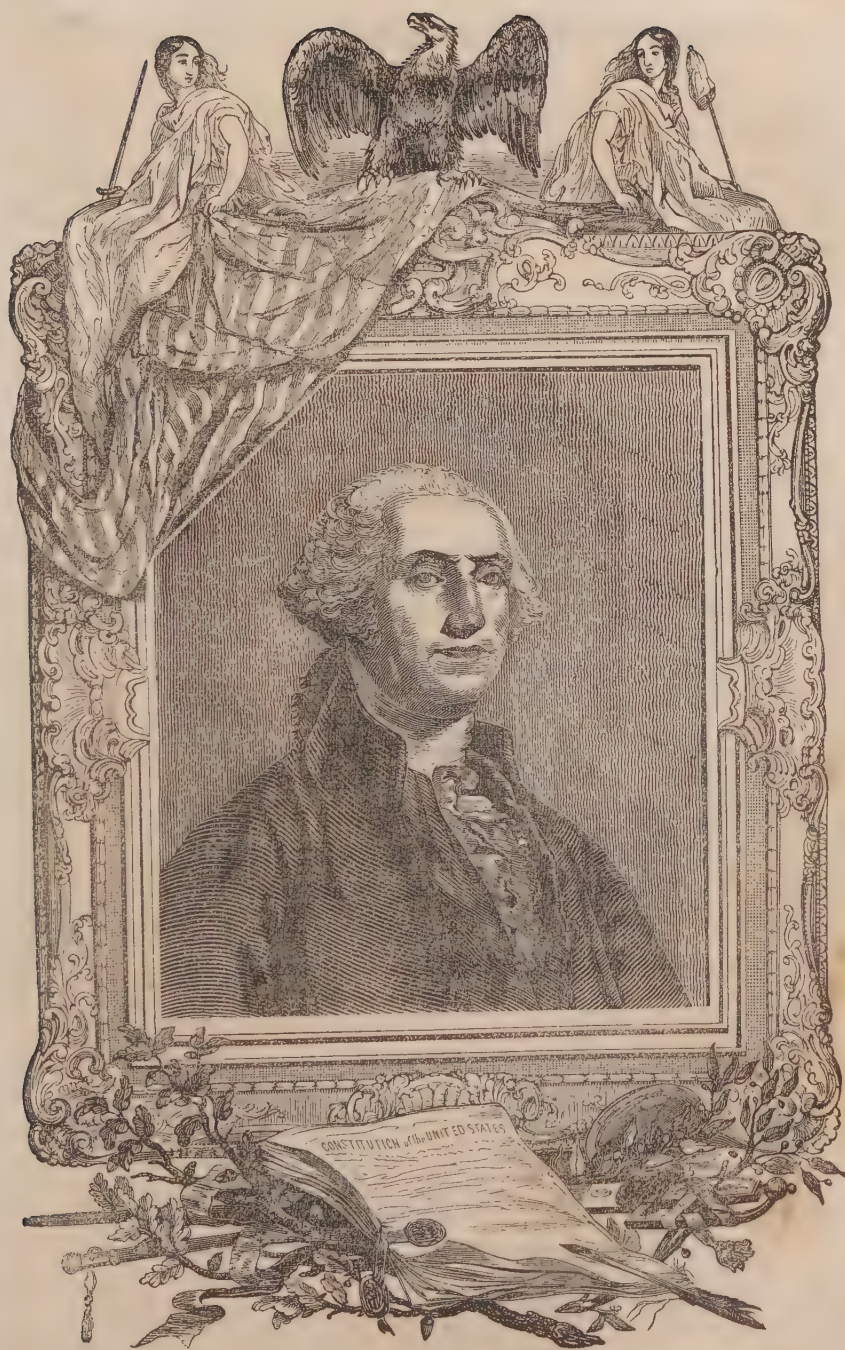


CHAPTER XLV.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.



HE election of the illustrious Washington to the highest office in the gift of his grateful countrymen, was formally announced to him on the 14th of April, 1789. He accepted the office with unfeigned reluctance, occasioned by his love of retirement, and by tenderness for his reputation. His feelings may be better judged from one of his private letters than from the public expression of them made to Congress in his first address. Referring to the want of zeal manifested by some of the members of the first Congress, in repairing so slowly to the seat of government, and the uneasiness and suspense of those who were awaiting their arrival, he said: "I feel for those members of the new Congress, who hitherto have given an unavailing attendance at the theatre of action. For myself, the delay may be compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I tell you, (with the world it would obtain little credit,) that my movements to the chair of government will



be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution ; so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public care, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the people and a good name of my own on this voyage: but what returns will be made for them Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise ; these, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake me, although I may be deserted by all men ; for of the consolations that are to be derived from these, the world cannot deprive me."

But he was summoned by his country, whose voice he could never hear but with veneration and love—his country demanded the sacrifice ; for, as Hamilton said, the success of the great experiment, viz., the working and existence of the new government, altogether depended on the moral force which the name and character of Washington would bring to its chief office.

As his presence at New York, then the seat of government, was immediately required, he set out from Mount Vernon, on the 16th, the second day after he received the notice of his appointment. His journey was a triumphal procession, such as no conqueror could boast. "He had hardly left his own house, when he was met by a company of gentlemen from Alexandria, who proceeded with him to that town, where an entertainment was provided for him, and where he received and answered a public address. The people gathered to see him, as he passed along the road. When he approached the several towns, the most respectable citizens came out to meet and welcome him ; he was escorted from place to place by companies of militia ; and in the principal cities his presence was announced by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and military display.

"A committee of Congress, consisting of three members of the Senate and five of the House of Representatives, was

appointed to meet him in New Jersey, and attend him to the city of New York. To Elizabethtown Point came many other persons of distinction, and the heads of the several departments of government. He was there received in a barge, splendidly fitted up for the occasion, and rowed by thirteen pilots, in white uniforms. This was followed by vessels and boats, fancifully decorated, and crowded with spectators. When the President's barge came near to the city, a salute of thirteen guns was fired from the vessels in the harbour, and from the Battery. At the landing, he was again saluted by a discharge of artillery, and was joined by the governor and other officers of the state, and the corporation of the city. A procession was then formed, headed by a long military train, which was followed by the principal officers of the state and city, the clergy, foreign ministers, and a great concourse of citizens. The procession advanced to the house prepared for the reception of the President. The day was passed in festivity and joy, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated."*

On the 30th of April, the oath of office, in which he "solemnly swore that he would faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and that he would, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States," was administered to Washington, on the balcony, in front of the Federal Hall, by Mr. Livingston, the Chancellor, of the State of New York, in the presence of both branches of the national legislature and thousands of spectators. During the ceremony a profound silence prevailed throughout the whole of the assembled multitude; but no sooner had the chancellor proclaimed him President of the United States, than he was answered by the discharge of thirteen guns from the Battery, and the deafening cheers of thousands of grateful and affectionate hearts.

Washington then retired to the Senate chamber, and in an impressive speech, addressed to his "Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives," declared his reluctance

* Sparks' Life of Washington, Vol. II., p. 225.

to accept the high office which the people had thought fit to bestow upon him, his incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him, and offered his fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction might consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and might enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. He then continued, “There is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since they ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation that disregarded the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself had ordained, and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government were justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.”

He then addressed himself to the House of Representatives, and told them, that “when he was first honoured with a call into the service of his country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which he contemplated his duty required that he should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution he had in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, he would decline, as inapplicable to himself, any share in the personal emoluments which might be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and accordingly prayed them that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which he was placed, might, during his continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good would be thought to require.”

He then took his leave of them, for that time, "but, not without resorting once more to the benignant Parent of the human race, in humble supplication that, since he had been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so might his divine blessing be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of their government should depend."

After the conclusion of his address, Washington went to St. Paul's Church, where the service was read by the bishop, and the ceremonies of the day were closed. Tokens of joy were exhibited throughout the city, as on the day of his arrival, and in the night the whole place was illuminated, and fireworks were displayed from almost every quarter.

The federal government being thus completed by the inauguration of its chief; the people possessed the means of future happiness in a more ample measure than any other nation on the face of the earth. They could boast a constitution framed by the wisest and best of men, and approved by themselves; adopting and assimilating to their own system what was considered valuable, and rejecting all that was deemed injurious, in the British Constitution; and having, in addition, the great political advantage of a constitution in which merit was rewarded by election to high, honourable, and profitable offices, and in which hereditary distinctions were unknown. They had, at the head of the government, a chief, sagacious to discern, able and determined to guard their interests and their constitution, to repress the turbulent, to conciliate the disaffected, and to protect all; they possessed a soil and a climate capable of generating and maturing the several productions of the globe; abounding with every mineral necessary for man, and many used only for decoration; and streams, in some places doing the work and supplying the wants of man, and in others forming a

medium of communication with distant places, and facilitating the exchanges of foreign and domestic commerce.

At the first session of Congress, (which had a duration of six months), in order to replenish the empty treasury of the nation, a law was passed, imposing duties on imported merchandise, and taxes on the tonnage of vessels. Congress then proceeded to complete the government, by instituting an executive cabinet; to be composed of the heads of the different departments, of the treasury, of war, and of state; the latter including foreign and domestic relations. Alexander Hamilton was appointed by Washington secretary of the treasury; General Knox, the secretary of war under Congress, was re-appointed; and Thomas Jefferson was made secretary of state. John Jay received the office of chief-justice; the associate judges were John Rutledge, James Wilson, John Cushing, Robert Harrison, and John Blair. These were the first officers of Washington; and they raised for themselves a monument of fame, inferior only to that of their chief, and they are still referred to, and gratefully remembered by an admiring country.

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, Washington undertook a journey through the New England states, throughout the whole of which he was welcomed by the people with the most affectionate enthusiasm. In this journey he was convinced of the strong attachment of the people to him, as well as of the growing prosperity of the country, and the favour which the new constitution and government were gaining in the public mind. He saw that the marks and effects of the war were fast disappearing, agriculture was actively pursued, the crops were abundant, manufactures increasing, towns springing up in all directions, and commerce becoming daily more extended and profitable. These, all gave tokens of order, peace, and contentment, and cheered the heart of the president with hopes and promises of the future prosperity of his country. During this recess of Congress, North Carolina gave up her opposition to the constitution, and declared her adhesion to the union.

The second session of the first Congress commenced on the first of January, 1790. The president, in his opening speech, congratulated Congress on the prosperous condition of the country, and the favour with which their previous doings had been received by their constituents. He then proceeded to recommend several subjects, as claiming their consideration; among which were, a provision for the common defence, and for the arming and disciplining of the militia; laws for the naturalization of foreigners; a uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures; the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; the encouragement of new and useful inventions; the establishment of post-offices and post-roads; the promotion and patronage of science and literature, and the adoption of effective measures for the support of the public credit. He concluded in the following words, addressed to both houses: "The welfare of our country is the great object to which our care and efforts ought to be directed. And I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation with you, in the pleasing, though arduous task, of ensuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government."

This address was responded to by both houses, in a tone indicative of the harmony and unanimity which subsisted between the executive and legislative branches of the government.

Within a few days of the close of the last session, the House of Representatives passed a resolution, declaring that an adequate provision for the support of public credit was essential to the national honour and prosperity, and directing the secretary of the treasury to prepare a plan, and report to the House at its next session. In obedience to this resolution the secretary now sent in his plan. The debts due by the government were of three kinds; the whole of which were incurred principally in the prosecution of the revolutionary war. The first and second kinds, or the foreign and domestic debts, amounting to about fifty-four millions of dollars, had

been contracted by the Continental Congress, and were acknowledged to be due from the general government. But, there was another description of debts, the third kind, amounting to about twenty-five millions of dollars, which were regarded in a different light. These were debts owned by the states individually, which they had contracted on their own authority, in the construction of fortifications and the raising and maintenance of troops. The secretary proposed that, as the states were now united under one government, and as the debts had been contracted in the struggle for their common freedom, they should be assumed by the general government, and funded with the domestic debts, and that the nation should become responsible for their payment, to the full amount.

This proposition met with considerable opposition, especially from the representatives of the Southern States. The war having been carried on principally in the Middle and Eastern States, they were greatly in debt, while the Southern States had remained comparatively inactive, and consequently owed but little. They argued that, if the state debts were funded, they would have to pay as much as those states which were so deeply in debt. It was also urged that each state should account for and settle its own debts, on the ground that if the federal government made the paying of interest and the raising of funds to centre in itself, it would wield a power derogatory to the rights and independence of the separate states. But, on the other hand, it was shown that Congress, having the entire control of the revenue arising from commerce and navigation, granted to it by the constitution for the express purpose of paying off the public debt, it was but justice to the several states, that it should do so. The equity and good policy of the measure were so fully shown, that it finally prevailed, and an act of Congress was passed for that object, in August, 1790.

During this session of Congress, it was also decided that the seat of government should be removed for ten years to Philadelphia, and then be established permanently at some place on the Potomac river. The next year, during his

southern tour, Washington selected the position for the future capital, the duty devolving on him as president. Under his direction the territory was surveyed, the city planned and laid out, and the sites of the public buildings designated. The territory has since been called the District of Columbia, and to the city was given the name of its illustrious founder.

The foreign relations of the United States were, at the beginning of the new government, in a very unsettled situation. Treaties of alliance and commerce had been concluded with France, and scrupulously observed by both sides, until the revolutionary disorders in that country produced misunderstanding, trouble, and alienation.

With the Barbary States, a kind of informal treaty had been agreed on, and the Emperor of Morocco had promised to lend his aid in restraining any attempts of the other states on the ships or commerce of the United States. Notwithstanding this, the Algerines seized vessels belonging to the United States, and kept the officers and crews in bondage several years.

The relations of the United States with England were in a more unpromising state than with any other power. The hostility engendered by the recent revolution had by no means ceased to exist. All attempts to establish commercial relations between the two countries by treaty had failed. No minister had been sent to the United States. The military posts on the frontiers had been pertinaciously held by the British, notwithstanding the stipulations in the treaty of peace.

The attitude of Spain also was hostile rather than pacific. The friendly disposition shown by his Catholic Majesty, at the commencement of the revolution, had given place to jealousy, occasioned by the example of colonial dependencies successfully revolting from the parent state.

Florida and Louisiana were at this time under the dominion of Spain; and the navigation of the Mississippi was refused to the people of the Western States, probably in the hope of detaching them from the confederacy, and uniting them with the colonies of Spain.

In the territory north-west of the Ohio, the Indians were up in arms, attacking and plundering the settlers, and burning their houses and villages. It was believed that they were stimulated to these outrages by British agents, and it was known that British traders furnished them with arms, ammunition, and clothing. In Florida, the Spaniards tampered with the Creeks, and other southern Indians, and kept them at continual variance with the citizens of the United States.

In the third session of the first Congress, two new states, Vermont and Kentucky, were admitted to the union. Owing to British acts of Parliament, inconsistent with each other, the state of Vermont had been granted to both New York and New Hampshire. Civil war between these two states was frequently approached, and Vermont, in 1777, refusing to submit to either, actual hostilities were only prevented by the advice of Washington, and the eloquence of Hamilton, who finally prevailed on New York to recognise the independence of Vermont. An act of Congress was passed in February, 1791, admitting the State of Vermont into the Federal Union, to take effect from the first day of March, then next following. Kentucky, which had hitherto been a part of the province of Virginia, was encouraged by that state, about the year 1785, to establish a separate government. Accordingly, on its application for admission to the Union in February, 1791, an act was passed by Congress, admitting it, to take effect on the first of June, 1792.

Congress next proceeded to consider the proposition of Hamilton for the formation of a National Bank. This measure was strenuously opposed by Jefferson. The republican party pronounced it to be aristocratical and unconstitutional. They averred that Congress had no power to authorize the incorporation of a bank. Its policy was questioned, and the utility of the banking systems denied: however, the bill having passed both houses, it was sent to Washington for his approval. He, being extremely guarded against infringing the constitution, required from the heads of the departments of state, and of the treasury, their opinions on the subject;

and then, examining it in all its relations, gave it the sanction of his name ; and its establishment was decided. The bank was chartered for twenty years, with a capital of ten millions. Branches were established in the principal sea-ports of the United States ; the principal bank being established at Philadelphia, at that time the seat of government.

In order to pay the interest on the domestic debt, Hamilton thought it necessary to propose the laying of duties on wine, tea, and some other luxuries ; but chiefly an excise on spirits distilled within the country. This last tax was violently opposed ; but, the opponents of the measure being unable to show any less objectionable way of raising a revenue, the excise bill passed.

The effect of these measures was soon felt, in the revival of public credit and commercial prosperity. Public paper, which had previously sunk in the proportion of ten to one, rapidly advanced to par ; and property which had been greatly depreciated, as rapidly increased in value.

In the meantime, the Indian tribes on the frontier began to manifest a hostile disposition towards their white neighbours. In the south, the Creeks had been at war with Georgia ; but, in 1790, their chief, McGillivray, the son of a white man, was induced to go to New York and conclude a treaty. The efforts of the president to give security to the north-western frontiers, having been entirely unavailing, he found it necessary to use other means for their pacification. In 1790, Washington prevailed on Congress to grant some supplies ; and, in the autumn of that year, about fifteen hundred men, of whom three hundred were regulars and the remainder Kentucky and Pennsylvania militia, were placed under the command of General Harmer, a revolutionary veteran, and sent to destroy the Indian settlements on the Scioto and the Wabash. About the middle of October, Colonel Harden was detached with six hundred militia, to ascertain the position and intentions of the enemy. On his approach, the Indians set fire to their principal village, and fled to the woods. As the object of the expedition could not be accomplished unless

the enemy were brought to action and defeated, Colonel Harden was again detached, at the head of one hundred and eighty militia and thirty regulars. On coming in sight of the Indians, about ten miles west of Chillicothe, the Kentucky militia, which formed the right wing of his small force, were panic-struck, and fled in confusion. The Pennsylvanians, composing his left column, followed the example of the right; and the small corps of regulars, commanded by Lieutenant Armstrong, was left to sustain the fight against vastly superior numbers. After twenty-three of them had fallen, the seven survivors made their escape and rejoined the army at Chillicothe.

General Harmer then proceeded to burn and destroy all the Indian towns on the Scioto; and, when this was accomplished, again detached Colonel Harden, with orders to find out the enemy, and if possible bring on an engagement, and wipe off the disgrace which his arms had sustained in the previous engagement. His force this time consisted of three hundred and sixty men, of whom sixty were regulars, commanded by Major Wyllys. At the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, they were attacked in front and on the flank at the same moment by a large body of Indians. The militia retrieved their character, and it was not until overpowered by vastly superior numbers that they retreated, leaving one hundred men and nine officers dead on the field. Although Major Wyllys was among the first of the regulars who fell, they maintained their ground until after the retreat of the militia. At length the scanty remnant of this small band, being reduced from sixty to ten, were quite overpowered by numbers and driven off the ground. The remainder of the detachment joined the main army and retired to Fort Washington.

In 1791, General St. Clair, then Governor of the North-West Territory, at the head of two thousand men, undertook an expedition, having for its object the destruction of the Indian villages on the Miami. On the 3d of November, he halted about fifteen miles south of the villages, intending there to await the arrival of a regiment which had been detached

in pursuit of some deserters. He formed his force in two lines, the first under the command of General Butler, composed the right wing, and lay with a creek immediately in their front. The left wing, commanded by Colonel Darke, formed the second, and lay with an interval of about seventy yards between them and the first line. The militia were advanced across the creek, about a quarter of a mile in front.

The battle which took place the next day cannot be better described than in the words of Marshall. He says: "About half-an-hour before sunrise the next morning, just after the troops had been dismissed from the parade, an unexpected attack was made on the militia, who fled in the utmost confusion, and rushing into camp through the first line of continental troops, which had been formed the instant the first gun was discharged, threw them too into disorder. The exertions of the officers to restore order were not entirely successful. The Indians pressed close upon the heels of the flying militia, and engaged General Butler with great intrepidity. The action instantly became extremely warm; and the fire of the assailants, passing round both flanks of the first line, was in a few minutes poured with equal fury on the rear division. Its greatest weight was directed against the centre of each wing, where the artillery was posted; and the artillerists were mowed down in great numbers. Firing from the ground, and from the cover which the woods afforded, the assailants were scarcely seen but when springing from one cover to another, in which manner they advanced close up to the American lines, and to the very mouths of the field-pieces. They fought with the daring courage of men whose trade is war, and who are stimulated by all those passions which can impel the savage mind to vigorous exertions.

"Under circumstances thus arduous, raw troops may be expected to exhibit that inequality which is found in human nature. While some of the American soldiers performed their duty with the utmost resolution, others seemed dismayed and terrified. Of this conduct, the officers were, as usual, the victims. With a fearlessness which the occasion required,

they exposed themselves to the most imminent dangers ; and, in their efforts to change the face of affairs, fell in great numbers.

“ For several days, the commander-in-chief had been suffering with a severe disease, under which he still laboured, and which must have greatly afflicted him ; but, though unable to display that activity which would have been useful in this severe conflict, neither the feebleness of his body, nor the peril of his situation, could prevent his delivering his orders with judgment and self-possession.

“ It was soon perceived that the American fire could produce, on a concealed enemy, no considerable effect ; and that the only hope of victory was placed in the bayonet. At the head of the second regiment, which formed the left of the left wing, Lieutenant-Colonel Darke made an impetuous charge upon the enemy, forced them from their ground with some loss, and drove them about four hundred yards. He was followed by that whole wing ; but the want of a sufficient number of riflemen to press this advantage, deprived him of the benefit which ought to have been derived from this effort ; and as soon as he gave over the pursuit, the Indians renewed their attack. In the meantime, General Butler was mortally wounded, the left of the right wing was broken, the artillerists almost to a man killed, the guns seized, and the camp penetrated by the enemy. With his own regiment, and with the battalions commanded by Majors Butler* and Clarke, Darke was ordered again to charge with the bayonet. These orders were executed with intrepidity and momentary success. The Indians were driven out of the camp, and the artillery recovered. But while they were pressed on one point by the bravest of the American troops, their fire was kept up from every other with fatal effect.

“ Several times particular corps charged them, always with partial success ; but no universal effort could be made, and in every charge, a great loss of officers was sustained, the con-

* Although his leg had been broken by a ball, Major Butler, mounted on horseback, led his battalion to the charge.

sequences of which were severely felt. Instead of keeping their ranks, and executing the orders which were given, a great proportion of the soldiers flocked together in crowds, and were shot down without resistance. To save the remnant of his army was all that remained to be done; and, about half-past nine in the morning, General St. Clair ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Darke, with the second regiment, to charge a body of Indians who had intercepted their retreat, and to gain the road. Major Clarke, with his battalion, was directed to cover the rear. These orders were executed, and a disorderly flight commenced. The pursuit was kept up about four miles, when, fortunately for the surviving Americans, that avidity for plunder which is a ruling passion among the savages, called back the victorious Indians to the camp, where the spoils of their vanquished foes were to be divided. The routed troops continued their flight to Fort Jefferson, a distance of about thirty miles, throwing away their arms on the road. At this place they met the detached regiment, and leaving their wounded at Fort Jefferson, the army continued its retreat to Fort Washington."

The American loss in this engagement was thirty-eight officers and five hundred and ninety-three men killed, and twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-two men wounded. Among the dead was the brave and much lamented General Butler. The whole Indian force was supposed to consist of from one thousand to fifteen hundred warriors. Of their loss no estimate could be made; the probability is that it bore no proportion to that sustained by the American army.

This signal defeat induced the President to propose to Congress the raising of the military force of the country to five thousand men, which, after considerable opposition, was finally agreed to.

General St. Clair having resigned his office of Governor of the North-Western Territory, he was succeeded by General Wayne. In August, 1794, he marched, at the head of three thousand men, to attack the Indians on the Miami, and on the 18th of that month, arrived at the rapids and made an inef-



General Wayne defeating the Indians.

fectual effort to negotiate a peace with the Indians ; but they, to the number of two thousand, being advantageously posted behind a thick wood, and near a British fort, treated the proposition with contempt, and formed their line, stretching from the river towards the west for about two miles. On the morning of the 20th, the American army advanced in two columns, the first with orders from General Wayne to move forward with trailed arms, and rouse the enemy from his covert, and then, and not till then, to fire, and press the fugitives so closely that they would find it impossible to reload their guns after the first discharge. On discovering the immense length of the enemy's front, and perceiving their design of turning his left flank, the general ordered the second line to support the first, and the cavalry under Captain Campbell to force their way between the Indians and the river, and attack them on their left flank ; while General Scott, at the head of the mounted volunteers, made a considerable circuit and attacked them on the right. These orders were executed with such promptitude, and so completely was the enemy's line broken

by the first charge of the infantry, that the whole body was soon put to flight ; and in less than one hour from the commencement of the action, they were driven more than two miles, through thick woods, and within half-a-mile of the British fort, where the pursuit terminated.

The ensuing three days were spent by General Wayne in burning and destroying the houses and the corn-fields on the Miami and around the fort, the commandant of which did not interfere in any way with the operations of either army. On the 28th, he returned to the fort on the Au Glaize ; but the hostility of the Indians still continuing, he proceeded to lay waste their whole territory, and the next year concluded a treaty with them, by which peace was established, on terms as satisfactory and beneficial to the Indians as to the whites, and which, by giving security to the north-western frontier, soon occasioned an increase in the population of that delightful region.

In the year 1791, the first census of the United States, according to the new constitution, was taken ; when it appeared that the whole number of inhabitants was three millions nine hundred and twenty-one thousand three hundred and twenty-six, of whom six hundred and ninety-five thousand six hundred and fifty-five were slaves.

Early in 1791, Washington made a tour through the Southern States ; during which he was everywhere greeted with affectionate welcome. Not a murmur nor complaint was uttered, although the excise law, the most unpopular that had yet been passed, was just about that period brought into operation. In this journey, stopping on the bank of the Potomac, he selected the site for the future capital of the United States.

At the meeting of the Second Congress, at Philadelphia, in October, 1791, the president congratulated them on the prosperous condition of the country, and the abundance with which another year had again rewarded the industry of the husbandman ; and the great success of the bank scheme, then in effectual operation. He dwelt on the rejection by the Indians

of all offers of peace which had been made to them, and of the necessity of convincing the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations. He informed them that the impressions with which the excise law had been received by the community, had been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, had given occasion in particular places to some degree of discontent: but, he was fully confident that this disposition would give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare. He concluded by calling their attention again to the regulation of the militia laws, the establishment of a post-office and post-roads, a mint, an uniform system of weights and measures, and a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

The principal laws passed at this session were those for establishing a uniform militia system, increasing the army, and apportioning the representatives. According to the constitution, the number of representatives could not exceed one for every thirty thousand inhabitants. It was found that this number would leave large fractions to some of the states, in which perhaps from fifteen to twenty thousand citizens would not be represented. It was finally agreed to fix the ratio at one for every thirty-three thousand, leaving out fractions.

During the year 1792, General Washington expressed his wish to some of his most intimate friends to retire from the cares of government, and proposed to decline a re-election. His age and increasing infirmities rendered his retirement to private life almost necessary. He had even prepared a farewell address to the people, designed for the occasion of his taking leave of them. He was, however, persuaded by Jefferson, Hamilton, Randolph, and others, to relinquish his design, and was a second time chosen President of the United States, by the unanimous vote of the electors.

Governor Clinton of New York was nominated as the com-

petitor of John Adams for the vice-presidency. Adams was preferred to Clinton by a majority of votes.

When General Washington accepted the presidency the second time, the French revolution had just reached its highest point of fanaticism ; and the disorder and war occasioned by it in Europe, made it impossible for the president or people of the United States to remain indifferent spectators. The French republic being about to appoint a new envoy to the United States, it became a question with the president and the members of his cabinet, whether he should be received, and whether the treaty concluded with Louis XVI., stipulating a defensive alliance, in case of an attack on the part of England, was now binding upon America.

Hamilton and Knox were for declaring the treaty void, and for openly condemning and breaking with the government of France, by refusing to receive her envoy, or at least by rendering his reception cold. On the other hand, Jefferson and Randolph declared that any alteration which France had chosen to make in her internal state, concerned America in no manner to criticise or interfere with. They agreed, however, that for the sake of preserving neutrality, a proclamation should be issued, "forbidding the citizens of the United States to take part in any hostilities on the seas, either with or against the belligerent powers ; warning them against carrying to any of those powers any articles deemed contraband according to the modern usages of nations ; and enjoining them from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war." It was also unanimously resolved, that a minister from the French republic should be received, and that no mention should be made of the treaty, or even of its having been taken into consideration.

The conduct of M. Genêt, the minister who was sent to the United States from the French republic, was marked with such insolence and audacity that it exhausted the patience of the American government. Instead of proceeding immediately to Philadelphia, he landed at Charleston, in South

Carolina, and there undertook to authorize the fitting out and arming of vessels in that port, and giving commissions to cruise as privateers, and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States were at peace. In his land journey from Charleston to Philadelphia, he was everywhere welcomed with such enthusiasm, and marks of attention, as to deceive him into a belief that the great body of the American people were favourable to the cause of the French revolution. He was received by the President with the respect due to the representative of a foreign power.

When remonstrated with upon his disregarding the late proclamation, by fitting out privateers from the ports of the United States, and making captures in our very rivers, Genêt, encouraged by the generous feelings of the people, and relying on their support, replied, "that the treaty between France and this country sanctioned such measures, and that any obstructions put upon them would not only be infractions of the treaty, but treason against the rights of man." In demanding the release of two American citizens, who had been arrested, in pursuance of the determination formed by the executive for the prosecution of those who offended against his proclamation, for cruising in the service of France, in privateers fitted out at Charleston, he was supported and countenanced by clubs and numerous adherents. He even went so far as to insult the government, by fitting out a privateer from the port of Philadelphia—from the very seat of the federal government—during the temporary absence of the president. He undertook to direct the civil government; and to pronounce, in opposition to the decisions of the president, the branches of government in which the constitution vested particular powers. To render this state of affairs more critical, he had thrown himself, since his first arrival in the country, into the open arms, as it were, of an admiring populace, and he attempted to ride on the wide-spread but treacherous pinions of popularity into absolute power. Nay, he even, in a conversation respecting the fitting out of the privateer from Philadelphia, with the secretaries of the treasury and of war,

declared his determination to appeal from the president to the people. They, only, he declared, and not the delegated authorities, possessed the sovereignty in a democratic state.

This immediately opened the eyes of an enlightened community to the true state of the case. They had confounded the spirit of liberty and the person of a selfish and headstrong man; in their sympathy with and gratitude to the nation, they had forgotten the means which were employed, and even the end which they proposed. Their attachment to Washington remaining undiminished, and their confidence in him unimpaired, a keen sense of the disgrace, the humiliation, and the danger, of permitting a foreigner to have such an influence over them as to cause dissensions between them and their own officers, between the people and him, whom they had always considered as the protector of their rights, the man of the people, the father of his country, convinced them of their error, and impelled them by the strongest sentiments of patriotism and national honour, to declare the indignation which his threat inspired. Throughout the whole union, meetings were called in almost every district, and the voice of the people resounded from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, professing undiminished confidence in their chief magistrate, approbation of the measures which had been adopted, and the greatest detestation of foreign influence of any kind, not even excepting that of the republic of France.

At the request of the president, Genêt was recalled in January, 1794, and Mr. Fauchet was sent to supersede him. Genêt's successors, though more prudent in their behaviour, were quite as audacious in their designs. And although disgusted with the minister, many of the people still continued to cherish the recollection of the services rendered by France during the revolution, and a strong sympathy for those who they supposed were struggling for freedom against the combined nations of Europe. The contests between the parties in the United States, respectively favouring France and England, was carried on with considerable spirit on both sides;

and it required all the firmness and integrity of Washington to keep them from breaking out into dangerous excesses, and to avoid for a time a war with France.

The plan of raising a revenue from a tax imposed on domestic distilled spirits, was extremely offensive to the people in many parts of the country ; but especially to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, on the western side of the Alleghany mountains. It was more oppressive on them than on the people of any other part of the union, because whiskey, at that time, was their most important item of trade, and any law taxing their means of support, they considered as unjust and unconstitutional.

No sooner was the excise law of the 3d of March, 1791, published, than they began to manifest a strong opposition to its execution. Public meetings were held in the counties of Fayette, Alleghany, Westmoreland, and Washington ; and resolutions were passed to the effect that "any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry the law into effect, should be considered inimical to the interests of the country, and recommending to their fellow-citizens to treat every person accepting such office with contempt, and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with him, and withhold from him all aid, support, or comfort."

It was with the greatest difficulty that any one could be found who would accept the office of inspector of the western district. At last, General Neville* was influenced by a sense

* General John Neville was a man of the most deserved popularity. He was one of the few men of great wealth who had put his all at hazard for independence. At his own expense he raised and equipped a company of soldiers, marched them to Boston, and placed them with his son under the command of General Washington. He was the brother-in-law of the distinguished General Morgan, and father-in-law to Majors Craig and Kirkpatrick, officers highly respected in the western country. Besides General Neville's claims as a soldier and a patriot, he had contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of the settlers in his vicinity. He divided his last loaf with the needy ; and in a season of more than ordinary scarcity, as soon as his wheat was sufficiently matured to be converted into food, he opened his fields to those who were suffering with hunger. If any man could have executed this odious

of duty to his country, and prevailed upon to accept it. His first attempts to execute the law were resisted; and in 1792, the malcontents were fast gathering strength, and became more determined in their opposition. During the summer the law was revised and every real grievance removed, but in vain. The very principle of excise was unpopular; and the rebels soon assumed an organized form, and set all law and legal order at defiance. They elected leaders, and proceeded to insult and threaten the inspectors, and even by force to prevent them from discharging their duties. To such a length did they carry these outrages, that Washington, on the 15th of September, 1792, issued a proclamation, admonishing all people to desist from illegal acts and meetings, and calling on the citizens and magistrates to discountenance such proceedings, and use their utmost endeavours to bring those, who still continued to offend, to justice. Bills of indictment were found against some of the principal offenders, and the marshal proceeded in person and attempted to serve the processes. On the 15th of July, 1794, while engaged in this duty, in company with General Neville, after having served his last writ, he was followed by a body of armed men, who fired upon him, but fortunately without effect.

At daybreak on the next morning, a party of about thirty-six men attacked the house of General Neville, situated about seven miles south-west of Pittsburg; but finding him prepared for them, they were obliged to retreat.

Fearing that this attempt on his house would be repeated, he applied, but in vain, to the militia-officers and county magistrates for protection. His son-in-law, Major Kirkpatrick, however, with a detachment of eleven men from Fort Pitt, came to his assistance.

On the succeeding day, the house of the inspector was again attacked by the insurgents, to the number of about five hundred. Early in the morning, the females had been removed from the house, and General Neville thought it law, General Neville was that man. He entered upon the duties of his office, and appointed his deputies from among the most popular citizens. — *Judge Wilkinson.*

necessary to withdraw to a place of concealment, leaving his kinsman Kirkpatrick, with his small garrison, to defend the buildings against the infuriated mob. He, seeing the absolute impracticability of resisting such an overwhelming force, received a deputation from the insurgents; but their demands were such as it was not safe for him to comply with. They required him to surrender into their hands, the inspector, his commission and papers, and then to give up the arms in his possession, and march the party out of the house. He returned answer that he would deliver up the papers, but the inspector was not in the house, and he would not leave it to the mercy of a lawless multitude unless compelled to do so by force. The attack then commenced with great fury, and continued until the assailants set fire to the out-houses, the heat from which was so intense, that the house could no longer be occupied. This, and the fact that the fire was communicated from the burning barn to the roof of the main building, compelled Kirkpatrick to surrender.

On the same day the marshal was waylaid and taken prisoner, on his way to General Neville's house, and obtained his liberty only by entering into a solemn engagement not to serve any more processes west of the Alleghany mountains.

The opposition now amounted to open rebellion. The execution of the laws had been resisted by open force. The insurgents had avowed their determination to persevere in the measures with which they had commenced, and to withstand by force the arms and authority of the United States.*

The President now found it necessary to compel obedience to the laws; and wishing to do so with as little bloodshed as possible, determined, (after having once more, but in vain, tried pacific measures,) to overawe the insurgents by a show of superior strength in the government. It being known that the utmost force that could be brought into the field by the rebels was about seven thousand, Washington made a requisition for an army of fifteen thousand militia, on the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The call

* Marshall.

was immediately obeyed, and Governor Lee, of Virginia, being appointed to the command, marched at their head, across the Alleghany mountains, into the territory of the disaffected.

On the 25th of September, the President issued a second proclamation, in which he declared that "from a hope that the combination against the constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, he had thought it sufficient in the first instance rather to *take measures* for calling forth the militia, than immediately to embody them; but the moment had come when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, were only partially accepted—when every form of conciliation, not inconsistent with the well-being of government, had been adopted without effect; when the well-disposed in those counties had become unable, by their influence and example, to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and had been compelled to associate in their own defence; when the proffered lenity had been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension that the citizens would march with reluctance; when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition had been employed in propagating principles of anarchy; endeavouring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting its enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection; when it was manifest that violence would continue to be exercised, upon every attempt to enforce the laws; when, in fine, government was set at defiance, the contest being, whether a small portion of the United States should dictate to the whole Union, and, at the expense of those who desired peace, indulge a desperate ambition." He was, therefore, "in obedience to that high and irresistible duty assigned him by the constitution, 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' resolved to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the laws. He then declared and made known that he had received intelligence of the patriotic alacrity with which the militia summoned into service from

the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had obeyed his call; that a force, which according to every reasonable expectation was adequate to the exigency, was already in motion to the scene of disaffection; that those who had confided, or would confide in the protection of government, should meet full succour under the standard and from the arms of the United States; that those who had offended against the laws, but had since entitled themselves to indemnity, would be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they had not forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions were given accordingly.

He exhorted all individuals, officers, and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures, leading directly or indirectly to those crimes which produced this resort to military coercion; to check, in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government; and to call to mind, that, as the people of the United States had been permitted, under the Divine favour, in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, and in an enlightened age, to elect their own government, so would their gratitude for that inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertion to maintain the constitution and the laws.

“And lastly, he again warned all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, neither to abet, aid, or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they should answer the contrary at their peril; and he also required all officers and other citizens, as far as it was in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the laws all offenders in the premises.”

This proclamation, and their knowledge of the approaching army, had such an effect on the rebels, that, when General Lee reached the disaffected territory, he found none in arms to oppose him. The superiority of his force had the desired effect: the insurgents saw that there was both power and resolution in the new government to put down any unconstitutional attempt, and they dispersed without offering any

resistance. In order to secure peace and tranquillity, a detachment commanded by Major-General Morgan, was stationed for the winter in the centre of the disaffected country.

When the Third Congress met in December, 1793, the President addressed them in a "moderate, firm, dignified, and interesting speech."* He commenced by expressing the "deep and respectful sense which he felt of the renewed testimony of public approbation" manifested in his re-election; "and he humbly implored that Being on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success his endeavours for the general happiness." He then went on to explain the reasons for the course he had taken with respect to the war between France and the rest of Europe, and called the attention of Congress to the enactment of such laws as would more fully protect the persons and property of American citizens. He again pressed upon them the necessity of placing the country in a complete state of defence, and in a state to exact from foreign powers the fulfilment of their duties towards the republic. "There is a rank," he said, "due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

In a special message sent in to Congress about the same time, he called their attention to the commercial relations of the United States with the principal maritime powers of Europe; to the vexations and spoliations committed on our vessels and commerce by some of the belligerent powers; and to the restraints which the British government had undertaken to put on our commerce in corn and other provisions.

In December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson, after drawing up an elaborate report upon the commerce of the United States, and upon the privileges and restrictions attending mercantile intercourse with foreign nations, resigned his office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Mr. Randolph.

* Marshall.

In the meantime, the United States and Great Britain were on the brink of another war. England still held some forts in the western portion of the United States, which they had stipulated to surrender—American vessels were continually stopped and searched by British cruisers—a declaration of Lord Dorchester, Governor of Lower Canada, contemplated war—accounts of captures of American merchant-ships became frequent and exciting—and an order was issued by the British admiralty, instructing the English cruisers to “stop all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as shall be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour, may be purchased on behalf of his majesty’s government, and the ships be relieved after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight; or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by the court of admiralty, be permitted to proceed to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any country in amity with his majesty.” These grievances, together with the practice of impressment—by entering American merchantmen, not only in port, but also at sea, claiming the best men in the service as British subjects, and carrying them off, to be employed in the royal navy—all these increased the probability of hostilities between the two nations.

As it was the wish of the President to preserve his country from the evils of another war, he took advantage of the recall of the admiralty order restraining the corn trade, to despatch Mr. Jay as envoy extraordinary to the court of Great Britain.

In his communication to Congress, at its meeting towards the close of 1794, Washington congratulated them on the successful issue of General Wayne’s expedition against the Indians beyond the Ohio; and on the suppression of the revolt occasioned by the excise law in Pennsylvania. He also laid before them the state of the existing relations of the United States with the different European powers; and recommended them to complete the militia law, now that the salutary use of



General Knox.

that force had been seen. In this session of Congress, the secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, and General Knox, secretary of war, sent in their resignations, and were succeeded by Mr. Wolcott and Colonel Pickering.

Washington was thus left almost alone to resist the growing strength of the anti-federal or republican party, and precisely at a moment when a question occurred likely to exasperate it, and call forth all its violence. Mr. Jay, who had been sent as envoy to England, had concluded a treaty with Lord Grenville, the minister of that country. By this treaty,

the posts held by England within the boundaries of the United States were given up, and compensation was made for several illegal captures. No provision, however, was made for preventing the searching of their merchant vessels, and the impressment of American seamen was likewise unnoticed. The obligations of the Americans to pay their English creditors was renewed and recognised, and every facility allowed for their recovery. American vessels under seventy tons were allowed to trade with the British ports in the West Indies, provided they carried their produce to their own ports only, and exported no such products to Europe.

As this treaty prohibited the Americans from sending to Europe the cotton and sugar of their own production, and did not refuse to England the right of searching American vessels, the president for some time refused to approve it. However, as these objections were counterbalanced by so many advantages, and as it was certainly far preferable to a war, the effect of which would have been to ruin the commerce of the country, and to create an immense public debt, Washington, finally, with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate, ratified the treaty.

This treaty was received by the people, and especially by the republican party, with the most violent opposition. It was stigmatised by them as the basest act of ingratitude that could be committed against France,—as “treason towards a republic, whose watchword and safeguard ought to be hatred to monarchy and to England.” But, time has since shown that its ratification by the president was an act of sound policy. “It saved the country from a war, improved its commerce, and served in no small degree to lay the foundation of its durable prosperity. The great points which were said to be sacrificed or neglected, the impressment of seamen, neutral rights, and colonial trade, have never yet been settled, and are never likely to be settled satisfactorily, while England maintains that ascendancy which she now holds on the ocean”* over the other nations of Europe. The treaty was then, how-

* Sparks.

ever, particularly desirable, as the adjustment of ancient differences, and the commencement of a new and friendly intercourse between the two countries. By it, also, the old reproach, that "England scorned to enter into any treaty, whatsoever, with the United States," was surmounted.

The day after the ratification of this treaty by the President, Mr. Randolph resigned the office of secretary of state; Mr. Pickering was transferred from the war department to that of state, and James M'Henry, of Maryland, was appointed secretary of war. Charles Lee, of Virginia, was appointed attorney-general, in the place of Mr. Bradford, who had recently died.

Before the President again met Congress, treaties had been concluded with Algiers, with the Indians beyond the Ohio, and with Spain;—the latter government, yielding the important points of boundary claimed by the United States, the right of navigating the Mississippi, and a *dépôt* at New Orleans. These treaties, together with that effected with Great Britain, completed the pacific system, which it was always the aim of Washington to preserve. Peace was established with all the world, and, with the exception of France, all grounds of foreign rupture were fully adjusted.

France, however, now became jealous of the friendship of the kingdoms of Europe with the United States. She thought, that as she had assisted them in their revolutionary war, it was but right that they should now aid her against the enemies by which she was surrounded. A new envoy, arriving from that country, contrived, by the addresses which he made, to inspire the people with enthusiasm in favour of France. He was also commissioned by the Directory, in case he should fail in influencing the president, and drawing him into a rupture with England, to address Congress, and appeal to the people, as Genêt had done; and by these means force the government to a community of interests with that of France. Finding all their attempts resisted, the French government adopted certain regulations respecting commerce, under which many American vessels were taken, and their

cargoes confiscated. In 1796, Mr. Monroe, the American minister at the court of Paris, was recalled, and Charles C. Pinckney sent to remonstrate with that government, and to seek redress for these injuries.

Washington was not able to bring these negotiations, as he had done others, to a close. The period of his second term of office was now about to expire, and no consideration could tempt him to permit his re-election. His advanced age furnished one consideration for this resolution; and he also expressed the opinion that eight years was a sufficient length of time for one individual to fill the highest office of a free elective government. He had besides fulfilled the principal desire of his heart, and he now saw the United States enjoying prosperity at home, and at peace with all the world, except, indeed, the difference with France, which, he hoped, would soon be removed.

In September, 1796, Washington announced to the people of the United States, in a valedictory address, his intention of retiring from public life, and spending the remainder of his days in his peaceful and quiet retreat at Mount Vernon.

In this admirable address, he enjoined the citizens of the United States, with all the tenderness of a father's solicitude and affection, to preserve that "unity of government which constituted them one people. That they should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming themselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of their political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which then linked together the various parts."

He then "warned them in the most solemn manner to beware of the baneful effects of party spirit. In governments purely elective," he continued, "it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From the natural tendency, it is certain there

will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose ; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

He then laid it down as "substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government;" and therefore enjoined his fellow-citizens to "promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion," he said, "as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

Continuing his address, he advised them, "as a very important source of strength and security, to cherish public credit ; to observe good faith and justice towards all nations ; and to cultivate peace and harmony with all." He then warned them to guard "against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, because history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

After recommending them to preserve a strict neutrality in the then subsisting war in Europe, he concluded with observing that "though he was unconscious of any intentional error in the course of his administration ; he was, nevertheless, too sensible of his own defects, not to think it probable that he might have committed many errors. Whatever they may be," he said, "I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest."

This address was received with feelings of the most profound respect and attachment for its author ; and several of the state legislatures inserted it complete in their journals ;

and passed resolutions expressive of their exalted sense of the services and character of Washington, and their emotions at his retirement from office.

On the 7th of December, 1796, Washington, for the last time, met the representatives of the people in the Senate chamber. His speech to them on the occasion was comprehensive, dignified, interesting, and full of information. After congratulating them on the internal prosperity of the country, he proceeded, in his usual manner, to give them a full, clear, and correct view of the situation of the United States: he informed them of the measures which he had taken in the execution of the treaties with Great Britain, Spain, and Algiers, as well as what had been done for effecting treaties with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli; and then, proceeding to another subject, he continued: "To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable. But, besides this, it is our own experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may prevent even the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party, as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have just been relieved. These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy.

After directing the attention of Congress to the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures—the establishment of a national university—and the institution of a military academy—he concluded his address in the following words:

"The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the Representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of

the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment; nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

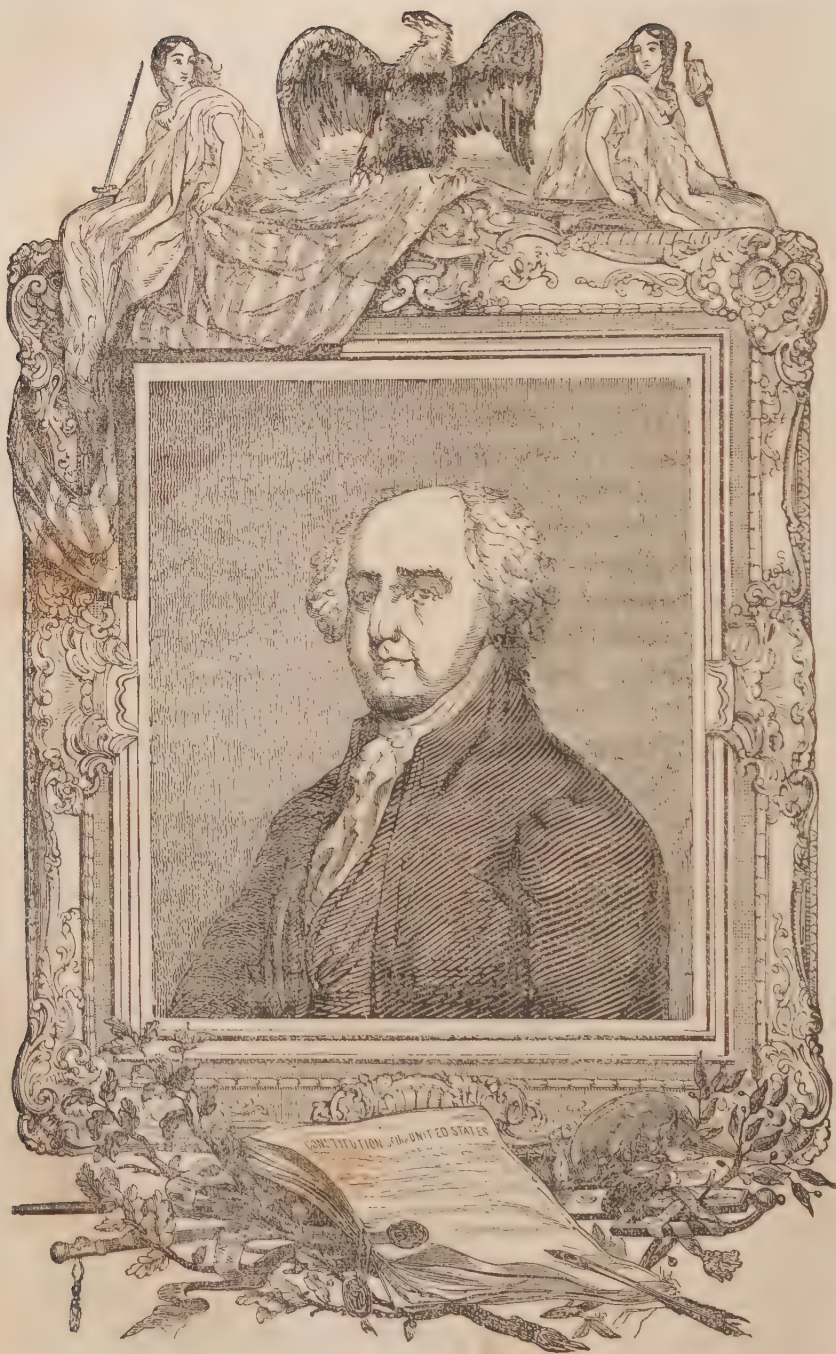
In a special message to Congress, Washington explained, at length, the relations existing between the United States and the French republic.

At the election in October, the two great parties of the nation brought forward their candidates for the presidency. The federalists supported John Adams, and the republicans Thomas Jefferson. After a sharp contest, in which the parties were almost equally matched, the federal party prevailed, and Mr. Adams having the highest number of votes, was declared President, and Mr. Jefferson, having the second number, was chosen Vice-President.

They were inaugurated, in the presence of Washington, on the 4th day of March, 1797, and forthwith entered on the duties of their respective offices. Washington then departed, as he thought for ever, from the cares and duties of a public life, and retired to his seat at Mount Vernon.









CHAPTER XLVI.

ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

ABILITY of a very high order, an unsullied character, and important services during the progress of the Revolution, fully entitled Mr. Adams to the dignified office to which he was elected. "His first writings," says Governor Everett in his Eulogy, "were devoted to the cause of his country. He published in 1765, his Essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, which two years afterwards was republished in London, and was there pronounced one of the ablest performances which had crossed the Atlantic. It expresses the boldest and most elevated sentiment, in language most vigorous and animating; and might have taught in its tone, what it taught in its doctrine, that America must be unoppressed or must become independent."

"In 1774, and on the 17th of June, a day destined to be in every way illustrious, Mr. Adams was elected a member of the Continental Congress, of which body he was signalized,

from the first, as a distinguished leader. In the month of June in the following year, when a commander-in-chief was to be chosen for the American armies, and when that appointment seemed in course to belong to the commanding general of the brave army from Massachusetts and the neighbouring States, which had rushed to the field, Mr. Adams recommended George Washington to that all-important post, and was thus far the means of securing the blessing of his guidance to the American armies."

Mr. Adams was one of the most earnest and influential advocates of the declaration of independence. He had ever possessed the confidence of Washington; and his election to succeed the Father of his Country in its highest office, afforded a guarantee of continued approval on the part of the people towards the policy and principles upon which the government had hitherto been conducted.

In his inaugural speech, the President first rapidly glanced at the good conduct of the people in the revolutionary struggle. He continued, in reference to the formation of the new constitution, "that, employed as he was in the service of his country abroad, he first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country, and read it with great satisfaction, as a result of good heads, prompted by good hearts: as an experiment better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. Returning," said he, "to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the constitution." He then referred in a delicate manner to his own views, principles, and purposes, and to the expressed wish of Congress that he would imitate the example of his predecessor, and concluded with an assurance that he would endeavour to carry the injunction of that body into effect, and a prayer that that Being, who is supreme over all, the patron of order, the fountain of justice, and the protector, in all ages of the

world, of virtuous liberty, might continue his blessing upon this nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration, consistent with the ends of his providence.

In the preceding year, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the French republic. In his letter of credence, the object of his mission had been declared to be "to maintain that good understanding, which, from the commencement of the alliance, had subsisted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was, at once, the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." When his letter of credence was laid before the French Directory, that body announced to him their determination not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, which the French republic had a right to expect from it.

A written mandate soon after obliged Mr. Pinckney to quit the territories of that republic, and the Directory evinced their determination to wage war with the United States, by authorizing the capture of American vessels, wherever found. The pretext for this violence was that they were without a document, with which the treaty of commerce had been universally understood to dispense.

The despatches with intelligence of this indignity were no sooner received by the President, than he issued a proclamation, requiring Congress to meet on the 15th of June. When that body was assembled, the President, in a firm and dignified speech, stated the great and unprovoked outrages of the French government. After alluding to a disposition indicated in the Executive Directory to separate the people from their government, he added, "such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and all the world, that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest."

“While he would urge upon Congress to provide effectually for national defence, he intended first to attempt an accommodation. Retaining still the desire which has uniformly been manifested by the American government to preserve peace and friendship with all nations, and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbade the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, he should,” he said, “institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and should not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation on terms not incompatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation.”

In pursuance of the intention he had declared to Congress, President Adams appointed three envoys to the French republic, drawn from each of the two great political parties in the United States: General Pinckney, the head of the Federal party in South Carolina, who was still at Amsterdam, where he had repaired upon his unceremonious ejection from France; Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, an acknowledged leader of the republican school; and Mr. Marshall, of Virginia, an avowed federalist, and one of the most talented men in his native state. By their instructions, “Peace and reconciliation were to be pursued by all means compatible with the honour and faith of the United States; but no national engagements were to be impaired; no innovations to be permitted upon those internal regulations for the preservation of peace, which had been deliberately and uprightly established; nor were the rights of the government to be surrendered.”

Whilst the result of the mission to France was anxiously awaited by the American people, their minds were continually irritated by accounts of the captures, by French cruisers, of American vessels. A proposition to allow them to arm for defence, was introduced in Congress, and postponed by a very small majority.

On the 7th of July, of this year, 1797, an act was passed declaring the treaties heretofore concluded with France, no longer obligatory on the United States. The reasons assigned in the preamble, are, that those treaties had been repeatedly

violated on the part of the French government; that the just claims of the United States for the reparation of those injuries had been refused, and their attempts to negotiate an amicable adjustment of all complaints between the two nations, repelled with indignity; and that, under the authority of the French government, there was yet pursued against the United States a system of predatory violence, infracting the said treaties, and hostile to the rights of a free and independent nation.

In the spring of the year 1798, despatches were received from the American envoys in France, announcing the total failure of their mission. The Executive Directory, under a slight pretext, had delayed to accredit them as the representatives of an independent nation. While thus unacknowledged, they were addressed by certain persons, not formally authorized, but sufficiently indicating the source of their powers, who explicitly demanded money as an antecedent condition, not only of the reconciliation of America with France, but of any negotiation on the subject of differences. Besides this, a sum of money was required for the Directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. Talleyrand. The reply to this preliminary was such as became the representatives of a free republic; a decided negative. Much address was displayed by the unauthorized agents to bring over the American ministers to their views and measures; but this degrading intercourse was at length broken off by the positive refusal of the envoys to hold any farther communication with them. When their resolution was distinctly perceived, attempts were made to induce two of them voluntarily to relinquish their station; which proving of no avail, they were ordered to quit the territories of the republic. The third, Mr. Gerry, was permitted to remain, and invited to renew the discussions. The despatches excited great and general indignation; and in every part of the American republic, the language was, *Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute!*"

Vigorous measures were adopted by Congress; one, authorizing a regular army, another providing for the addition of a regiment of artillery and engineers to the permanent

establishment, and a third authorized the President to raise twelve additional regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, to serve during the continuance of the existing differences with the French republic, unless sooner discharged. He was authorized to appoint officers for a provincial army, and to organize volunteer corps. An alien law was passed for the purpose of getting rid of the many French emissaries who fomented riotous expressions of popular opposition to the measures of the government; and a sedition law followed it, which was much complained of by the Republicans, as unfriendly to the free expression of opinion. An act was passed for the protection of the commerce and coasts of the United States. In June, an act was passed to authorize the defence of the merchant vessels of the United States against French depredations. In July, the President appointed George Washington, lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the defensive army. In accepting the appointment, General Washington observed: "Satisfied that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence, who has heretofore, and so often, singularly favoured the people of the United States."

In September, 1798, Captain Murray sailed for the West Indies with the *Norfolk*, *Montezuma*, and *Retaliation*. During the cruise he encountered the French frigates *L'Insurgente* and *Volontaire*. In November, three ships were seen upon the eastern board, and almost at the same time, two others hove in sight in the west. Believing the vessels in the east to be British, and ignorant of the character of the others, Captain Murray, in the *Montezuma*, hailed Lieutenant Bainbridge, in the *Retaliation*, twelve, and ordered him to examine the suspicious vessels. Bainbridge found when too late, that they were the two French frigates *Volontaire* and *L'Insurgente*, and the former took possession of his vessel, whilst the latter, being the best sailer, pursued the *Montezuma* and *Norfolk*.

Upon reaching the deck of the enemy's vessel, Bainbridge tendered his sword, but was told to keep it, as he had not had an opportunity to defend himself. Finding *L'Insurgente* to be fast outsailing him, and fearful of the result should she alone engage the two vessels, he questioned Bainbridge in relation to the force of the two Americans. With great presence of mind, the young American answered that the ship carried twenty-eight twelve-pounders, and the brig twenty nines. This account nearly doubled the real force of the two vessels, and the captain of the *Volontaire*, being the senior officer, recalled his consort. This signal was the cause of much chagrin to the commander of *L'Insurgente*, who was so near as to have made out the force of the Americans, and to be certain of capturing them. When he rejoined the *Volontaire*, the captain expressed his surprise at the order to return, when the ruse of Bainbridge was discovered. Notwithstanding their disappointment, the French officers treated their prisoner with their accustomed urbanity, and considered his stratagem as a lawful invention of a military imagination.

The commencement of the year 1799 was signalized by a gallant action upon the seas, by which the navy of the United States began the high course for which it is so justly celebrated.

The defence of American commerce in the West Indies was entrusted to Commodore Truxtun; and perhaps no naval commander in the service could have been selected better fitted for the arduous task. Such were his vigilance and the certainty of capture, that the enemy's privateers were compelled to remain in port, and the commerce of the United States was almost as free as if there had been no war. On the 9th of February, he encountered a large ship showing American colours, when the private signals were shown, which the stranger being unable to answer, she hoisted French colours, and awaited the attack. The *Constellation* bore up, and after being thrice hailed, she opened a fire upon the enemy. The battle was now commenced in earnest, and the sails and rigging of the *Constellation* were much cut up. The



Capture of L'Insurgente.

fore-topmast was nearly cut off by a shot, and would have fallen but for the presence of mind of Midshipman Porter, afterwards Commodore Porter, who being unable to communicate the circumstance to others, cut the stoppers and lowered the yard. The superior gunnery of the Americans soon gave them the advantage, and having been raked twice, the enemy struck, to avoid such an operation a third time. She proved to be the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, one of the fastest sailers in the French navy. She carried forty guns and over four hundred men, of whom seventy were killed. The *Constellation* rated thirty-six, but carried thirty-eight guns, and a crew of three hundred and nine men, of whom three only suffered in the fight, none of whom were killed. For this action, Captain Truxtun received the greatest praise, both at home and from foreigners. The merchants of Lloyd's Coffee-House, grateful for the efficient protection he had afforded commerce by ridding the West Indies of the French cruisers, sent him a present of plate, worth six hundred guineas, and having the action with *L'Insurgente* elegantly engraved upon it.

Many captures were made by the American cruisers, who

generally sailed alone for the better protection of commerce. The frigate *United States*, Captain Barry, captured two small armed vessels; the *Portsmouth* twenty-four, the *Merrimack* twenty-four, each captured two others, and the *Eagle* fourteen added a vessel of six guns to the list of prizes. Truxtun captured four others with his squadron before the battle with *L'Insurgente*, and Captains Tingey and Decatur each contributed some four or five to the list.

After the capture of *L'Insurgente*, the *Constellation* returned to the United States to refit. In the early part of 1800, we find her upon her cruising ground, still under the command of Truxtun. On the 1st of February, he discovered a ship off the island of Guadaloupe, and hoisted English colours to induce her to run down and speak him. Finding that she did not answer his expectations, he made sail in chase, and soon found that she was a French vessel of war, of much greater force than himself. He still continued the chase; but the wind became lighter, and he was totally unable to come up with her until the evening of the 2d, when the action was commenced by the French vessel. A desperate battle ensued, which lasted from about eight o'clock until half-past one, when the enemy attempted to escape. Captain Truxtun ordered sail to be made in chase; but it was directly ascertained that the main-mast was in a falling condition. It went over the side almost immediately after, and the enemy, although so crippled that she must have surrendered if the fight had been continued, succeeded in making her escape. Truxtun soon after arrived at Jamaica, and the French vessel, which proved to be the *Vengeance*, afterwards reached Curaçoa, in a sinking condition. The *Constellation* at this time mounted thirty-eight guns, and had a crew of about three hundred men. Her opponent carried fifty-two guns, and a crew estimated at between four and five hundred souls. She would certainly have been captured but for the loss of the *Constellation's* mast, and she is even reported to have struck three times, but as the circumstance was not perceived, the Americans continued firing, and the colours were rehoisted.



Commodore Truxtun.

The *Constellation* had fourteen killed and twenty-five wounded; the *Vengeance* had, according to the statements of Pitot, her commander, fifty killed, and one hundred and ten wounded. Congress rewarded Truxtun with a gold medal for his good conduct in this action, and he was promoted to the command of the *President* forty-four, then just built; the *Constellation* was given to Captain Murray.

Commodore Talbot had been cruising for some time in the West Indies, where he conceived the design of cutting out a French letter-of-marque, which had formerly been the *Sandwich*, a British packet, from her anchorage at Port Platte, on the Spanish side of the island of St. Domingo. The enterprise was committed to the charge of Lieutenant Hull, afterwards Commodore Hull, and he succeeded in capturing the letter-of-marque, spiking the guns of a battery on shore, and getting the prize safely out of the harbour, without the loss of a man.

Though the seamen of the *Constitution* gained great praise for this action, yet they suffered severely in consequence; for the vessel was given back to her owners, and the whole prize-money due the sailors in consequence of the captures made during the cruise, was taken to pay damages.

The *Insurgent* thirty-six, having been refitted and taken into the navy, Captain Fletcher was appointed to command her, when Murray was promoted to the *Constellation*. The *Insurgent* sailed from the United States in July, and is supposed to have foundered at sea, as no tidings were ever received of her. The *Pickering* fourteen, Captain Hillar, sailed for the *Guadaloupe* station in August, and shared a similar fate.

The *Enterprise* and the *Experiment*, two small vessels of twelve guns, went to sea about this time, and were very active in taking the small cruisers of the enemy. The former captured five vessels, carrying in all six times her own weight of metal. She then fell in with the *Flambeau* privateer, and compelled her to strike, after a hard-fought battle, in which the *Flambeau* lost nearly half her crew in killed and wounded. She carried fourteen guns, and the battle was one of the warmest in the war, although the *Enterprise* lost but ten men in all. Eleven American vessels, which had been taken by the enemy, were also recaptured by this vessel in eight months, and much praise was justly accorded to her commander, Lieutenant Shaw.

The *Boston* twenty-eight, Captain Little, succeeded in taking the French corvette, *Le Berceau*, Captain Senes, mounting twenty-four guns. The battle lasted two hours, when the enemy having lost between thirty and forty men, and several officers, struck. The *Boston* lost but four killed and eleven wounded.

During the year 1800, very many of the privateers which infested the West Indian seas were taken, nearly every vessel of the American navy in those waters capturing one or two, and in some cases more, during the year. The *Experiment* succeeded in destroying several of the enemy's gun-boats. Soon after, Lieutenant Stewart received command of the

Experiment, and he captured a schooner of eight guns, called the *Deux Amis*, which was sent in. He soon after encountered a schooner and a brig, the latter of which was alone of sufficient force to have captured him. By bold manœuvring he actually succeeded in taking the schooner, whilst the brig, mistaking his force, avoided an engagement by flight. The schooner was the *Diane*, of fourteen guns and sixty men.

Soon after, he had a night action with a vessel, which was one of the hardest fought battles of the war. After a severe cannonading, the stranger struck; but Mr. Porter was refused permission to board. The battle was then renewed, and soon decided in favour of the Americans. The stranger proved to be the British schooner *Louisa Bridger*, from Bermuda. She was much cut up, and the officers and crew of the *Experiment* had some difficulty in putting her in sailing order. She had four feet of water in her hold, and her captain was wounded. The *Experiment* was much cut up in her rigging, and had one killed and several wounded. This was the last action during the war, the squadrons that were about to sail for distant stations being ordered to remain at home, and many already out being recalled.

Finding that the American government was not to be trifled with, the Directory made overtures for a renewal of the negotiations. The President appointed Oliver Ellsworth, Patrick Henry, and William Van Murray, envoys to Paris, for meeting these overtures, and concluding an honourable peace. These envoys found Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the government erected on the ruins of the Directory, and as he soon concluded an adjustment of all disputes, the threatened war was prevented.

Although the people of the United States had shown such firmness in meeting the insolence of a foreign power, they were not prepared for a domestic affliction, which was now suddenly laid upon them. Washington, the hero of the revolution, the father of his country, the defender of liberty and the rights of man, had now, to use the eloquent words of President Adams, "completed the example he set to Americans by his death."

The blackened newspapers announced to the people that he had returned his spirit to God who gave it, on the 14th of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, after an illness of twenty-four hours. Elegies were made, and orations delivered in the churches and public edifices throughout the land. On receipt of the news of his death, Congress immediately adjourned, and on assembling the next day, the House of Representatives resolved "that the Speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the remainder of the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

In an address to the President on this mournful occasion, the Senate spoke in the following manner: "Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reprov'd the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it—where malice cannot blast it."

During the interval between the sessions of Congress, the seat of government had been removed from Philadelphia to Washington, and in 1800, Congress met for the first time at the permanent seat of government. In his address, the President, after congratulating the people upon having a permanent seat of government, continued: "It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble, for the first time, in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and imploring his blessing:—May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government which adorned the great

character whose name it bears, be for ever held in admiration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever!"

The first term of Mr. Adams, as president, being about to expire, a new election was held. Some of the measures of the administration had proved unpopular, and when the result of the election was ascertained, Mr. Adams was completely in the minority. From the existing clause in the constitution, each elector voted for two men, without designating whom he wished to fill the office of president. These votes, when counted, determined the officers, the candidate having the greatest number of votes being declared Chief Magistrate. When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each had the same number of votes. The choice, therefore, was to be made by the House of Representatives; and, although the intention of the people was well known to be favourable to Jefferson as president, the federalists resolved to defeat the republicans, by the election of Burr to that office. Jefferson was known to be uncompromising in his hostility, but the federalists might hope to gain by advancing Burr. Yet when the votes were counted in the House, it was found that Jefferson and his opponent had the same number of votes. Many and anxious were the inquiries of the people about the decision of Congress; it was not until the thirty-fifth ballot that the friends of Mr. Jefferson succeeded in electing him; and on the 4th of March, 1801, he was inaugurated.

At the point which separates the administration of Adams from that of his great political opponent Jefferson, we pause to quote from Mr. Webster's and Governor Everett's Eulogies, some remarks on their respective characters and principles, made long after the political contests which divided them had ceased. Mr. Webster says:

"The comparative merits of the respective administrations of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, for a long time agitated and divided public opinion. They were rivals, each supported by numerous and powerful portions of the people, for the highest

office. This contest, partly the cause and partly the consequence of the long existence of two great political parties in the country, is now part of the history of our government. We may naturally regret, that anything should have occurred to create difference and discord, between those who had acted harmoniously and efficiently in the great concerns of the revolution. But this is not the time, nor this the occasion, for entering into the grounds of that difference, or for attempting to discuss the merits of the questions which it involves. As practical questions, they were canvassed, when the measures which they regarded were acted on and adopted ; and as belonging to history, the time has not come for their consideration.

“ It is, perhaps, not wonderful, that when the Constitution of the United States went first into operation, different opinions should be entertained, as to the extent of the powers conferred by it. Here was a natural source of diversity of sentiment. It is still less wonderful, that that event, about contemporary with our government, under the present constitution, which so entirely shocked all Europe, and disturbed our relations with her leading powers, should be thought, by different men, to have different bearings on our own prosperity ; and that the early measures adopted by our government in consequence of this new state of things should be seen in opposite lights. It is for the future historian, when what now remains of prejudice and misconception shall have passed away, to state these different opinions, and pronounce impartial judgment. In the meantime, all good men rejoice, and well may rejoice, that the sharpest differences sprung out of measures, which, whether right or wrong, have ceased with the exigencies that gave them birth, and have left no permanent effect, either on the constitution, or on the general prosperity of the country. This remark, I am aware, may be supposed to have its exception, in one measure, the alteration of the constitution as to the mode of choosing president ; but it is true, in its general application. Thus the course of policy pursued towards France, in 1798, on the one hand, and the measures of commercial

restriction, commenced in 1807, on the other, both subjects of warm and severe opposition, have passed away, and left nothing behind them. They were temporary, and whether wise or unwise, their consequences were limited to their respective occasions. It is equally clear, at the same time, and it is equally gratifying, that those measures of both administrations which were of durable importance, and which drew after them interesting and long remaining consequences, have received general approbation. Such was the organization, or rather the creation of the navy, in the administration of Mr. Adams; such the acquisition of Louisiana, in that of Mr. Jefferson. The country, it may safely be added, is not likely to be willing either to approve or to reprobate, indiscriminately, and in the aggregate, all the measures of either, or of any, administration. The dictate of reason and justice is, that, holding each one his own sentiments on the points in difference, we imitate the great men themselves, in the forbearance and moderation which they have cherished, and in the mutual respect and kindness which they have been so much inclined to feel and to reciprocate.

“No men ever served their country with more entire exemption from every imputation of selfish and mercenary motives than those to whose memory we are paying these proofs of respect. A suspicion of any disposition to enrich themselves, or to profit by their public employments, never rested on either. No sordid motive approached them. The inheritance which they have left to their children, is of their character and their fame.”

Mr. Everett says, “It was not among common and inferior minds, that these men enjoyed their sublime pre-eminence. In the body that elected Mr. Jefferson to draft the declaration of independence, there sat a patriot sage, than whom the English language does not possess a better writer, Benjamin Franklin. And Mr. Adams was pronounced by Mr. Jefferson himself the ablest advocate of independence, in a Congress, which could boast among its members such men as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and our own Samuel Adams. They

were great and among great men ; mightiest among the mighty ; and enjoyed their lofty standing in a body, of which half the members might with honour have presided over the deliberative councils of a nation.

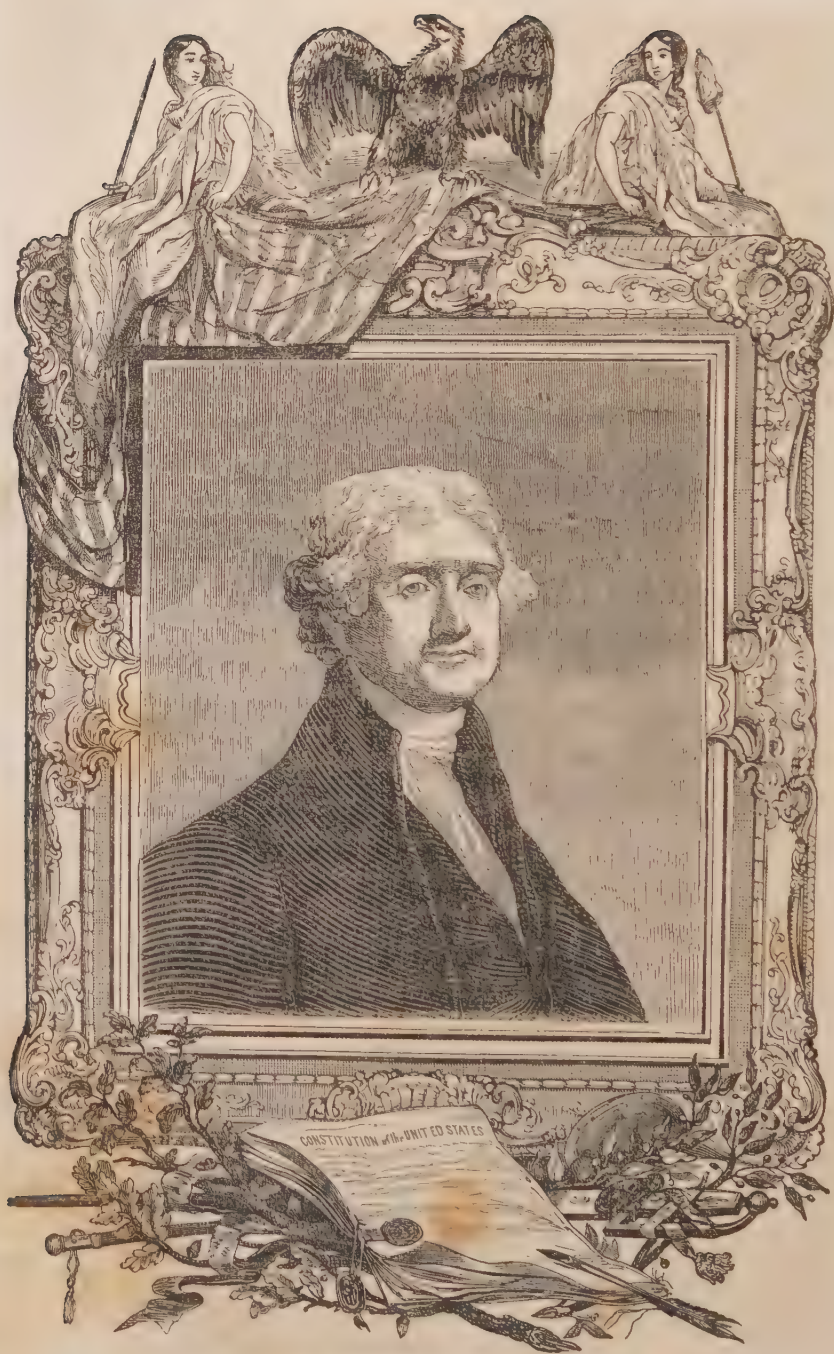
“ All glorious as their office in this council of sages has proved, they beheld the glory only, in distant vision, while the prospect before them was shrouded with darkness and lowering with terror. ‘ I am not transported with enthusiasm,’ is the language of Mr. Adams, the day after the resolution was adopted, ‘ I am well aware of the toil, the treasure, and the blood it will cost, to maintain this declaration, to support and defend these States. Yet through all the gloom, I can see a ray of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means.’ Nor was it the rash adventure of uneasy spirits, who had everything to gain and nothing to risk by their enterprise. They left all for their country’s sake. Who does not see that Adams and Jefferson might have risen to any station in the British empire ? They might have revelled in the royal bounty ; they might have stood within the shadow of the throne which they shook to its base. It was in the full understanding of their all but desperate choice, that they chose for their country. Many were the inducements, which called them to another choice. The dread voice of authority ; the array of an empire’s power ; the pleadings of friendship ; the yearning of their hearts towards the land of their fathers’ sepulchres ; the land which the great champions of constitutional liberty still made venerable ; the ghastly vision of the gibbet, if they failed ; all the feelings which grew from these sources were to be stifled and kept down, for a dearer treasure was at stake. They were anything but adventurers, anything but malecontents. They loved peace, they loved order, they loved law, they loved a manly obedience to constitutional authority ; but they chiefly loved freedom and their country ; and they took up the ark of her liberties with pure hands, and bore it through in triumph, for their strength was in Heaven.

“ And how shall I attempt to follow them through the succession of great events, which a rare and kind Providence

crowded into their lives ; how shall I attempt to count all the links of that bright chain, which binds the perilous hour of their first efforts for freedom, with the rich enjoyment of its consummation ? How shall I attempt to enumerate the posts they filled and the trusts they discharged at home and abroad, both in the councils of their native States, and of the confederation ; both before and after the adoption of the federal constitution : the codes of law and systems of government they aided in organizing ; the foreign embassies they sustained ; the alliances with powerful States they contracted, when America was weak ; the loans and subsidies they procured from foreign powers, when America was poor ; the treaties of peace and commerce which they negotiated ; their participation in the federal government on its organization, Mr. Adams as the first Vice-President, Mr. Jefferson as the first Secretary of State ; their mutual possession of the confidence of the only man, to whom his country accorded a higher place ; and their successive administrations in chief of the interests of this great republic ? These all are laid up in the annals of the country ; her archives are filled with the productions of their fertile and cultivated minds ; the pages of her history are bright with the lustre of their achievements ; and the welfare and happiness of America pronounce, in one general eulogy, the just encomium of their services."



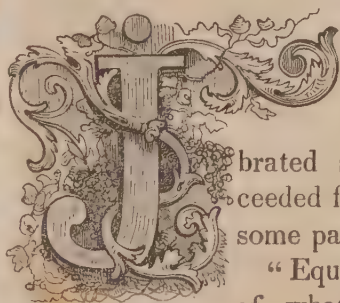






CHAPTER XLVII.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.



JEFFERSON'S Inaugural Address was worthy of the author of the Declaration of Independence.

As this is one of the most celebrated state papers which has ever proceeded from the pen of its writer, we quote some passages from it :

“Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatsoever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations of our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority,

the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of the person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus*; and trial by juries impartially selected. These are the essential principles of our government, and those which ought to shape its administration. These form the bright constellation, which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

The principal offices of the government were now transferred to members of the republican party; the important post of secretary of state being filled by Mr. Madison. Immediately preceding his retirement from office, Mr. Adams had appointed twelve new judges, in pursuance of a recent law of Congress. These were called the *midnight judiciary*, from the alleged fact that they were appointed at twelve o'clock, on the last night of the president's term of office. One of the first acts of Congress was the passage of a bill reorganizing the judiciary department, in pursuance of a recommendation from the president. By this bill, the lately appointed members of the judiciary were deprived of their offices.* Another

* Tucker's Life of Jefferson.

bill was then passed, putting the laws of naturalization on an enlarged basis.

During the year 1801, a second census of the United States was completed, showing a population of five millions three hundred and nineteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, an increase of one million four hundred thousand in ten years. The enormous increase of exports from nineteen to ninety-four millions of dollars, and the corresponding augmentation of the revenue from nearly five to nearly thirteen millions of dollars, can only be attributed to the liberal institutions of the country, which secured equal privileges to all, and gave free scope to the enterprise and industry of the inhabitants.

By the general pacification of Europe in 1801, Spain had ceded Louisiana to France, and many and anxious were the fears entertained by the people of this country. The vast extent of country embraced by the United States, necessarily implied a difference in the interests of the people of the several parts; and were the French in possession of the Mississippi, many feared that by the offer of the navigation of that river, and the use of the port and depôt of New Orleans to the Western States, they might be detached from the union.* And even if they should adhere to the union, it seemed probable that the whole country would be frequently involved in war by them, in their efforts to resist the encroachments of a powerful neighbour. This was sufficiently felt by the Americans when that territory was owned by Spain; but when they learned that the powerful and ambitious leaders of the French republic were masters of it, their worst fears seemed about to be realized. In addition to these circumstances, the country would then be bounded on three sides, north, south, and west, by the two most potent nations of the world. A fortunate turn in the affairs of Europe, judiciously improved by the President and Congress, removed the fears of the people, and put the whole territory in possession of the United States. The following extracts from a letter of the President to Mr. Livingston, American envoy at Paris, will

* Tucker.

show more clearly the new attitude of the United States and France, since the cession by Spain.

"It completely reverses all the relations of the United States," he says, "that if there was one single spot on the face of the globe, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy, that spot was New Orleans, through which three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and ere long yield more than half of our produce." That this could not be possessed by France with the same prospect of quiet as by Spain, who was both feeble and pacific, and who might ere long find it convenient to exchange it for something of more value. "But as to France, the impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us—and our character, which, though quiet, and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded; despising wealth in competition with insult or injury; enterprising and energetic as any nation on the earth—" these circumstances rendered it impossible that France and the United States could long continue friends when they meet in so irritating a position. That from the moment France took "possession of New Orleans, we must ally ourselves with Great Britain, and turn our attention to a maritime force, for which we have such ample resources; the certain consequence of which would be the destruction of any settlement she may have made on any part of this continent, and the loss of New Orleans, on the first breaking out of war in Europe." That this measure was deprecated, not from fear of France, but "from the wish to preserve peace, and our present friendly relations with her." He asks whether for "such a short-lived possession of New Orleans, France will transfer such a weight into the scale of the enemy?" He however adds, that "if she considers Louisiana as indispensable to her interests, she may still cede the island of New Orleans and the Floridas." That this cession would "in a great degree remove the causes of irritation, and at any time prevent the necessity of resorting to arrangements with Great Britain;" but that even then, "we should consider New Orleans and the Floridas as

no equivalent for the risk of a quarrel with France, produced by her vicinage." He correctly remarks in conclusion, that "every eye in the United States is now fixed on the affairs of Louisiana. Perhaps nothing since the revolutionary war has produced more uneasy sensations through the body of the nation; and in spite of our temporary bickerings with France, she 'still had a strong hold on our affections.' ""*

The attempts of Jefferson in regard to the purchase of this territory were strengthened by the action of the Spanish authorities in the town of New Orleans. In October, the Spanish intendant issued a proclamation, interdicting the citizens of the United States from the use of the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for their merchandise. The Governor of Kentucky sent to the President an account of this proceeding on the 30th of November, and on the 1st of December, a memorial to Congress on the subject was passed by the legislature of that state. As, however, the message of the President was sent to Congress before the arrival of these memorials, no mention of them was made in that document. In it the President mentions the continued pacific relations of the United States with European nations and the Indians, and a reference to the diminution of the carrying trade, consequent upon the pacification of Europe. He advises Congress to agree to a proposition made by the British Parliament, to abolish mutual discriminating duties. He merely glances at the cession of Louisiana to France, and states that if carried into effect, it would make an important change in our foreign relations. He recommends a continuation of the measures which had been commenced for the liquidation of the public debt; the construction of dry docks; and the protection of American manufactures. Much opposition was at first made to the appropriation for the dry docks; but the news from the West soon absorbed the public attention.

On the 17th of December, the President was called on by Congress for information in regard to the measures of the intendant of New Orleans; and a few days afterwards, a

*Tucker's Life of Jefferson, Vol. II.

motion was made in the House for a resolution asking for all such official documents in the possession of the President, as announced the cession of Louisiana to France, and requesting a report from the President, explaining the stipulations, circumstances, and conditions of its delivery, unless the President should deem it improper to communicate any part or the whole of his knowledge. This was opposed by the Executive party, who desired secrecy in the present state of the negotiations, and it was finally lost. There was substituted in its place, a resolution, "that this House receive with great sensibility the information of a disposition in certain officers of the Spanish government at New Orleans, to obstruct the navigation of the river Mississippi, as secured to the United States by the most solemn stipulation." Another clause expressed confidence in the faith of the Spanish government, and reliance upon the measures of the Executive in supporting the rights of the United States. To satisfy the people of the west, who wished for some show of spirited measures, James Monroe was sent to Paris, to make, in conjunction with Mr. Livingston, a treaty for the purchase of New Orleans or Louisiana.

Meanwhile, Ohio was admitted into the union, and in the next year, 1803, it contained a population of seventy-six thousand souls. The territory of the state was originally claimed by Virginia and Connecticut, and was ceded by them to the United States. In thirty years from the date of its first settlement, it contained half a million of inhabitants, and slavery was entirely abolished within its extensive and fertile dominion.

In January, 1803, the President sent a confidential message to Congress, recommending an appropriation for the expense of sending a party across the continent to the Pacific, for ascertaining with precision the geographical and mineral features of the country, as well for the advancement of science, as for obtaining an accurate knowledge of the nature of the territory designed to be purchased. Congress complied with the recommendations of the chief magistrate, and Captain



Captain Meriwether Lewis.

Meriwether Lewis was selected to command the expedition. He associated Captain Clarke with himself in the command ; and after many delays, the expedition left the banks of the Mississippi, May 14th, 1804.

The difficulty which had arisen in the choice of President, at the commencement of Mr. Jefferson's term, had determined Congress and the people generally to alter the constitution, so that a similar dilemma might not again occur. Accordingly, it was proposed that the constitution should be so amended, that the individuals severally voted for as president and vice-president should be designated by the electors, so as to take away one of the chances of an election by the House of Representatives, where, every state having an equal vote, an election may be made by the representatives of a small minority. This measure was frequently debated during the session of 1803 ; but for want of the majority of two-thirds,

required by the constitution, it did not become a law until the next year. A new measure of the President now met with much censure in the journals of the opposition. This was the sale of a part of the bank stock owned by the government, and which was supposed to result from a determination of the friends of government to oppose the rechartering of the Bank in 1809.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made to restore the District of Columbia to the States of Maryland and Virginia, on the ground that from the nature of the government of the district, its inhabitants were in a measure deprived of the elective franchise. The people of the district, however, being almost unanimously opposed to the recession, it was suffered to drop. The recommendation of the President in reference to the removal of discriminating duties, was never finally acted upon, and the system of dry docks suffered a similar fate. A bill was also passed during this session, settling a great number of claims to lands on the Mississippi, including and finally settling the much-discussed question of the "Yazoo fraud," and the "Yazoo claims."

An attempt was now made to adopt a measure which would necessarily have involved the country in a war with Spain. A resolution was offered authorizing the President to take forcible possession of the city of New Orleans, and other places in its neighbourhood, and placing the militia of the adjoining states at his disposal, to support him in maintaining the right of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi. The resolutions, however, were superseded by others of a less hostile character.

These attempts to involve the country in war, were soon put to rest, by the receipt of news from France. The most complete and unexpected success had attended the efforts of Monroe and Livingston. War had suddenly broken out again between England and France, and the latter power, fearful that her transatlantic possession would be wrested from her by her rival, readily listened to a proposal of purchasing it on the part of the United States. The extraordinary

efforts of France had nearly exhausted her treasury, and the money which would be received for the territory would greatly relieve the embarrassed state of her finances. Instead of merely purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas, they were enabled to acquire the entire territory of Louisiana, equal in extent to the whole previous territory of the United States. By the treaty of cession, sixty millions of francs, equal to eleven and a quarter millions of dollars, were to be paid to France by the United States, in six per cent. stock, three months after the delivery of the country ; and certain claims of American citizens against France were to be relinquished, which had been stipulated to be paid by the convention of September, 1800, which were estimated at twenty millions of francs, or three and three-quarter millions of dollars. French and Spanish vessels, with merchandise of their respective countries, were to be admitted into the ports of Louisiana, for twelve years, on the same footing with American vessels ; the same privilege to be extended to no other nation ; the ceded country to be admitted into the union as soon as the constitution permitted. After the expiration of twelve years, the French were to be admitted into the ports of the ceded country, on the same terms as the most favoured nations.

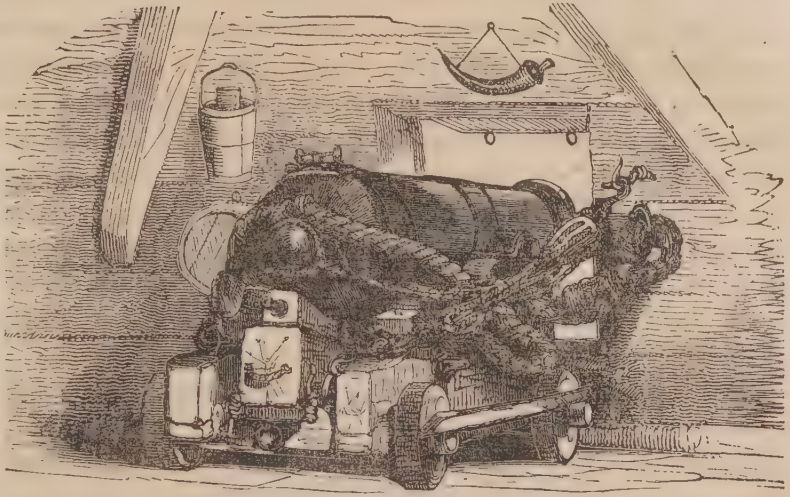
The extent of country thus acquired has been estimated at a million of square miles, containing at that time but about eighty or ninety thousand inhabitants, half of whom were slaves.*

The minority in Congress were opposed to the ratification of the treaty, on the ground that the sum paid for the territory was much larger than was necessary to secure New Orleans as a port, and the navigation of the river. The majority, however, sided with the executive, and considered the cost as trifling, compared with the permanent possession of the Valley of the Mississippi, and the advantage derived from the removal of such a troublesome neighbour as France would have proved, from the whole western frontier.

* Tucker, Hinton, Holmes.

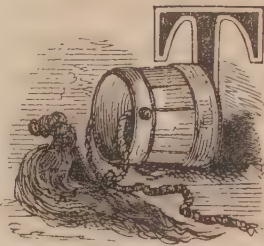
This year, there was another important acquisition of territory. The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, reduced by wars and other causes to a few individuals, who were unable to defend themselves against the neighbouring tribes, transferred its country to the United States; reserving only a sufficiency to maintain its members by agriculture. The United States stipulated to extend to them patronage and protection, and to give them certain annual aids, in money, implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. The country thus ceded extends along the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois, to and up the Ohio, and it is esteemed one of the most fertile tracts within the limits of the union.





CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE TRIPOLITAN WAR.



THE United States had added by negotiation and purchase a vast and valuable extent of territory to their former possessions, and their foreign relations had been almost universally blessed with peace. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary States, early in the year 1800, had, however, manifested a hostile disposition towards the infant republic. In his communications with the United States' consul, Mr. Cathcart, the Bashaw complained that though they had fulfilled their engagements to him with good faith, they had not paid such attentions to him as to the rulers of Algiers and Tunis. The Dey of Algiers had received a frigate, and he thought himself entitled to one; and he signified that the American government had insulted his dignity by putting him on a level with one of the ministers of the Bey

of Tunis, in that they had given each the same amount of money.

On the 5th of May, 1800, the Bashaw sent a letter to the President, demanding, in a haughty tone, the subsidies he had formerly asked at the hands of Mr. Cathcart. In a conversation with that minister, he said that he would wait six months for an answer to the letter he had sent, and that if it did not arrive in that time, or if it were of an unsatisfactory nature, he would declare *war*, and order his cruisers to capture American vessels wherever found.

On the 10th of May, 1801, he sent a messenger to Mr. Cathcart, stating that he had declared war against the United States, and that he would take down the American flag-staff, on the 14th of May. He further stated that Mr. Cathcart might remain if he would, and that he should be treated with respect; but he might depart if he chose. Mr. Cathcart replied that he would not remain after a declaration of war, but would charter a vessel to convey him from the Tripolitan dominions. On the 14th, the Bashaw fulfilled his threat, cut down the flag-staff, and war was formally declared.*

Meanwhile, Tunis and Algiers had their cupidity excited by the rich, growing, and unprotected commerce of the United States in the Mediterranean; and as Spain, Sweden, and Denmark had made them large concessions, they resolved to take sides with Tripoli in the coming contest. Though there was no certainty of war in the United States, and intelligence of the declaration of it by the Bashaw had not yet reached the government, still the character of the Barbary States was such as to render that event highly probable, and it was resolved to send out a squadron to protect our commerce. The frigates *President*, Captain James Barron; *Philadelphia*, Captain Samuel Barron; *Essex*, Captain William Bainbridge; and the schooner *Enterprise*, Lieutenant-Commandant Sterret, composed the squadron, the whole of which was put in command of Commodore Dale. He set sail on the 1st of June, and arrived off Gibraltar on the 1st of July, where he found

* Life of General Eaton.

the high-admiral of Tripoli, at anchor, in a ship of twenty-six guns, nine and six-pounders, two hundred and sixty men, and a brig of sixteen guns, with one hundred and sixty men. The Tripolitan stated that he had been out thirty-six days, was not at war with America, and had not captured any prizes. From all the information Commodore Dale could obtain at Gibraltar, Tripoli was at war with the United States. Leaving a sufficient force to blockade the port, Dale sailed for Algiers, where he delivered to Mr. O'Brien the cloth and linen which he had brought out as part of the annual present for the Dey; and from thence he sailed to Tunis, where he met Mr. Eaton, the United States consul, who expressed his opinion that the appearance of the American fleet would have a good effect upon the actions of the governments of Algiers and Tunis. He then commenced a blockade of Tripoli, when the Bashaw opened a correspondence with him, and endeavoured to explain away the differences between him and the United States; but this was productive of no satisfactory results, and the blockade was continued for some time.

On the 1st of August, Lieutenant Sterret, on his way to Malta, in the *Enterprise*, fell in with and captured the Tripoli, a Tripolitan ship of war of twelve guns, commanded by Rais Mahomet Sous. The Mohammedan made a desperate resistance, and only struck his colours after an incessant cannonading, within pistol-shot, of three hours' duration. Not a man was killed or wounded on board the *Enterprise*; but the Tripoli lost twenty of her crew killed and thirty wounded; among the latter was her captain and first-lieutenant. Her mizen-mast was shot away, and after the action the victors dismantled her of everything but a spar and an old sail. A sword was voted to Lieutenant Sterret, with the thanks of Congress, for his gallant conduct in this engagement, and one month's pay was allowed to all the other officers, seamen, and marines, who were on board the *Enterprise* when the action took place.

On the 21st of August, Dale captured a Greek ship, bound for Tripoli, laden with beans and merchandise, and having on



Commodore Dale.

board one Tripolitan officer and twenty-four soldiers, fourteen merchants, and five women. A proposal was made to the Bashaw to exchange prisoners, and he offered three Americans for the officer and soldiers, and three others for the merchants. The first part of his offer was accepted; the latter was of such a doubtful nature that the commodore sent the merchants in without demanding the Americans. As the ship's crew was very sickly, the blockade of Tripoli was abandoned, and Dale sailed for Gibraltar. When he arrived there, he found that the Tripolitan admiral had laid up both his vessels; and leaving the captain of the brig with twenty men as a guard, he sent his crews in boats to Tetuan, and with eight of his officers, sailed to Malta in an English ship.

In February, 1802, an act was passed by Congress for the protection of the commerce and seamen of the United States

* Goldsborough's Naval Chronicle.

from the depredations of the Tripolitan cruisers. This act authorized the President to equip and commission such vessels of the United States as he should deem requisite to the protection of American commerce, and to authorize their commanders to subdue, seize, and make prize of all vessels, goods, and effects belonging to the Bashaw of Tripoli, or his subjects, and to send the same into port. The President was also empowered to commission privateers for the annoying of the commerce of Tripoli. A proclamation in compliance with this act was issued by the President soon after its passage, and he proceeded to equip and send a squadron to the Mediterranean, to relieve Commodore Dale, whose crews would soon be dismissed, on account of the expiration of their term of service. The following named vessels were to be sent thither as soon as they could be equipped: the *Enterprise*, twelve, Captain Sterrett; the *Constellation*, thirty-six, Captain Murray; the *Chesapeake*, forty-four, Captain Morris; the *Adams*, thirty-two, Captain Campbell; the *New York*, thirty-two, Captain Barron; the *John Adams*, thirty-two, Captain Rodgers. The command of the whole was given to Captain Morris, the senior officer. With such a force, it was confidently expected that the commodore would be able to compel the Tripolitans to sue for peace; and he was accordingly empowered to negotiate a treaty, in conjunction with Mr. Cathcart. He arrived at Gibraltar in May, where he was detained some time in repairing the *Chesapeake*, which vessel had sprung her main-mast in her passage out. A similar accident had happened to the *Constellation*, and Captain Murray had been obliged to put into Malaga. Many of the vessels under Morris's command were a long time in fitting out, and the *John Adams* did not set sail from the United States until the latter part of September.

Upon his arrival at Gibraltar, Captain Morris found the *Essex* blockading the Tripolitan twenty-six-gun ship before mentioned. In June, the *Essex* sailed for the United States, and during the following month, the *Chesapeake* was engaged in blockading the enemy in Gibraltar, and in watching the

Emperor of Morocco, who had recently declared war.* In August, however, a treaty was concluded with him, when the Adams was left at Gibraltar, and the Chesapeake and Enterprise convoyed a fleet of merchantmen up the Mediterranean. Soon after the whole fleet was assembled at Malta, whence it set sail for the coast of Tripoli, on the 30th of January, 1803. Commodore Morris states his intention to have been to "compel the Bashaw to negotiate a peace, or to burn his corsairs, should he refuse;" but, before the squadron had cleared Malta, a gale of wind commenced and blew with extreme violence for eleven days, which rendered it absolutely impossible to approach the coast of Tripoli.

From letters of General Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, Commodore Morris learned that instead of presenting a favourable aspect in that quarter, our affairs were in a critical state; and judging that his appearance there would have a good effect, he bore away for that port. When he went on shore, he had several audiences with the Bey, which ended in nothing but personal inconvenience and ill feeling. About this time, General Eaton, finding all his attempts to negotiate with the Bey and his ministers useless, and having been plundered to a large extent, both privately and officially, resolved to return to the United States.

During the recent operations at sea, the talented minister at Tunis had been actively engaged in bringing to bear upon the Tripolitan government, a measure which threatened to overturn the whole of its internal arrangements. The following extract from a letter to Mr. Madison, then secretary of state, will best explain the nature of the design. "There is," says he, "a project in concert between the rightful Bashaw of Tripoli, now in exile at Tunis, and myself, to attack the usurper by land, while our operations are going on by sea. These two men are brothers; the younger is on the throne, having expelled the elder about eight or nine years ago. The subjects of the reigning Bashaw are in general very discontented, and ripe for revolt; they want nothing but

* Navy Chronicle.

confidence in the prospect of success. This confidence may be inspired by assurances of our determination to chastise this Bashaw for his outrages against the United States. The Bey of Tunis, though prudence will keep him behind the curtain, I have strong reasons to believe, will cheerfully promote the scheme. He is in favour of the elder brother. The idea of dethroning our enemy, and placing a rightful sovereign in his seat, makes a deeper impression on account of the lasting peace it will produce with that regency, and the lesson of caution it will teach the other Barbary States."

The practicability of effecting this design, presented itself so forcibly to the mind of Eaton, that he resolved to exert himself in behalf of the exiled monarch, who entered warmly into the project, and earnestly requested Mr. Eaton to inform him whether the Americans would admit the intervention of the Dey of Algiers, in bringing about a reconciliation, and whether he might place any reliance on the operations of the Americans in his behalf. Satisfactory answers were given to his inquiries, and the ruling Bashaw, being informed that secret operations would shortly be undertaken by the Americans in behalf of his exiled brother, actually made overtures of reconciliation to that person, offering to him the government of Derne, a Tripolitan province. The exile, being threatened by the Bey with a stoppage of his usual supplies of provisions in case of his refusal, was about to consent to the offer, but the remonstrances of Mr. Eaton deterred him from such a course, and he soon after sailed to Malta. When it was known in Tripoli that the exile Mohamet Bashaw was at Malta, the excitement was so great that the reigning Bashaw was obliged to seize and confine several chiefs of the larger villages, to prevent an insurrection. His apprehensions were so strongly excited that he called to the defence of the city such of the Arabs of his kingdom as were attached to his interests, and, to insure their fidelity, confined their chiefs within his walls.

The measures of Eaton received a great check from the open hostility manifested by the naval commanders in the

Mediterranean to his enterprise. The more immediate objects which demanded his attention were the repeated and incessant demands of the Bey upon him for a frigate of thirty-six guns, and several other exactions, no less extortionate. Finding that he could neither get rid of the demands of the Bey nor satisfy them, Mr. Eaton resolved to return to the United States. On the 10th of March, 1803, he left Tunis, and on the 30th, he sailed from Gibraltar for America, on board the merchant-ship *Perseverance*, in which he arrived at Boston, on the 5th of May, after an absence from home of four years and a half. Soon after, he repaired to the seat of government to procure an adjustment of his accounts, and also to induce the administration to adopt more vigorous measures against Tripoli, and to prevail on the government to sanction and aid in the plan of placing the rightful sovereign upon the throne of Tripoli. Meanwhile, Mr. Cathcart was appointed by the President to succeed Mr. Eaton in the consulate, and Eaton was, in April, 1804, appointed navy agent for the United States, for the several Barbary powers, with a view of aiding the operations of the squadron in the Mediterranean against Tripoli; by forwarding the rights of the exiled Hamet Bashaw upon the land. In June, he embarked on board the frigate *John Adams*, in company with the President, the Congress, the Essex, and the Constellation, all destined for the Mediterranean service, under command of Commodore Samuel Barron.*

On the 11th of March, 1803, Commodore Morris set sail from Tunis, and, after remaining a few days at Algiers, in order to inform himself of the state of that regency, he arrived at Gibraltar, March 23d. His object in going to Gibraltar was stated by himself to be to procure supplies of provisions, of which the squadron was in great want, and that he might thence send his ship, the *Chesapeake*, to the United States, in pursuance of orders received from the secretary of the navy when he was last at Malta. The *Chesapeake* being despatched, Commodore Morris transferred his flag to the New York, and

* Life of General Eaton.

set sail with the John Adams and the Enterprise for Malta on the 10th of April. The Adams had been previously sent with a convoy up the Mediterranean, and she was ordered to join the commodore off Tripoli. The New York having sustained some injury by an explosion of gunpowder, and the Enterprise requiring new coppering, he was compelled to stay some time at Malta for repairs; and on the 3d of May, the John Adams was sent for the coast of Tripoli, where she was joined by the New York and Enterprise, about the last of that month.

About this time, Commodore Morris addressed a letter to N. Nissen, the Danish consul at Tripoli, requesting him to inform the Bashaw that he was empowered by his government to negotiate with him, and if the Bashaw were disposed for peace, he was ready to commence a treaty immediately. On the 31st, the Bashaw informed him by letter, that he had empowered his trusty minister Dghies to negotiate with the commodore; his letter concluding with the following laconic words: "I do not fear war—it is my trade—I understand it better than any body."* The negotiation was conducted on shore, the first interview taking place on the 7th of June; on the 8th the Bashaw's minister informed the commodore that his master demanded two hundred thousand Spanish milled dollars, and the expenses of the war, for a peace; intimating that for a consideration, he would use his influence with his master to lower his demands. Commodore Morris offered a present of five thousand specie dollars, if a project of a treaty which had been prepared were agreed to by the Bashaw. A verbal message, informing him "that the business was at an end, and that he must depart immediately," was the answer to this proposition, and the conclusion of the negotiation.

On the 10th of June, he quitted the coast of Tripoli for Malta, with the New York and Enterprise, leaving the Adams and John Adams to blockade Tripoli. While at Malta he learned that a strong force was fitting out at Tunis, which was to form a junction with that of Algiers, previous to a

* Naval Chronicle.

declaration of war. He therefore resolved to collect the whole of his squadron and raise the blockade. On the 26th of June, the whole fleet was collected at Malta, and the commodore sailed to Messina, Naples, and Leghorn, whence, on the 13th of August, he sent the John Adams with convoy to Gibraltar, the Adams to Tunis with Mr. Cathcart, and the Enterprise back to Malta for despatches. He soon after sailed for Gibraltar; but touching at Malaga on the voyage, he received a letter of suspension, dated 21st of June. The command of the squadron was given to Commodore Rodgers, and Captain Morris was directed to return to the United States in the Adams, without delay. Upon his arrival in America, a court of inquiry was held upon his conduct, and the court reported that he was "censurable for his inactive and dilatory conduct under his command," in certain specified instances.

During the blockade of Tripoli by the John Adams, Captain Rodgers, she captured the Meshouda of twenty guns, belonging to the Emperor of Morocco, which had been originally blockaded in Tripoli. The Emperor had purchased her of the Bashaw, and sent her to Tunis for a cargo, after which she violated the blockade by attempting to enter the harbour of Tripoli.

Another gallant enterprise may be properly introduced here in the words of Captain Rodgers. "On the evening of the 27th of June, owing to some extraordinary movements of the gun-boats in the harbour of Tripoli, I was induced to believe that the Bashaw either intended to send some cruisers to sea during the night, or that he had received intelligence of some bound in. I therefore accordingly made such dispositions of the vessels engaged in the blockade, as would enable us to intercept either. On the following day, at half-past seven, A. M., observed the Enterprise with a signal flying; made sail, and stood towards her, and at eight, Lieutenant Hull informed me that a large ship was anchored close in with the beach. At half-past eight, discovered the enemy anchored in an advantageous position, in a deep, narrow bay, five or six

leagues to the eastward of the town. Nine gun-boats were also observed coming to her assistance, and a vast number of cavalry and armed men on the beach.

“About nine o’clock, a fire was opened on her from the John Adams, which was returned, and the action was maintained on both sides for forty-five minutes, when the enemy’s fire was silenced ; at which instant the crew abandoned the ship in the most confused and precipitate manner, such as her boats could not carry leaping overboard. The rocks appearing directly under our bottom and all around us, I thought it prudent to ware and lay the ship’s head off shore, and in the meantime, ordered Lieutenant Hull to stand as close in as was consistent with safety, and amuse the enemy on the beach, until our boats could be hoisted out to take possession. At a quarter before ten, discovering one of the enemy’s boats returning to the ship, whilst in the act of hoisting out ours, tacked and renewed our fire, and in a few minutes had the satisfaction to see the enemy’s colours come down, at the same time firing both their broadsides, which was accompanied by the ship’s blowing up with a tremendous explosion, which burst the hull to pieces and forced the main and mizen-masts one hundred and fifty or sixty feet perpendicularly into the air, with all the yards, shrouds, stays, &c., belonging to them. This ship was polacre rigged, mounting twenty-two guns, and the largest cruiser belonging to Tripoli, to all appearance a fine vessel ; and from the number of persons we saw abandon her, her crew must have consisted of upwards of two hundred men. All the men who returned to the ship were blown up in her, and I have reason to believe her captain was among the number, as well as many lives lost before they abandoned her, as we saw several shot-holes through her. Owing to the water being shoal a great distance seaward of the gun-boats, it was impossible to approach within gunshot of them, and they escaped to land.”

The same letter which informed Rodgers that he was to take the command of the squadron when Morris returned home, also notified him that a relief squadron was on its way

out under Commodore Preble, who was to command the whole force in the Mediterranean. The Constitution, forty-four, the Philadelphia, forty-four, the Siren, sixteen, the Vixen, fourteen, the Nautilus, twelve, and the Argus, sixteen, composed the relief squadron, and the Enterprise, twelve, was continued on the station. The whole of the fleet arrived at Gibraltar between August and the close of the year.

On the night of the 26th of August, two days after his arrival at Gibraltar, Captain Bainbridge, in the Philadelphia, fell in with a ship and brig in company, both under short canvass. Ignorant of the character of the ship, he hailed her, and learned that she was a vessel of war from Barbary. Her captain was then ordered to send his passport on board for examination. Her papers showed her to be the Moorish cruiser, Meshboha, belonging to the Emperor of Morocco, carrying twenty-two guns, and a hundred men. As Bainbridge had not disclosed the character of his own vessel, the officer of the Moorish ship stated that the brig in company was an American. Under the impression that the brig had been captured by the cruiser, Bainbridge sent his first-lieutenant on board of her, to see if she had any American prisoners. The Moor prevented the execution of this order, when it was enforced with an armed boat's crew. The deception was now at an end, and it was soon ascertained that the captain and several of the crew of the American brig Celia, the vessel in company, were confined below deck. Upon this, the captain and officers of the cruiser were ordered on board the Philadelphia, and the prize was taken in charge. Meanwhile the brig had disappeared; but on the next day she was recaptured.

From the papers and the admissions of the officers, Bainbridge learned that the ship had been cruising under the authority of the Governor of Tangier, for the purpose of capturing American vessels, to be sent to that port. That governor, however, denied the fact, and the emperor supported him in his denial, and stated that if the ship were returned, the captain should be severely punished. Commodore Preble

sailed for Tangier Bay in order to ascertain definitely whether the Emperor of Morocco intended going to war with the United States or not. He arrived there on the 6th of October, and saluted the emperor, which salute was returned. The emperor declared himself pacifically inclined towards the United States, and on the 9th, gave an order for the release of the American brig *Hannah* and her crew, which had been detained at Mogadore. In a few days afterwards, his majesty ratified and signed a treaty formally concluded between the United States and his father; and the two Moorish vessels, the *Meshboha*, and the *Meshouda*, which had been captured by the *John Adams*, were restored. The former of these vessels was valued at ten thousand, and the latter at seventeen thousand two hundred dollars; and a moiety of these sums was paid out of the national treasury to the respective captors.*

Soon after, whilst cruising off Tripoli, the *Philadelphia*, Captain Bainbridge, saw a ship in-shore, sailing westward. The *Philadelphia* made sail in chase, when the stranger hoisted Tripolitan colours and stood in shore. In following her, the frigate unfortunately ran on the rocks. Every effort was immediately made to get her off, either by driving her over them, or by backing her off; but all was ineffectual. The bow-anchors were cast away, the water started in the hold, most of the guns thrown overboard, and the fore-mast cut away. The ship still remained immovable, and the Tripolitan gun-boats now came out to attack her. An unequal combat ensued for five hours, when Bainbridge, finding that he could neither get the vessel off, nor defend her from the gun-boats, was compelled to haul down his flag. The vessel was soon after boarded by the Tripolitans, who commenced a deliberate system of plunder and robbery, which the Americans could not resist. The captain and crew were taken on shore, and the officers were lodged under parole in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Cathcart. Notwithstanding the unfortunate occurrence, Captain Bainbridge rendered his country nearly as efficient service during his captivity, by his

* Goldsborough's Naval Chronicle.

valuable suggestions to Commodore Preble, as if he had been in his former command.

After concluding the treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, Commodore Preble sailed to Gibraltar, and thence sent the New York and John Adams to the United States. On the 12th of November, he declared Tripoli to be in a state of blockade, and on the 24th he received news of the loss of the Philadelphia. This news was confirmed at Malta, on the 27th, by a letter from Bainbridge. On the 23d of December, cruising off Tripoli, in company with the *Enterprise*, he captured the Turkish ketch *Mastico*, which was afterwards called the *Intrepid*, and taken into the service. On the 26th, a severe gale of wind caused him to sail to Syracuse, and on the 3d of February, 1804, the *Siren* and the *Intrepid* sailed for Tripoli, with orders to burn the Philadelphia. The *Intrepid* carried four guns and seventy-five men. Owing to the heavy gales usual about this season of the year, the 16th had arrived before Decatur was justified in making the attempt. The *Siren* having taken the best position to cover the retreat of the *Intrepid*, Decatur entered the harbour at 7 o'clock, P. M., and boarded and took possession of the Philadelphia. At this time, all the guns of the frigate were mounted and charged, and she lay within half-gun-shot of the Bashaw's Castle and his principal battery. Two Tripolitan cruisers were lying within two cables' length, on the starboard quarter, and several gun-boats within half-gun-shot on the starboard bow, and all the batteries on shore were opened on the assailants. About twenty of the Tripolitans on board of the Philadelphia were killed; a large boat full escaped, many leaped into the water, and one man was wounded and made prisoner. After gaining possession of the frigate, Decatur set fire to the store-rooms, gun-room, cock-pit, and berth-deck, and he, with his officers and men, remained on board until the flames had issued from the ports of the gun-deck, and the hatchways of the spar-deck, and they did not shove off the *Intrepid* until the fire had spread to her rigging and tops.* This gallant achievement

* Naval Chronicle.

was effected without the loss of a man killed, and but one slightly wounded.

Well did the hero deserve the captain's commission which was almost immediately awarded him, and Congress requested the President to present to Stephen Decatur, a sword, and to each of the officers and crew of the United States ketch *Intrepid*, two months' pay, as a testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress, of the gallantry, good conduct, and services of Captain Decatur, the officers and crew of the said ketch, in attacking the harbour of Tripoli, and destroying a Tripolitan frigate of forty-four guns.

When the *Siren* and *Intrepid* rejoined Commodore Preble, he prepared to set sail, and on the 3d of March arrived at Malta, and soon after sailed for the coast of Tripoli. On the 27th, a flag was sent in with letters for the officers, and he continued standing off and on the Barbary coast until the 3d of May, when he set sail for Naples. On the 9th he arrived there, and engaged gun-boats to assist in his intended attack on the harbour of Tripoli. He left Naples on the 19th for Messina, where, in compliance with an order of the King of Naples, he was furnished with two bomb-vessels and six gun-boats. On the 6th of June he reached Malta with the boats, and on the 9th sailed thence for the coast of Tripoli. On the 13th, an attempt was made to ransom the American prisoners, but without success; and the utmost that they were enabled to do for their captive friends was the completion of an arrangement by which supplies were admitted for them. On the 1st of April, Commodore Preble sailed to Tunis, where he found Captain Decatur blockading a dismantled Tripolitan polacre. The Bey of Tunis was extremely dissatisfied, and demanded that he should be put on the same footing with Algiers, and now required that the commodore should land and satisfy him for some alleged encroachment. Preble refused to comply with this demand, and sailed out of the harbour.

On the 21st of July, the squadron was collected off Tripoli, It consisted of the *Constitution*, forty-four, twenty-four

pounders; Argus, eighteen, twenty-four pounders; Siren, eighteen, eighteen pounders; Vixen, sixteen, six pounders; Enterprise, fourteen, six pounders; six gun-boats, carrying each one brass twenty-six pounder; two bomb-ketches, each carrying a thirteen-inch mortar; and the Scourge, a captured polacre, taken into the service. The whole number of men in the fleet was one thousand and sixty. The batteries on shore were judiciously constructed, mounted one hundred and fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and were defended by twenty-five thousand Arabs and Turks; the harbour was protected by nineteen gun-boats, two galleys, two schooners of eight guns each, and a brig of ten guns.

The unfavourable weather prevented an attack until the 3d of August, when, says Commodore Preble, in his despatches, "at noon, we were between two and three miles from the batteries, which were all manned. At half-past twelve, I wore off shore, and made the signal to come within hail, when I communicated to each of the commanders my intentions of attacking the enemy's shipping and batteries. The boats were immediately manned, and prepared to cast off in two divisions of three each; Captain Somers, Lieutenant J. Decatur, and Lieutenant Blake, commanding the three first respectively; Captain S. Decatur, Lieutenants Bainbridge and Trippe, the second division.

The two bombards were commanded by Lieutenant-Commandant Dent and Lieutenant Robinson. At half-past one o'clock, the squadron stood for the batteries; at two, the gun-boats were cast off. At half-past two, signal for battle, at fifteen minutes before three, signal for general action. It was commenced by throwing shells from the bombs into the town. A tremendous fire was immediately opened from the whole of the enemy's guns, and returned by the squadron, whilst Captain Decatur, in the second division of gun-boats, advanced to board the eastern division of the enemy, consisting of nine gun-boats. As they advanced, grape and musket-balls were fired, which were soon succeeded by the free use of the pistol, sabre, pike, and tomahawk. Captain Somers was in such a



Bombardment of Tripoli.

dull sailer, that he was unable to second Decatur's attack ; but bearing down upon the western division of five gun-boats, he defeated and drove them on the rocks in a shattered condition.

Lieutenant Blake was kept to windward during the whole of the action, and on that account many of the enemy's gun-boats escaped, which might by his aid have been taken. Lieutenant James Decatur, in the remaining vessel of the first division, engaged one of the largest of the enemy's boats, and compelled her to strike her colours ; but as he was boarding her to take possession, the cowardly captain of the surrendered boat drew a pistol and shot him through the head, by which baseness he was enabled to escape under cover of the other boats.

Captain Decatur, after having boarded and carried one of the enemy of superior force, took his prize in tow, bore down and engaged a second, which was also obliged to surrender. The gallant officer narrowly escaped death twice during this

action ; once by his own presence of mind, and again by the devotion of one of his crew, who, being wounded in both hands, received a blow upon his own head, which was intended for that of Decatur. These two prizes had thirty-three officers and men killed, nineteen badly wounded, and twenty-seven taken prisoners.

Lieutenant Trippe, in the last of Decatur's division, ran alongside of one of the enemy's large boats, which he attempted to board ; but his boat falling off too rapidly, himself, Midshipman John D. Henley, and nine men only, were enabled to reach the Tripolitan deck. They had before them victory or death, with the fearful odds of eleven to thirty-six. The Turkish commander defended his vessel with the utmost bravery, and Lieutenant Trippe received eleven wounds from him before he was mortally wounded, by the aid of Henley. The American seamen swept the deck of their enemies, and in a few minutes the colours were hauled down. Fourteen of the enemy were killed and twenty-two made prisoners, seven of which were badly wounded.

Lieutenant Bainbridge had his lateen-yard shot away before he was enabled to close with the enemy ; but he galled them by a steady and well-directed fire, within musket-shot ; indeed he pursued the enemy until his boat grounded under the batteries—she was fortunately soon got off. The bomb-vessels kept their station, though covered with the spray of the sea occasioned by the enemy's shot ; they were well conducted by Lieutenants Dent and Robinson, who kept up a constant fire from the mortars, and threw a great number of shells into the town.

The gun-boats made two ineffectual attempts to recover the prizes ; but the American gun-boats were too well supported by the shipping, and they were obliged to desist. The fire of the Constitution produced a great effect, both on shore and on the water. Wherever the guns were turned, the enemy's batteries were silenced, and the flotilla thrown into disorder. Her grape-shot made great havoc among the men, and she was several times within two cables' length of the

rocks and three of the batteries. At half-past four, the signal was given for the flotilla to retire from the action, and in fifteen minutes the light vessels, gun-boats, and prizes, were all out of reach of the enemy's shot, and they were taken in tow. Lieutenant Decatur was the only person killed throughout the day, and in him the service lost a valuable officer. There were thirteen wounded, among whom were Captain Decatur and Lieutenant Trippe.*

On the 5th of August, Commodore Preble prevailed upon a French privateer to take into the harbour fourteen very badly-wounded Tripolitans, and a letter to the prime minister concerning the mutual treatment of prisoners. On the 7th she came out again with a letter from the French consul stating that the attack of the 3d had disposed the Bashaw to make peace on reasonable terms. He further remarked that the Bashaw wished a boat to be sent with a flag of truce to the rocks; but as the white flag had not been hoisted at the Bashaw's castle, it was declined.

At 9 A. M., the squadron stood into the harbour to silence a seven-gun battery, and the captured gun-boats which had been refitted, were now manned by some of the sailors of the fleet. The wind would not suffer the Constitution to engage; but the gun-boats were successful. One of the prize-boats, however, was blown up, and about twelve of the crew were killed, among whom were Lieutenant James R. Caldwell and Midshipman Dorsey, both excellent officers. On the second attack, forty-eight shells, and five hundred twenty-four pound shot, were thrown into the town and batteries.

Commodore Preble now learned from Captain Chauncey that a reinforcement was coming out under Commodore Barron, who was to take the chief command. Owing to a want of gun-carriages, the John Adams was not in a condition for service, and Commodore Preble determined to wait the arrival of the frigates under Commodore Barron, previously to making a final attack on Tripoli. Meanwhile, the bombs and gun-boats were receiving supplies of ammunition and stores.

* Naval Chronicle.

Finding that the expected frigates did not arrive, the commodore resolved to bombard the town once more. The weather proved unfavourable until the night of the 24th of August, when an attack was commenced, at two o'clock, A. M., and shot and shells were thrown into the town until daylight. The boats were then hauled off.

At half-past one, A. M., on the morning of the 28th, a warm action took place between thirteen of the enemy's gun-boats, supported by their batteries, and the gun-boats of the squadron, accompanied by the *Siren*, *Argus*, *Vixen*, *Nautilus*, and *Enterprise*. During this action, one of the enemy's gun-boats was sunk, and two more, disabled, ran on shore to prevent sinking. The Bashaw's castle, the town, and all the batteries, sustained much damage from these repeated attacks.

A hot cannonading was kept up throughout the 3d of September, and the enemy's gun-boats were compelled to retreat. The Bashaw's castle suffered much from the shot and shells which were fired into it throughout the day. Many of the guns in the other batteries were also dismounted and silenced.

A plan had long been under consideration of sending an infernal, or fire-ship, into the harbour, to destroy the flotilla, and to throw a quantity of shells into the town. The ketch *Intrepid* was fitted out for this expedition, and Captain Somers volunteered his services, assisted by Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel. One hundred barrels of powder and a hundred and fifty shells, were put in her hold, and a fusee was provided, by which it might be fired and allow the gallant crew time to escape. She parted from the squadron about eight o'clock, and was convoyed by the *Argus*, *Vixen*, and *Nautilus* to within a short distance from the batteries, from which several shot were fired at her. A few minutes after, when she had apparently nearly gained the place of destination, she suddenly exploded, without having first fired a room filled with splinters and other combustibles, which were intended to deter the enemy from boarding, whilst the fire was communicating to the fusees which led to the magazine. The effect of the explosion awed their batteries into profound silence; not a

gun was afterwards fired for the night. The shrieks of the inhabitants informed the squadron that the town was thrown into the greatest terror and consternation by the explosion of the magazine, and the bursting and falling of shells in all directions. The officers of the squadron looked long for the signal by which they were to be assured of the safety of the heroic adventurers; but the signal was never given. On the break of day, it was discovered that one of the gun-boats was missing entirely, and the Tripolitans were seen hauling the wrecks of three others on shore. No vestige of the *Intrepid* was to be seen.

The following are the conjectures of Commodore Preble upon the probable fate of the unfortunate Somers. "They are founded," says he, "upon a resolution which Captain Somers and Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel had formed, neither to be taken by the enemy, or suffer him to get possession of the powder on board the *Intrepid*. They expected to enter the harbour without discovery, but had declared if they should be disappointed, and the enemy should board them before they reached the point of destination, in such force as would leave them no hopes of a safe retreat, that they would put a match to the magazine, and blow themselves and their enemies up together—determined, as there was no exchange of prisoners, that their country should never pay ransom for them, nor the enemy receive a supply of powder through their means."*

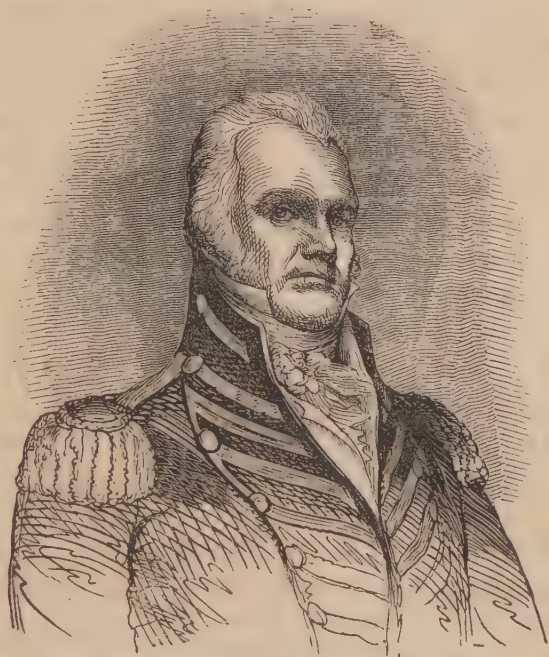
On the 10th of September, the United States ship *President*, and the *Constellation*, hove in sight, and as Commodore Barron was in the former vessel, the command was transferred to him, and Commodore Preble requested leave to return home in the *John Adams*, which was granted; and he arrived at New York, on the 26th of February, 1805.

Meanwhile, some evidences of a hostile disposition being apparent in the operations of the Emperor of Morocco, Mr. Simpson, the consul, addressed a letter to Commodore Barron, informing him of the circumstances. He determined to show his force at Tangier, and the Congress and the *Essex* were

* Goldsborough's Naval Chronicle.

sent to that port. Soon after, the Congress went to Tripoli, and the Essex was left on the Gibraltar station. Captain Rodgers blockaded the city until October 25th, when he sailed for Syracuse, leaving the Constellation and the Nautilus to keep up the blockade. On the 27th of November, Rodgers sailed for Gibraltar in the Constitution, for the double purpose of refitting her rigging and recruiting her crew. Movements of the Emperor of Morocco, about this time, indicated his intention of engaging in the war upon a favourable opportunity, and Rodgers determined to keep a vigilant watch over him. When he sailed from the station, he left Captain Stewart, in the Siren, in his place, and he rejoined the squadron at Malta, on the 25th of February, 1805. In May, Commodore Samuel Barron, who was unable to perform the duties of his station, on account of ill health, transferred the command of the squadron to Captain Rodgers, who soon after convoyed Colonel Lear, the American consul, to the Tripolitan coast, in hopes that the Bashaw might now be inclined to treat for peace. A communication was opened with the shore, and the Spanish consul at Tripoli came on board the Constitution, to negotiate on the part of the Bashaw.

Whilst these operations were in progress on the sea, General Eaton had made a successful campaign on the land, and at the time the treaty was signed, actually threatened to drive the reigning Bashaw from the throne. Upon his return to the Mediterranean, he learned that Hamet Bashaw, the exile, was at Alexandria, protected by an Egyptian bey. After spending some time in the Mediterranean, he sailed in the United States brig Argus, Captain Hull, for Alexandria, where he arrived on the 25th of November, 1804. On the last day of November he sailed for Rosetta, from Alexandria, where he arrived on the following day. On the 7th of December, he reached Cairo, and in several conferences with the Viceroy, that functionary was prevailed upon to grant a letter of amnesty, and permission to pass the Turkish army, which was besieging the Mamelukes, whom the exiled Bashaw had joined, in the village of Minuet, in Upper Egypt. Despatches were



General Eaton.

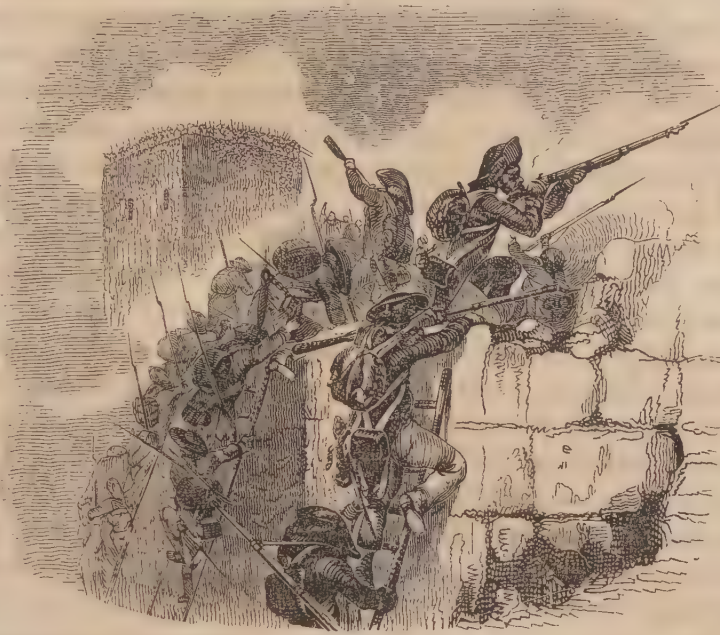
sent to Hamet Bashaw, and Eaton busied himself in the meantime with looking for exiles from Tripoli, who would be inclined to join the expedition. From one of them he learned that Joseph Bashaw had circulated the report that his brother had been assassinated.

After much difficulty in meeting the Bashaw, General Eaton prepared to march from Alexandria to Derne, across the Libyan desert, with five hundred men, one hundred of whom were Christians, recruited in Egypt.

Leaving Alexandria on the 3d of March, this little army travelled through the desert to Bomba, where it arrived on the 15th of April. During the march, the Arab chiefs who had sided with Hamet Bashaw, and who were but little better than bands of robbers, frequently deserted from the main body, on account of the refusal of General Eaton to satisfy

their exorbitant demands for money over their stipulated reward. They generally, however, returned to the encampment within a day or two, hoping perhaps to make up the loss they sustained by General Eaton's firmness, by the spoils they expected from their enemies. For fifteen days previously to their arrival at Bomba, they had been destitute of bread, subsisting upon rice collected in the line of march. On the 22d, the *Argus* and *Hornet* appeared in sight, saw and answered the signals of Eaton, and supplied his army with bread and other provisions. Upon receipt of these, the Arab sheiks found no difficulty in moving forward; and on the 25th of March, the army took post on an eminence in the rear of Derne. Several chiefs came out of the town to Hamet Bashaw to convince him of their fealty, and from them they learned that of three factions in the town, one, well armed, and in possession of a strong fortification, was in the interest of Hamet. On the 26th, terms of amity were offered the Governor of Derne, by a letter from Eaton, which he simply answered by the words, "My head, or yours."

In the morning of the 27th, the battle was commenced by the Tripolitans firing upon the *Argus*, *Hornet*, and *Nautilus*, which had stood in to second the attack. The *Hornet* and *Nautilus* stationed themselves so as to fire upon the batteries, whilst the *Argus* advanced until she was able to throw her twenty-four pound shot into the town. In a little while the batteries were silenced, the Tripolitan cannoniers leaving their guns to join their countrymen in the attack upon the American part of Hamet's troops. One field-piece only was here worked by the Christians against a battery of the barbarians. This was disabled by the rammer being shot away, and the enemy were manifestly gaining the advantage, when Eaton resolved to charge with the fifty men under his command. Though the Tripolitans numbered seven to one of their opponents, they fled, and their battery was soon surmounted by the American flag, and turned against its late possessors. In this charge Eaton was wounded in the wrist, but Lieutenant O'Bannon gallantly led on the troops.



Capture of Derne.

This success was soon followed by the capture of the Bey's palace, and the town was in possession of the Americans. The Bey took refuge in a Mahometan sanctuary ; he however managed to escape to the Turkish force, which had marched from Tripoli to the relief of Derne, and which was but fourteen hours' march from that town when the Americans fortunately gained possession of it. This army numbered about a thousand men, exclusive of the fugitives from Derne, and a battle took place between it and Hamet's army on the 13th of May. They commenced the action by an attack on about a hundred of Hamet's cavalry, who warmly disputed the ground, but were compelled to give way to superior numbers. The enemy succeeded in forcing their way to the Bey's palace, when a fire was opened upon them from the batteries, and they retreated. Hamet's forces now came forward and annoyed them, and they also suffered much from the fire of

the shipping, to which they became exposed. The enemy lost about eighty-five in killed and wounded, and the Bashaw twelve. Several of the Arab chiefs in the enemy's camp were much dissatisfied, and two of them deserted to the army of Hamet Bashaw. From this time until the 10th of June, the enemy lay encamped within sight of Derne, frequently making feints of attack and skirmishing with the Bashaw's troops. On that day, the enemy attempted to drive a party of Hamet's cavalry from a pass they occupied in the heights near Derne, and upon resistance, reinforcements were successively added to both sides. In the end, the exiled sovereign gained a decisive victory, without any other aid than his own troops afforded. The battle was fought in the Barbary fashion, the Americans and Europeans being but little more than spectators of the fight. The enemy lost about fifty killed, and seventy wounded. Hamet had about sixty killed and wounded in all; and had his men been provided with bayonets, the cavalry of his brother's army would have been severely handled.

On the 11th of June, the *Constellation* anchored in the road, and sent letters on shore for General Eaton, from Commodore Rodgers and Colonel Lear, informing him of the peace. In December, 1804, the Spanish consul at Tripoli had addressed a letter to Colonel Lear, stating that the Bashaw would make a treaty, on condition that he should receive two hundred thousand dollars for peace and ransom, and that the Tripolitans in the power of the United States should be given up to him gratis. When the present negotiation was fairly commenced on board the *Constitution*, the Spanish consul relinquished all pretensions on the part of the Bashaw to a payment for peace, and resigned all demands upon the United States, claiming, however, the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars as a ransom for the American prisoners, and that his subjects should be delivered gratis. This was rejected, and Colonel Lear gave his terms in writing, and demanded an immediate decision upon them. He proposed, as the Americans had one hundred of the Bashaw's subjects,

and he three hundred Americans, that they should be exchanged, man for man, and the Bashaw receive sixty thousand dollars for the two hundred in his favour. After this arrangement should be completed, a treaty of peace, upon honourable and mutually beneficial terms, should be made.

With these conditions the Spanish consul went on shore, and on the 30th of May, he again returned on board and urged Colonel Lear to go on shore, where, he said, everything would be satisfactorily arranged. This was immediately refused, and the Spanish consul went on shore on the morning of the 31st, and returned at noon, stating that the Bashaw had agreed to the release of the prisoners on Colonel Lear's terms; but he would not deliver them up until his subjects were ready to be delivered to him.

Colonel Lear now declined negotiating any further with the Spanish consul, who ardently urged him to go on shore and complete the treaty there. He gave the Bashaw twenty-four hours to agree to his propositions or reject them, and M. Nissen, the Danish consul, was appointed to negotiate for the Bashaw. He came on board at four in the afternoon of the 2d of June, and stated that the Bashaw had consented to the articles; but wished one to be introduced, expressing the determination of the Americans to withdraw their forces from Derne, and endeavour to persuade his brother Hamet to leave Tripoli. Colonel Lear readily agreed to the first part of this article; but said that if Hamet were to withdraw from the territory of Tripoli, he must have returned to him his wife and children, who had been detained by Joseph Bashaw for years. This demand was unexpected, and much disliked by the Bashaw, who was finally obliged to agree, with the proviso, that time should be allowed for the said delivery. At four, P. M., M. Nissen returned on board the *Constitution* with the seal of Joseph Bashaw to the articles. When the news of the treaty was received at Derne, the Americans and their Christian allies, with Hamet, were immediately taken on board of the *Constellation*. The Arabs, and most of the citizens of Derne fled to the deserts, to escape from the vengeance of the



Commodore Bainbridge.

Bashaw. The remaining inhabitants, knowing the character of the Bashaw, refused his offer of amnesty, and resolved to defend their homes to the last.

The frigate *President* sailed from Syracuse on the 7th of July, 1805, and arrived in the United States on the 6th of August, having on board the released prisoners. A salute of twenty-one guns fired from the batteries of the Bashaw, and answered by the *Constitution*, closed the war with Tripoli.

"This, I believe," says Colonel Lear, in a letter to the secretary of state, "*is the first instance where a peace has been concluded by any of the Barbary States on board a ship of war!*" I must here pay a tribute of justice to Commodore Rodgers, whose conduct during the negotiation on board was mixed with that manly firmness, and evident wish to continue the war, if it could be done with propriety, while he displayed the magnanimity of an American, in declaring that we fought not

for conquest, but to maintain our just rights and national dignity, as fully convinced the negotiators, that *we did not ask, but grant, peace!**

To General Eaton the treaty gave great dissatisfaction, as he was fully persuaded that the advantages which his gallant little army had gained, might have been made instrumental in restoring the exiled Bashaw to his just rights, and insuring a peace on terms far more honourable to the United States.

Among the most auspicious consequences of this treaty was the release of Commodore Bainbridge, and his brave officers and crew. After a painful captivity of upwards of nineteen months, they were restored to liberty, and if not at once to their country, at least to a theatre, the decks of United States men of war, where their nation's honour had always been gallantly sustained. The government of the United States, although not so attentive to the interests of the Ex-Bashaw as might have been expected, were not wholly unmindful of them during the negotiation. A complete amnesty, and a suitable provision for life, were insisted on, and obtained from the reigning Bashaw.

* Naval Chronicle.





CHAPTER XLIX.

CLOSE OF JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.



DURING the year 1804, the administration acquired an extensive territory, east of the Mississippi, from the tribe of Delaware Indians. Situated between the Wabash and Ohio, and commanding the navigation of the latter river for three hundred miles, this formed one of the most valuable tracts in possession of the Indians. Formerly, all the western produce had to pass a very large Indian border on the Ohio; but this tract, with that previously acquired from the Kaskaskias, put the government in possession of almost the whole boundary of that stream, from Lake Erie to the Mississippi. In addition to the advantages of position, this region was celebrated for being one of the most fertile in the west; and by a fair purchase, the Piankeshaws relinquished

a claim they had upon the land, and the United States were fully confirmed in the possession.

In the course of this year, the President, in conformity to an act of Congress, erected into one district, called the district of Mobile, all the shores, waters, and inlets of the bay and river of Mobile, and of the other waters emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, east of the river Mobile, and west of it to the Pascaguala, inclusive, for the collection of duties on imposts and tonnage, and Fort Stoddert was established as the port of entry and delivery for the district.

In July of the year 1804, occurred the memorable duel between General Hamilton and the Vice President, Aaron Burr. Certain offensive publications having appeared in one of the journals of the day, Colonel Burr suspected Hamilton of being the author, and in a letter addressed to him, required his denial or acknowledgment of the fact. Hamilton refused to give either, and Burr challenged him. The challenge was accepted, and Hamilton fell at the first fire. Of great talents, powerful eloquence, and gentlemanly conduct, Hamilton had acquired the universal respect of all the people of the States; he was the idol of one of the political parties, and his sudden death caused a great sensation throughout the United States, New York city paying extraordinary honours to his memory.

On the 4th of March, 1805, Mr. Jefferson entered upon his second term of office, he having received one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes out of the whole number, one hundred and seventy-six. Burr was succeeded in the Vice-Presidency by George Clinton of New York. Napoleon had at this time laid most of the European powers at the feet of France. England still maintained a superiority upon the ocean, and the vessels of every hostile nation were soon expelled therefrom. The advantages of American neutrality here became apparent. The whole carrying trade from France and her dependencies to the ports of the British Empire, and from the latter to the French possessions, was in American bottoms, and the flags of England and the United States were alone seen upon the ocean.

Such advantages as these were too great to be unexposed to British envy. In the early part of the war, American vessels, carrying the produce of French colonies, were captured and condemned by the British as lawful prizes; and in May, 1806, several of the largest French ports were declared to be in a state of blockade, though not actually invested by British cruisers; and thus the Americans were again exposed to capture. By the famous Berlin decree of November, 1806, the British islands were declared by Napoleon to be in a state of blockade, and in consequence, all neutral vessels attempting to trade with them, were exposed to capture.

In addition to these restrictions, which excited the loud complaints of the American merchants, for the protection of their government, Great Britain claimed a right to search for and seize English sailors, even on board of neutral vessels, on the high seas. Under this pretence, many American citizens were taken from their friends, and forced to do duty in British vessels, in various parts of the world. Ever since the recognition of independence, Great Britain had exercised this pretended right, and every year added to the aggravation of the abuse, against which Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, had in vain remonstrated.

June, 1807, marked the occurrence of one of these outrages, which excited the most lively indignation in America, and led to the most important consequences. On the 6th of March, a letter had been sent to Captain Decatur, by the British consul at Norfolk, requiring him to deliver up three seamen who had entered the United States' service after deserting from the British ship *Melampus*. Upon inquiring into the circumstances, Commodore Barron, on board whose ship, the *Chesapeake*, the men then were, found them all to be native American citizens. On the 22d of the ensuing month, the *Chesapeake* left the Capes for the Mediterranean, and passed through the British squadron, anchored in Hampton Roads, without molestation. Some hours after, however, the British ship *Leopard* of fifty guns, overtook her, when her captain informed Commodore Barron that he had a despatch to deliver

from the admiral, Berkeley. The Chesapeake was hove-to, her commander supposing it was a despatch for Europe, whereupon Captain Humphries sent an officer on board with a letter, inclosing an order from the admiral to take out of the Chesapeake three men, said to be deserters from H. B. M. vessel Melampus. Barron replied by letter that he knew nothing of such men being on board his ship, and that he could not allow his crew to be mustered by any one but her own officers.

On the return of the officer to the Leopard, that vessel ranged alongside, and commenced a heavy fire, which the Chesapeake was totally unprepared to return, from the circumstance of her guns and decks being lumbered with sails and spars, and her men being away from their quarters when the attack commenced. After the lapse of thirty minutes, during which the Leopard continued firing incessantly, Commodore Barron struck his flag, and the firing ceased. A boat from the Leopard came on board, and four men were taken out of the Chesapeake, which vessel was much cut up in her hull, rigging, and spars. Three of her men were killed, and eighteen wounded. After this occurrence, she returned to Hampton Roads.

The feeble resistance of the Chesapeake added to the indignation which was naturally felt at this outrage on the rights of nations, and town-meetings were held all over the country. The keen resentment excited by the occurrence was thus expressed, and the President was assured of their support in all retributive measures. The inhabitants of Norfolk and Portsmouth passed unanimous resolutions, discontinuing all communication between the shore and the British ships, and two hundred hogsheads of water, which were on board a schooner for the use of the squadron, were destroyed by the people of Hampton.

The English Captain Douglas was disposed to retaliate these measures, and wrote to the Mayor of Norfolk to state that if their resolution of the 29th of June, prohibiting the communication of the British consul with the squadron, was

not annulled, he would stop every vessel cleared from Norfolk or bound to it, as they must know he had the power. The mayor answered his letter on the next day, July 4th, in a spirited manner, stating that they neither sought nor shunned hostilities, and that the day would fully prove to the British that the American people were not to be intimidated by threats. One of the leading men of Norfolk was the bearer of this letter, and Captain Douglas was permitted to correspond by letter with the consul, having first disclaimed all intention of menace or hostility.*

The President issued a proclamation on the 2d of July, forbidding all communication with British armed vessels, unless in distress, or conveying despatches. All British vessels were interdicted from the harbours and waters of the United States, and two thousand militia were ordered to Norfolk to defend that place, should it be attacked. Beside these, one hundred thousand men were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, should occasion require their services, and Congress was summoned to meet on the 26th of October.

The American minister in London was instructed to demand satisfaction for the outrage from the British government, and the act of Admiral Berkeley was disavowed. The conduct of the admiral did not, however, meet with punishment from the British government; so far from it, he was soon after appointed to a more important situation.

The late Vice-President of the United States, Aaron Burr, finding that he had lost ground in the ranks of one political party, by lending himself to the purposes of the other, endeavoured to go from the vice-presidency to the gubernatorial chair of New York. With the aid of the federalists and such of their opponents as still supported him, he might have been elected; but General Hamilton having entered, threw his whole influence into the opposite scale. Being irritated with this opposition, Burr had quarrelled with Hamilton, and, as we have seen, killed him in a duel. His prospects were for ever ruined in New York by this event, and he is charged with

*Tucker's Life of Jefferson.

having attempted to separate the Western States from the union. This he soon found impracticable, and he then endeavoured to persuade the people of the west to invade Mexico. This latter scheme met with some encouragement; but his designs were soon communicated to the government. A confidential agent was sent to the west, for the purpose of acquiring information, and putting a stop, in concert with the governors of the states, to whatever he might undertake. General Wilkinson was ordered to New Orleans, from whence he soon transmitted to Washington an account of the whole enterprise. Burr designed to seize on the Bank at New Orleans, and then immediately to invade Mexico. Upon receipt of this, the first authentic information, the President issued a proclamation, November 27th, cautioning all citizens against joining in the enterprise; and orders were also sent to points on the Mississippi and Ohio, to seize all boats and stores, and arrest the persons concerned. Before these orders reached the governor and officers in Ohio, the boats and stores within their reach had been seized.

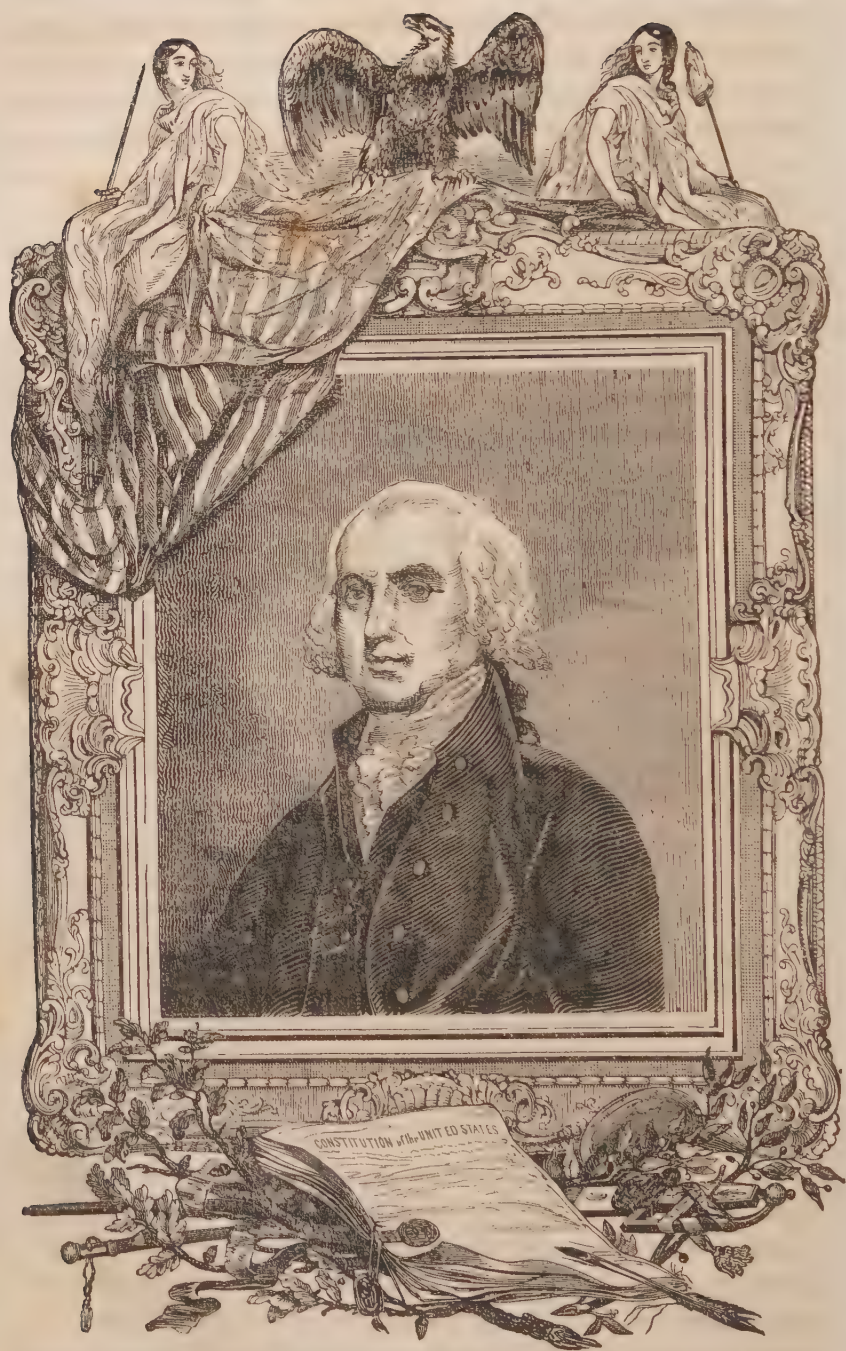
In Kentucky, Burr had been indicted, but was acquitted, and thus time was given him to expedite his measures. Two or three boats full of men had passed the falls of Ohio, to rendezvous at the mouth of Cumberland. Burr descended the Cumberland on the 22d of December, with two boats from Ohio; but, so far as could be ascertained, none of the inhabitants of Tennessee accompanied him. The preparations of General Wilkinson at New Orleans were so ample as to secure that city from any danger of invasion. Three agents of Burr, who had been sent to New Orleans to enlist General Wilkinson and his men in the enterprise, were arrested; one was afterwards released by *habeas corpus*, the other two sent to Washington in custody.

Finding all his schemes thwarted, Burr landed on the banks of the Mississippi, and proceeded to the Tombigbee, attended by only one companion. In February, he was arrested and carried to Richmond for trial in the federal circuit court. A true bill was found against him and his associates, on the 23d

of June, and he was committed to prison. From local reasons, and conveniences of counsel, he was allowed to remain at the hotel he had hitherto occupied, under a guard. His trial commenced on the 3d of August, 1805, and on the 31st he was acquitted by the jury, on the ground that his offence was not committed within the jurisdiction of the court. He was consequently discharged, and the affair of the Chesapeake, and foreign negotiations, interfering to turn the attention of the cabinet from him, he was allowed to escape further prosecution. He soon after sailed for England, and was for a long time lost to public view. After remaining abroad for some years, he returned to New York, where he finished his eventful career, at a recent date.

Between the two great belligerents of Europe, the American commerce suffered extremely, and it was found necessary to pass an embargo law, prohibiting American vessels from leaving their ports; and, in consequence, all American merchant vessels were called home, and the country prepared for war. This law passed in December, 1807, and was continued during the remainder of Jefferson's administration, although it was very injurious to the New England States, and rendered the administration exceedingly unpopular in that portion of the country.

In 1808, the President announced his determination to retire from office at the close of the term, and James Madison was nominated to succeed him by the republican party. He triumphed over his opponent, and was inaugurated in March, 1809, George Clinton being elected Vice-President. After witnessing the inauguration of his successor, Jefferson retired to his seat at Monticello, and passed the remainder of his life in literary pursuits.





CHAPTER L.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

MANY and urgent had been the complaints, in the maritime districts of the country, against the continuance of the embargo law ; and one of the first acts of Congress, under the new president, was to repeal it ; but at the same time, to prohibit all intercourse with France and England. These two nations, in order to accomplish their ambitious views against each other, mutually resorted to unprecedented measures, wholly unauthorized by the long-established rules of civilized warfare. They assailed the rightful commerce of the United States, by public and authorized spoliations, under orders in council, proclamations of blockade, admiralty adjudications, and right of search, on the one hand ; and imperial decrees, captures and conflagrations on the other ; both equally rendering it, and all concerned in it, the victims of their passions, devices, usurpations, and injustice. In this course of unjustifiable outrage, the two nations had persevered since the year 1805.

The government of the United States, through the ministers at the two courts, made repeated representations of the injuries inflicted on their commerce, and the insults offered to

their officers on the ocean, and remonstrated against their conduct towards a neutral power. But their remonstrances, hitherto, had been useless. They were ineffectual in procuring any redress, even of the slightest of those numerous injuries, of which they complained.

Shortly after the election of Mr. Madison, the repeal of the embargo, and the substitution of a less obnoxious law, was thought by the British government, a fit opportunity for opening negotiations for the adjustment of existing difficulties with the United States. Accordingly, Mr. Erskine, the minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty to the United States, proposed an arrangement with the American government, on the following basis: 1st. That reparation should be made for the outrage upon the frigate *Chesapeake*, by the restoration of the men taken out of her, and by the British government making provision for the unfortunate sufferers, in addition to the disavowal by his Britannic Majesty, and the recall of Admiral Berkly. 2d. That the orders in council should be withdrawn, so far as respected the United States, provided the latter would repeal the prohibition of the intercourse with Great Britain. 3d. That an envoy extraordinary should be sent from Great Britain, with power to conclude a treaty on all the points of difference between the two countries. This was ratified by the President, on the 23d of April; and a proclamation was issued, declaring, that as it had been officially communicated to the American government, that the British orders in council would be repealed on the 10th of June, after that day, the trade of the United States with Great Britain, inhibited by acts of Congress, might be renewed. The gleam of prosperity, however, which this event threw over the prospects of the nation, was not destined to be of long continuance. No sooner had the intelligence of the agreement reached England, than it was disavowed by the government. Mr. Erskine was immediately recalled, on the ground that he had exceeded his instructions; and the American government was informed that the arrangement would not be ratified. The President's proclamation was revoked,

and the relation between the two countries restored to its former footing.

In October, Mr. Jackson was sent to supersede Mr. Erskine as British ambassador at Washington. He, however, soon gave offence to the government. On being called upon by the secretary of state to explain the reasons why his government had disavowed the proceedings of his predecessor, he said that Mr. Erskine had exceeded his instructions, and he even presumed to insinuate that the administration was aware that his proposition was unauthorized, and therefore, could not be obligatory on the British government. Such an allegation, imputing not only duplicity, but a departure from truth, to the officers of an independent government, could not be tolerated. The secretary of state informed him that the American government had no such knowledge; and remonstrated in forcible terms against this offensive style of communication. Jackson's answer was only a repetition of the assertion. He was told that it was highly indecorous to contradict the solemn declarations of the government. The offence being again repeated, Mr. Jackson was officially informed, that for the purpose of avoiding future insults, no further communication would be received from him.* On a representation of his conduct to the British government, he was recalled; and, after the expiration of a year and a half, Mr. Foster was appointed to succeed him.

Before the arrival of Mr. Foster in the United States, an event occurred which added another to the subjects of difference between the two countries, and threatened to postpone still further the prospect of accommodation. On the 16th of May, 1811, the United States frigate *President*, commanded by Commodore Rodgers, while cruising off the Capes of Virginia, discovered at noon a vessel which soon appeared to be a man-of-war. Sail was made in chase, for the purpose of discovering to what nation she belonged. At fifteen or twenty minutes after seven in the evening, the flag of the stranger was hoisted; but the darkness prevented the American officers

* Secretary of State to Mr. Jackson, Nov. 8th, 1809.

from distinguishing what nation it represented. Soon after eight, having arrived within a short distance of her, Commodore Rodgers hailed and inquired her name. Without returning an answer, the question was repeated by the commander of the strange vessel, from which a shot was soon fired, which struck the main-mast of the President. The fire was immediately returned by the latter, and continued for a few minutes, when, finding his antagonist to be a vessel of much inferior force, her fire being almost silenced, Commodore Rodgers directed that of the President to cease. On hailing, he discovered that the ship to which he had been opposed, was the British sloop-of-war, *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, of eighteen guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed or wounded during the action, and the vessel very much disabled. On board the President there were none killed, and but one (a boy) wounded.

A court of inquiry was held by order of the President on the conduct of Commodore Rodgers, in which it was proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the first gun was fired from the *Little Belt*.

The Emperor Napoleon had hitherto relaxed nothing of what was called his continental system. He continued to carry into rigid operation, his several decrees of Berlin, Milan, Rambouillet, and Fontainebleau; which he did not attempt to justify by any apology but the plea of the British example. He openly declared to the world, that they entered into his deliberate plans, to reduce within proper bounds the maritime supremacy usurped by Great Britain, and to wrest from her the power to tyrannize upon the ocean. In doing this, however, his decrees prejudicial to the commerce of the United States, were still continued. On the 1st of May, 1810, an act of Congress was passed, declaring that if either Great Britain or France should, before the 3d day of March, 1811, so revoke or modify her edicts, as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, which fact the President should declare by proclamation; and if the other nation should not, within three months thereafter, revoke its edicts

in like manner; then the non-intercourse law should, after the expiration of three months from the date of the proclamation, be revived, and have full force and effect so far as regarded the nation neglecting to revoke them; and that the restrictions imposed by that act should be discontinued, in relation to the nation so revoking or modifying her decrees.

This act having been officially communicated to the governments of Great Britain and France, the minister of the latter, by note, bearing date the 5th of August, 1810, addressed to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, declared that the decrees of Berlin and Milan were revoked; the revocation to take effect on the first of November following; but stating, that this measure was adopted in compliance with the law of the 1st of May, 1810, to take advantage of the condition contained in it, and in full confidence that the condition would be enforced against Great Britain, if she did not revoke her orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade.

The President of the United States, reposing with confidence in the sincerity of this declaration, issued, on the 2d of November, 1810, his proclamation, announcing that all restrictions on the trade of the United States with France had then ceased.

Great Britain, however, persisted in the course she had so steadily pursued, declaring that the decrees of France had not been repealed, or even modified, notwithstanding the proclamation of the President to the contrary. Accordingly, on the 2d of March, 1811, Congress renewed the non-intercourse law against Great Britain, to have full force until she should revoke or modify her edicts, and the President of the United States should declare the fact by proclamation.

On the 10th of May, 1812, Mr. Barlow, the minister at Paris, obtained a decree of the French government, dated April 28th, 1811, confirming the extinction of the French decrees of Berlin and Milan, which, when presented to the British government, left them no pretence for further continuing their orders in council. The British cabinet, after

objecting to the "tenor" of the French decree, finally, on the 23d of June, 1812, conditionally withdrew the British orders in council of January, 1807, and April, 1809.

These proceedings on the part of France and Great Britain, however, were not in time to arrest the current of public feeling in the United States, which, since it was ascertained that Mr. Foster had no instructions to propose the slightest relaxation of the system pursued by his government, gradually rose to the last appeal of nations. Believing that it had become necessary to assume a new attitude in relation to the belligerents of Europe, the President, by proclamation, convened Congress on the 4th of November, 1811, and declared to them in his message, "That it was hoped that the successive confirmations of the extinction of the French decrees, so far as they violated our neutral commerce, would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council, and thereby authorize the removal of the existing obstructions to her commerce with the United States.

"Instead of this reasonable step towards satisfaction and friendship between the two nations, the orders were, at a moment when least to have been expected, put into more rigorous execution: and it was communicated, through the British envoy just arrived, that, whilst the revocation of the edicts of France, as officially made known to the British government, was denied to have taken place; it was an indispensable condition of the repeal of the British orders, that commerce should be restored to a footing, that would admit the productions and manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals, into markets shut against them by her enemy; the United States being given to understand, that, in the meantime, a continuance of the non-importation act would lead to measures of retaliation.

"In the unfriendly spirit of these disclosures, indemnity and redress for other wrongs have continued to be withheld; and our coasts, and the mouths of our harbours, have again witnessed scenes, not less derogatory to the dearest of our national rights, than vexatious to the regular course of our trade.

“Under the ominous indications which commanded attention, it became a duty to exert the means committed to the executive department, in providing for the general security. The works of defence on our maritime frontier, have accordingly been prosecuted, with an activity leaving little to be added for the completion of the most important ones ; and, as particularly suited for co-operation in emergencies, a portion of the gun-boats has in particular harbours been ordered into use. The ships of war, before in commission, with the addition of a frigate, have been chiefly employed as a cruising-guard to the rights of our coast.

“Such a disposition has been made of our land-forces as was thought to promise the services most appropriate and important. In this disposition is included a force consisting of regulars and militia, embodied in the Indiana territory, and marched towards our North-Western frontier. This measure was made requisite by several murders and depredations committed by the Indians ; but, more especially, by the menacing preparations and aspect of a combination of them on the Wabash, under the influence and direction of a fanatic of the Shawanese tribe. With these exceptions, the Indian tribes retain their peaceable dispositions towards us, and their usual pursuits.

“With the evidence of hostile inflexibility shown by the belligerent nations, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour, and an attitude, demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

“I recommend accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling up the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops ; for an auxiliary force, to be engaged for a more limited term ; for the acceptance of volunteer corps, whose patriotic ardour may court a participation in urgent services ; for detachments, as they may be wanted, of other portions of the militia ; and for such a preparation of the great body, as will proportion its usefulness to its intrinsic

capacities. Your attention will of course be drawn to such provisions, on the subject of our naval force, as may be required for the services to which it may be best adapted."

Congress, taking into consideration the subjects presented to their view in the message, raised the military establishment of the United States from six to thirty-one thousand men, and enacted laws to complete the military establishment previously existing. At the same time, they authorized the President to raise certain companies of rangers, for the protection of the frontiers of the United States; to authorize the purchase of ordnance and ordnance stores, camp-equipage, and other field supplies, and small-arms; to authorize the President to accept the services of volunteer military corps; to make provision for the defence of the maritime frontier; to authorize a detachment from the militia of the United States; to organize a corps of artificers; to make provision for the corps of engineers. An act was also passed, directing the frigates Chesapeake, Constellation, and Adams, to be immediately repaired, equipped, and fitted for sea; and making an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars, annually, for three years, to purchase and supply timber for ship-building, and other naval purposes.

On the 14th of March, 1812, Congress, to provide for the expenses to be incurred by these various acts, authorized the President to borrow, on the credit of the United States, a sum not exceeding eleven millions of dollars; which was executed on the most favourable terms. The whole amount was advanced by individuals and corporate bodies, for an annual interest of six per centum.

In the meantime, the Indians of the Indiana territory, instigated, it is believed, by the British, began to show signs of hostility towards the settlers on the north-western frontiers of the United States. Tecumseh, their chief, with his brother, "the Prophet," a fanatic of the Shawanese tribe, had contrived, by means of the eloquence of one and the conjuring arts and tricks of the other, to unite several different tribes, and stir up their minds against their neighbours. At a

council held in 1811, by General Harrison, then Governor of the Indiana territory, with the principal chiefs of the confederacy, Tecumseh declared with native eloquence that the white people had no right to the soil; that the country belonged to the red men in common, and no portion could be sold by any without the consent of all; and that the Kickapoos, and some other tribes, had no more right to sell their land than they had to darken the bright rays of the sun. When Harrison replied to this speech, the chief becoming furious, grasped his tomahawk, and his followers, twenty or thirty in number, followed his example; and had it not been for the guard of soldiers which surrounded the council-house, it is probable that Harrison and his officers would have been murdered. As it was, the council was broken up, and open war was confidently predicted.

Towards the close of 1811, the frontier settlers began to be seriously alarmed. Every movement of Tecumseh indicated approaching hostilities, until finally the murders and other outrages committed by his followers, determined the government to adopt measures for the protection of the exposed citizens against further molestation. A small force of regulars and militia was assembled at Vincennes, and placed under the command of General Harrison, with instructions to march to the Prophet's town, and demand a restoration of the property carried off by his partisans; and in case of a refusal to give the required redress, to use coercive measures.

Harrison accordingly marched into the Indian country, and on the 6th of November, appeared before the Prophet's town. There he held a conference with some of the chiefs, and they agreed that neither party should commence hostilities before the next day, when another conference was to be held, and terms of peace agreed on. Distrusting, however, the protestations of the Indians, Harrison withdrew his troops to a bank of dry land, between two prairies, on the north-west of the village, and ordered them to rest on their arms; and, in case of a night-attack, each corps was ordered to maintain its ground at all hazards until relieved. The dragoons were dis-



Battle of Tippecanoe.

mounted, and were ordered to fight as infantry, only with their swords and pistols; while a strong guard was posted at every assailable point of the camp.

Just before reveillé, on the morning of the 7th of November, 1811, the Indians furiously attacked the left flank, and drove in the piquets, who fled without firing a musket or making the least resistance. Captain Barton's regulars, and Captain Geiger's mounted riflemen, on the extreme left, were first attacked. They, however, no sooner heard the savage yell, by which their foe announced his presence, than they formed their lines, and bravely maintained the unequal contest, until reinforced from the rear. The Indians opened a galling fire on the left of the front line, where the companies of Captain Baen, Snelling, and Prescott were stationed, and Major Daviess was ordered to charge them with his cavalry, and, if possible, to break their lines. The Major received a mortal wound, and his men were driven back by the vastly superior numbers of the enemy. Day now breaking, the

Americans saw themselves nearly surrounded by the enemy who were pouring in a deadly fire along the whole of the left flank, the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. At this juncture an almost simultaneous charge was made with fixed bayonets, by the companies of Captain Snelling and Major Wells, and the enemy was dislodged. A small company of mounted riflemen was then ordered to charge and pursue the retreating Indians. They dashed furiously upon the fugitives, and soon precipitating them into a marsh, the left flank was cleared. About the same time that these successes were obtained on the left, Captain Cook, and Lieutenant Larabie, were ordered to charge on the right. This charge was also supported by the mounted riflemen, and was as successful as the first. Driven now at all points, and pursued as far as the ground would admit, the enemy dispersed in every direction. Forty Indians were found dead on the field. Numbers were carried off, some of whom were found the next day in holes containing two, three, and four bodies, covered to conceal them from the victorious army. The general estimated their loss in killed and wounded at one hundred and fifty.

The troops throughout displayed the greatest bravery, and effectually resisted one of the most furious assaults ever experienced in savage warfare. They were saved only by their soldierly conduct. Had a panic, in the first onset of the savages, produced disorder, they would probably, to a man, have become the victims of the most merciless of foes. They lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and eighty-eight men, among whom was Major Daviess, who fell early in the action, and was greatly lamented by all his associates. He held the first standing in Kentucky, as a lawyer and an orator. In the field he was brave to desperation, and in his death, a hero.

Governor Harrison, having burned the Prophet's town, and laid waste the surrounding country, from which he obliged the defeated enemy to fly, returned with his forces into the settled country. The Prophet was immediately abandoned by his

followers, who, on his defeat, lost all faith in his supernatural pretensions. Even his life was endangered, by the sudden change in the feelings of those whom he had but too successfully deluded. Most of the Indian tribes, who had been influenced by his impious pretensions, after his expulsion from his imagined sanctuary, offered their submissions and sued for peace. At the time of the battle of Tippecanoe, Tecumseh was in the south, instigating the Creeks, and other powerful tribes, to join his confederacy.

In the month of March, 1812, the President communicated a disclosure to Congress, received by the secretary of state, from John Henry, the effect of which was to incite the feelings of the people still more against England, and to increase the probabilities of a war with that nation. From the documents and papers communicated by the President to Congress, it appears that John Henry was employed in 1809, by Sir James Craig, Governor-General of Canada, as a secret agent or spy in the United States. He was directed to proceed to Boston, with instructions to "endeavour to obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that part of the union, which, from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead the other Eastern States of America, in the part they may take at this important crisis; to observe the state of the public opinion, both with regard to their internal politics, and to the probability of a war with England; and to observe the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail."

The same communication proceeds with saying, "it has been supposed that if the federalists of the Eastern States should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable that, rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the

general union. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government, as also, to be informed how far, in such an event, they would look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connection with us.”*

With this object in view, Henry proceeded on his mission. His efforts were entirely unavailing; for it does not appear that he succeeded in inducing one individual to adopt his views. On account of the bad success of his mission, the British government refused the remuneration which he required for his services; and he abandoned the unprofitable business of a spy, and turned informer. He made a full disclosure of his mission to his intended victims, for which he was paid fifty thousand dollars.

This intrigue was justly enumerated among the multiplied aggressions of Great Britain, which prescribed the course, afterwards pursued to redress them; and was thus energetically represented by the committee of the House of Representatives on foreign relations, in their report, recommending war: “The attempt to dismember our union, and overthrow our excellent constitution, by a secret mission, the object of which was to foment discontents, and excite insurrection against the constituted authorities and laws of the nation, as lately disclosed by the agent employed in it, affords full proof that there is no bound to the hostility of the British government towards the United States—no act, however unjustifiable, which it would not commit to accomplish their ruin. This attempt excites the greater horror from the consideration that it was made while the United States and Great Britain were at peace, and an amicable negotiation was depending between them, for the accommodation of their differences, through public ministers, regularly authorized for the purpose.”

On the return of the *Hornet* sloop-of-war, from Europe, on the 20th of May, with the intelligence that neither the court of England nor that of France manifested any disposition towards a change of measures with respect to the United States;

* Sir James Craig's instructions to John Henry, Feb. 6th, 1809.

all hope of reparation was cut off, and the President sent a message to Congress, in which he set forth a series of acts of Great Britain, hostile to the United States, as an independent and neutral nation. After enumerating many aggressions on the part of that nation, he proceeded: "Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance, and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our sea-faring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great common and highway of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize-courts, no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts; and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled, in British ports, into British fleets: whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions, which have no foundation but in a principle supporting equally a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

"We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States; and on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain.

"Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations, and these accumulating wrongs; or, opposing force to force, in defence of their natural rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events, avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honourable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation."

This message was referred in the House of Representatives,

to the committee on foreign relations. After a serious consideration of its contents, they reported a bill declaring war between the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and their dependencies, and the United States of America, and their territories, accompanied by a report, setting forth the causes that impelled to war, of which the following is a summary. For,

Firstly. Impressng American citizens, while sailing on the seas, the highway of nations, dragging them on board their ships of war, and forcing them to serve against nations in amity with the United States; and even to participate in aggressions on the rights of their fellow-citizens when met on the high seas.

Secondly. Violating the rights and peace of our coasts and harbours, harassing our departing commerce, and wantonly spilling American blood, within our territorial jurisdiction.

Thirdly. Plundering our commerce on every sea; under pretended blockades, not of harbours, ports, or places invested by adequate force; but of extended coasts, without the application of fleets to render them legal: and enforcing them from the date of their proclamation, thereby giving them virtually retrospective effect.

Fourthly. Committing numberless spoliations on our ships and commerce, under her orders in council, of various dates.

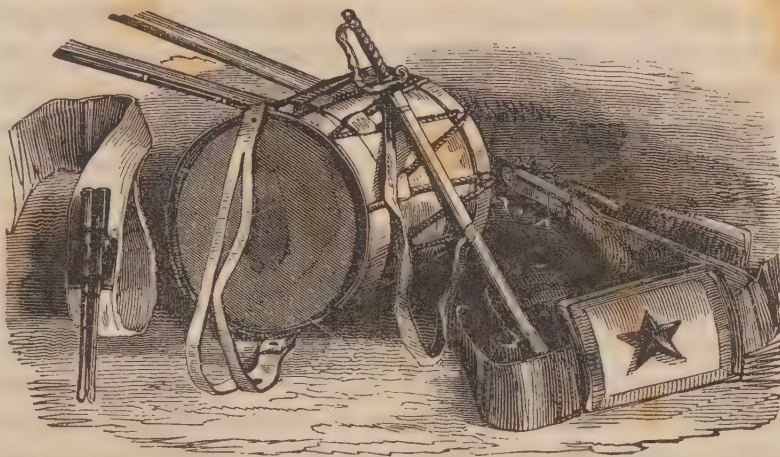
Fifthly. Employing secret agents within the United States, with a view to subvert our government, and dismember our union.

Sixthly. Encouraging the Indian tribes to make war on the people of the United States.

The bill reported by the committee of foreign relations, passed the House of Representatives, on the 4th of June, by a majority of thirty, in one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and was transmitted to the Senate for its concurrence. In the Senate it was passed by a majority of six, in thirty-two votes. On the 18th of June, it received the approbation of the President, and on the next day was publicly announced. By this act the President was authorized to "apply the whole

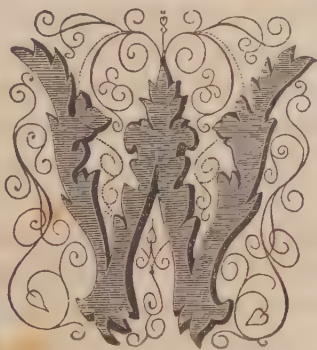
land and naval force of the United States, to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions, or letters-of-marque and general reprisals, in such form as he should think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government and people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This act was followed by others, for the more perfect organization of the army of the United States; appropriating further sums for the defence of the frontier, and for the support of the navy; for the safe-keeping and accommodation of prisoners of war; for restraining intercourse with the enemy; authorizing the President to cause to be issued treasury notes, for such sums as he should deem expedient for the public service, not exceeding, in the whole, five millions of dollars; and imposing additional duties upon all goods, wares, and merchandise, imported from foreign ports or places, to aid the revenue during the war.





CHAPTER LI.

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OF 1812.



ITH a powerful and efficient government, a population trebled in amount, and an overflowing treasury, the United States of 1812 were, in appearance at least, a century of ordinary time in advance of the republic of 1776. The signal success, therefore, which had attended their exertions in the war of inde-

pendence, made it natural to suppose that the issue of the approaching hostilities with the same power would not be less creditable to their military energies. But a long period of profound peace—interrupted only by the merely nominal war against the French republic, which occupied a few weeks of the administration of President Adams—however pleasing it may be to the moral eye, is not calculated to prepare a nation for the arduous task of warfare. With the growth of the

commercial prosperity of the republic, the military art had declined: and, although the individuals of whom its future armies were to be composed, were as brave and zealous as those who had achieved independence, yet were there few who had sufficient skill or experience to lead them against an enemy. The greater part of that illustrious band who served in the war of the revolution, had followed their immortal leader to the grave; and many of those who survived were disabled, by age or infirmity, from taking part in another conflict. A considerable portion of the appointments, however, to the chief offices of the army, were made from those who were supposed either to have displayed talents or acquired experience in the war. Henry Dearborn, who had served with considerable reputation, under the immediate eye of Washington, received the commission of Major-General, and was appointed to the command of the northern army; while a similar rank, with the direction of the forces in the southern department, was bestowed upon Thomas Pinckney, who had also acquired distinction in the war of the revolution.

Until the year 1808, the whole military establishment of the United States scarcely amounted, including officers, to three thousand men; in that year it was augmented by an addition of about six thousand; and in January, 1812, the Congress directed another force, amounting to about twenty-five thousand, to be raised. Thus the entire regular army then authorized by law exceeded thirty-five thousand, including officers. In addition to this force, the president was authorized to accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding fifty thousand, who were to be armed and equipped by the United States; and a similar authority was given to him to call upon the governors of the states for detachments of the militia, the whole of which was not to exceed one hundred thousand. However imposing the united amount of these forces may appear, they wanted many requisites of an efficient and formidable army. The act authorizing the addition of twenty-five thousand men to the regular troops, had been passed so short a time previous to the declaration

of war, that scarcely one-fourth of that number could have been enlisted, the great mass of whom were necessarily raw and undisciplined. The volunteers and militia, more especially the latter, were a species of force, the utility of which was at least doubtful, unless for purposes of defence. Brave and patriotic, as individuals, both reason and experience should have taught their insufficiency to contend with the veteran and disciplined forces of the enemy. The navy consisted only of ten frigates, five of which were laid up in ordinary, ten sloops and smaller vessels, and one hundred and sixty-five gun-boats, only sixty of which were in commission. Such were the nature and organization of the force with which a warfare, principally maritime, commenced with an enemy whose thousand ships made her the mistress of the ocean.

Notwithstanding the injuries which the United States had suffered at the hands of their enemy, and the preparations which had been publicly making for a state of hostility, during several months, the declaration of war on the 18th of June, though so long delayed, excited surprise in the minds of many. The minority of Congress, the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, as well as several of the *inferior* commercial cities, protested against the war, in public addresses. But a great majority of the people of the United States was unquestionably in favour of war, on all grounds. The remembrance of the cruelties of the revolution, added to the recent, and, as they thought, not less flagrant injuries inflicted on their country, rankled in their minds, and disposed them to receive with approbation every measure which tended to hostility. This state of feeling was more especially observable in the Western States, the people of which were almost unanimously hostile to the British government. In some places the act declaring war was received with illuminations and rejoicings, as a second declaration of independence. The great commercial cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the inhabitants of which were liable, in a greater degree, perhaps, than any others, to the sufferings and privations incident to a state of warfare, passed resolutions

approving and pledging themselves to support it; and, upon the whole, the war was commenced with the decided approbation of a great proportion of the people, and with the good wishes of many who considered it improvidently undertaken.

The Indians on the northern and western frontiers had successively been driven back from the Atlantic to the Lakes. The treaties by which the United States had gained their accession of country had been made with separate tribes, who, divided among themselves, were unable to oppose the united force of the nation. The confederacy, however, of 1794, which was destroyed by the victories of General Wayne, at first promised to oppose a formidable barrier to further encroachments: but the treaty of Greenville, by which they surrendered a very extensive tract of country, left them crippled in power, but still hostile in disposition to the United States. From that period to the battle of Tippecanoe, the greater part of the Indian tribes appear to have lived in an unsettled and dubious state, fluctuating between the desire of revenge, and the fear of total extermination; bartering their remaining lands for powder and whiskey; and gradually diminishing in numbers, from indolence and intemperance. The war party was led by Tecumseh, a brave, sagacious, and enterprising chief, who left no means untried to retard, at least, if he could not prevent, the approaching extermination of his tribe. He directed all his efforts to persuade them to abjure the practice of intemperance: and his favourite object was the formation of a confederacy, which should have for its basis the equality of right to the whole of their land, and was to be supported by an union with the British, with a view to the recovery of their lost territory.

In the month of April, 1812, the President made a requisition upon the local authority of Ohio for twelve hundred men, to be put under the command of Brigadier-General Hull, then governor of the Michigan territory. With this force, and some detachments of other regiments, amounting in all to about twenty-five hundred men, Hull arrived at Detroit, and, on the 12th of July, crossed into Canada, and established his

head-quarters at the village of Sandwich. From this place he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, promising them the blessings of peace, liberty, and security, and assuring them, in a pompous and lofty tone, to which his subsequent conduct afforded a melancholy contrast, that his force was sufficient to "look down all opposition;" and was, besides, but the vanguard of one much greater. Encouraged by these assertions, many of the Canadians remained quietly at their homes, or joined the American army; and it is more than probable, that, had General Hull proceeded at once to Malden, he might have taken it by surprise. But he remained in inactivity at Sandwich, until the British had taken Fort Michillimackinac, or Mackinaw, as it is commonly called, (a small fortress on the island of Mackinaw, in Lake Huron,) which left the Indians under Tecumseh at liberty to pursue their designs unmolested. Those who had been hesitating were now decided, and "the whole Northern Hive came swarming" on the flanks and rear of the American army. That the invasion of Canada, at the period in which it was undertaken, without sufficient military preparations, with the enemy in command of the lake and all the water communications, the greater part of the Indian tribes in a state of hostility, and the communication with the resources of the invading army almost at the mercy of the enemy, would be productive of any material benefit, was little expected. But, from the day on which the army entered Canada, its operations appear to have been conducted without any definite plan, while the conduct of the commander was marked with a singular inconsistency and irresolution, which soon withdrew from him the confidence of his troops.

The evil consequences of the surrender of Mackinaw began now to be severely felt. Early in August, information had been received, that a supply of provisions for the army, escorted by a company of volunteers, was near the river Raisin, on its way to Detroit; while a force, composed of British and Indians, had been detached from Malden, for the purpose of intercepting it. In order to open the communication, Major

Vanhorne, with a detachment of two hundred men, was despatched from Sandwich, on the 4th of August. Although he had information of the vicinity of the enemy, he proceeded with his force in rather loose order, until, arriving at a narrow prairie, skirted by thick woods, he was fired upon, from all sides, by the Indians. The detachment being thrown into confusion, Vanhorne retreated with considerable loss. In the meantime preparations were made for an attack on Malden, and on the 7th of August, a general order was issued for the immediate accomplishment of this long-delayed operation: but what was the astonishment of the army, when, on the next day, instead of the anticipated and long-expected triumph, the whole force was ordered to recross the river and encamp in the rear of Detroit! The order was obeyed sullenly and reluctantly, both by officers and men. On the same day, Colonel Miller, with about six hundred men, was detached to make a second attempt to open the communications with the advancing supplies; but, though he gained an unimportant victory, he was unsuccessful in the main object of the expedition, and was ordered back to Detroit without effecting the desired junction.

During the absence of this detachment, General Brock assumed the command of the British forces at Malden, took post at Sandwich, with thirteen hundred men, and erected batteries opposite Fort Detroit, within point-blank-shot of its guns, without molestation from the American army; and on the 15th, a summons to surrender was received by General Hull, to which he returned an immediate refusal. The enemy then opened their fire from their batteries upon the town, which was returned with precision and effect. At daylight, on the 16th, the cannonade was renewed; and their whole force soon afterwards crossed the river and landed at Springwells, about three miles west of Detroit. Here, the British general, learning the absence of Colonel Miller with his detachment, resolved at once upon forcing the American camp.

The American army appears to have waited the approach of the enemy with coolness and good order. Two twenty-

four pounders, loaded with grape, were planted in a favourable position for their annoyance. The regular troops were placed in the fort, and the militia and volunteers behind pickets, when, to the astonishment of every one, the whole force was ordered to retire into the fort, where their arms were stacked, and the artillerymen forbidden to fire. Here, crowded as they were, into a narrow compass, every ball from the enemy's batteries took effect, and the general soon ordered the white flag to be hung out in token of surrender. In a short time the terms of capitulation were agreed upon; and the whole army, including the detachments of Colonels Miller and M'Arthur, which returned in the evening of the same day, and the force under Captain Brush, at the river Raisin, were surrendered prisoners of war. The enemy found in the fort an ample supply of ammunition and provisions.

The indignation of the Americans at this cowardly and disgraceful transaction knew no bounds. Expectation had been raised to such a height by the confident language of previous despatches from General Hull, that nothing less than the capture of all Upper Canada was expected. The surrender, therefore, of an American army to an inferior force, together with the cession of a large extent of territory, as it had never entered into the calculations of the people, was almost too much for them to bear. General Hull was openly accused of imbecility and cowardice.

As soon as he was exchanged, he was, of course, brought before a court-martial, tried on the charges of treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct, found guilty of the two last, and sentenced to be shot. The President, however, in consequence of his age and former services, remitted the capital punishment, but directed his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army; a disgrace, which, to a lofty and honourable spirit, is worse than death.

Previous to the surrender of Detroit, preparations had been made in the states of Ohio and Kentucky, for the formation of an additional army. The suspicions entertained by many of his officers, of General Hull's capacity or courage, had

induced them to despatch private communications to the governors of those states, requesting reinforcements and assistance. In pursuance of this call, twelve hundred militia, under the command of Brigadier-General Tupper, and two thousand volunteers, under Brigadier-General Payne, took up their march to join General Hull. The surrender of Detroit was communicated to them on the road. In this emergency it became necessary to select a commander, who could unite, to a perfect knowledge of the seat of war, a competent acquaintance with the military science, and most especially the confidence and respect of the undisciplined force, thus hastily assembled. No one could perhaps have been found, in whom these qualifications were more happily united, than William Henry Harrison, then Governor of the State of Indiana. Being in Kentucky when the news of the surrender of Detroit arrived, he was immediately invested by the governor of that state, although not a citizen of it, with the chief command of its detached militia, with the rank of major-general. Being thus clothed with extensive authority, and having received the commission of brigadier-general in the regular army, he proceeded to carry into effect the directions of the government. He arrived at Cincinnati on the 28th of August, and on the following day put his troops in motion. On the 3d of September, the army arrived at Piqua, a small village on the west bank of the Great Miami. Here, having learned that the Indians had invested Fort Wayne, he despatched Colonel Allen, with five hundred men, directing him to make forced marches for its relief; and on the 6th, the whole army was put in motion for the same place.

General Harrison's force now amounted to about two thousand two hundred men. Fort Wayne being situated on the Little Miami river, at its junction with the St. Joseph's, in a favourable situation to communicate with Detroit and the Rapids, it was to be expected that the enemy would attempt it. It had accordingly been invested for several days by the Indians, who resorted to various artifices to obtain possession. The garrison, however, which consisted of but seventy men,

maintained their post with great bravery, until their besiegers, hearing of the approach of the American army, set fire to the little village in the vicinity of the fort, and precipitately decamped. From this place several predatory incursions of little moment were successfully made, without the loss of a single man. On the 19th, Brigadier-General James Winchester arrived at Fort Wayne, took command of the army, and set out at once for Fort Defiance, which they reached on the 30th, the enemy having previously retreated. In the meantime, General Harrison received information of his appointment to the command of the eighth military district, including the north-western army. He ordered General Tupper to go with one thousand mounted men, and disperse the enemy from the Rapids of the Miami. This expedition failed, partly because of a misunderstanding between Generals Winchester and Tupper, and partly from the defection of the Ohio militia, who broke off, and refused to march. Meanwhile, on the western frontier, the Indians made an unsuccessful attempt to take Fort Harrison. They set fire to a block-house, in which the provisions for the garrison were deposited; and thus, at the same blow, the whole of the provisions were destroyed, and a breach made in the line of defences. Notwithstanding this advantage, the small garrison, under Captain Taylor, acted with so much bravery, that the enemy were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. That of the garrison was only three killed and three wounded: but the destruction of the block-house was a serious inconvenience, and caused the brave garrison to be put on very short allowance for some time afterwards. For his gallant conduct on this occasion, Captain Taylor was shortly after brevetted major.

Several expeditions were undertaken about this period, having for their object the destruction of the Indian settlements, and driving them to a greater distance from the frontier. In some of these, the sufferings to which the innocent and helpless were exposed, are too horrible to be narrated; but such was the character of the enemy, that nothing but the most severe retaliation could prevent the repetition of the enormi-

ties which they had committed. The incursion of Colonel Campbell, with six hundred men, against the towns on the Mississenewa, affords a delightful relief to this dark picture. On the 17th of November, a charge was made upon one of the towns; seven warriors only were killed, and thirty-seven prisoners, including women and children, were taken. The next morning his camp was attacked by a considerable body of Indians, who were received very gallantly, and at length repulsed, with the loss of about forty men. The valour of this enterprising band was equalled only by its humanity; and it deserves to be recorded, as a proof of its subordination and forbearance, that the most punctual obedience was paid to the orders of the general, not only in saving the lives of the women and children, but in sparing those of the warriors who ceased to resist.

In the meantime, events of no less importance were taking place in the vicinity of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The chief command of the troops, and of the military department in this quarter, was given to General Dearborn, subordinate to whom, a force was stationed at Plattsburg, under Brigadier-General Bloomfield, and another at Buffalo, under Brigadier-General Smyth. The militia of the State of New York, then in the service of the United States, were commanded by Major-General Van Rensselaer, of that state, and amounted to about three thousand five hundred men, most of whom were stationed on the Niagara frontier. Bodies of regulars and militia were also stationed at Sackett's Harbour, at Black Rock, and at Ogdensburg; and the state of military preparations throughout, evinced the intention of the government to prosecute the war with vigour. In this situation of affairs, much time was lost in useless negotiations, and it was not until the season was far advanced that the Americans commenced operations. The militia and volunteers displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, many of them, indeed, having threatened to return to their homes if their wishes were not complied with, General Van Rensselaer, who commanded the army of the centre, determined to make

an attack upon the British position at Queenstown. This town, the possession of which was of the greatest importance to any ulterior operations in Canada, is situated on the river Niagara, eight miles below the celebrated falls, and directly opposite to Lewistown, the head-quarters of the American army. The morning of the 11th of October was fixed upon for the attack ; but, such was the strength of the current and the tempestuous violence of the weather, that it was postponed till the break of day on the 13th. The force destined for the attack was divided into two parts ; one, of three hundred regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Christie ; and the other, of the same number of militia, under Colonel Van Rensselaer, who commanded the whole. These were to be followed by the flying-artillery, under Colonel Fenwick, and the rest of the regulars, under Major Mullany.

When the embarkation was commenced, the British were found prepared, reinforcements having already arrived from Fort George. A brisk fire was commenced from the British musketry, which was returned by the American batteries ; Colonel Scott, who arrived after midnight the night before from Black'Rock, with a detachment of artillery, co-operating efficiently with his pieces. The eddies, however, in the river were uncommonly violent, the enemy's fire very effective, and the boats were, in many instances, carried below the point of landing. Colonel Van Rensselaer, notwithstanding, with about one hundred men, succeeded in gaining the shore, where, in a few minutes, he received several severe wounds. He continued, nevertheless, to encourage the troops, with the greatest intrepidity, and ordered them to storm the fort, which they effected, in the most gallant manner, under Captains Ogilvie and Wool. This small body drove the enemy before them, and, assisted by the batteries on the American side, completely silenced those of the enemy. By this time, Colonel Christie, who had been carried below the point of destination, by the bad management of the boatmen, had arrived, with considerable reinforcements of regulars and militia. The enemy were also powerfully reinforced, by the arrival of



Battle of Queenstown.

General Brock, with about six hundred men. Perceiving that this force was moving in the rear of the battery, Captain Wool ordered a detachment of one hundred and sixty men, to meet them, who were driven back ; but, being again reinforced, again met with as little success. Colonel Christie now joined them with an additional body, which increased the detachment to about three hundred and twenty men ; and, leading them on with fixed bayonets, he succeeded in routing the gallant enemy opposed to him. Their distinguished leader, General Brock, fell, mortally wounded, in an attempt to rally them. In this situation, the victory was considered as gained by the American general, who crossed over for the purpose of fortifying his camp. The enemy, however, being reinforced by several hundred Indians, again advanced to the attack, and were once more repulsed. General Van Rensselaer, now finding his own reinforcements embarking but slowly, recrossed for the purpose of accelerating their movements. To his utter surprise and mortification, however, he found that this part of the militia, who had heretofore evinced so much eager-

ness to meet the enemy, now faltered, at the moment their services were required. Covering their pusillanimity, or want of patriotism, with the parade of legal knowledge, they refused to pass the American boundary, on the plea of constitutional privilege. Such a plea, at such a moment, when their countrymen were on the eve of being overpowered for want of assistance, and the character and cause of their common country were at stake, ought to consign to indelible contempt those who made use of it.

Disappointed in this most essential endeavour, and seeing that reinforcements were again advancing to the aid of the enemy, General Van Rensselaer could only send an additional supply of ammunition to the troops on the opposite side; he laboured in vain to collect a number of boats, for the purpose of bringing them off; but such had been the fear of the boatmen, that few could be found.

A desperate contest now commenced, the enemy being reinforced by the arrival of a strong party from Fort George, and assisted by artillery and Indians. The Americans, although dispirited by the dastardly conduct of their countrymen on the opposite shore, maintained their post with great bravery, until, overcome by numbers, they were compelled to retreat to the water's edge. Here, finding no means of conveyance, and the enemy pushing hard upon their rear, they were compelled to surrender. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at about one thousand men: that of the enemy is not exactly known. The death of their commander was a severe misfortune, as he possessed great military talents and considerable experience, as well as the affections of his troops. The Americans marked their respect for his character, by firing minute-guns from Fort Niagara during his funeral procession.

General Van Rensselaer having resigned the command after the affair of Queenstown, was succeeded by Brigadier-General Smyth, who after making several unsuccessful attempts to enter Canada, abandoned the enterprise, and ordered his army into winter quarters.



CHAPTER LII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1812.



THE importance of securing the mastery of the great inland waters which bordered on the region where military operations were now in progress, although at first overlooked, soon became apparent to both belligerents; and before transferring our narrative to other scenes, it may be proper to take notice of some events which occurred on Lakes Erie and Ontario. The necessity of having a superior force on Lake Erie, was pointed out by Governor Hull of Michigan, three months before the declaration of war. This suggestion, however, was so little regarded, that on the commencement of hostilities, the United States had but one vessel on the lake, which was at the time preparing, and was not launched until the following month. This vessel was surrendered, soon after, by Governor Hull, with the garrison of Detroit. From this

period, the United States had no national vessel on Lake Erie, until the 9th of October, when they were put in possession of one by the gallantry of Lieutenant Elliot, of the navy. He, being at Black Rock, and seeing two British vessels lying under the guns of Fort Erie, determined to cut them out. For this purpose, he embarked about midnight, in small boats, with fifty volunteers, and, in a very few minutes, carried them by boarding. The current was, however, so strong, that they were both run aground; and it was not without great difficulty that one of them, a merchant-vessel, laden with furs of great value, was got off, and secured under the batteries of Black Rock. The other, an armed vessel, called the *Detroit*, was burnt.

On Lake Ontario the preparations for naval warfare had not been greater than on Lake Erie. The brig *Oneida*, of sixteen guns, was the only armed vessel belonging to the Americans on the lake, for several months after the declaration of war. On the 7th of November, however, Commodore Chauncey sailed from Sackett's Harbour, with six schooners, which he had purchased and armed in addition to the *Oneida*, the whole carrying forty guns, with four hundred and thirty men. The next day he fell in with the *Royal George*, of twenty-six guns, which he chased into the port of Kingston. Disappointed in the hope of inducing her to leave the protection of the batteries, he with his little fleet returned to Sackett's Harbour on the 12th, having, for the time, acquired the complete command of the lake. He then employed himself in superintending the building of the ship *Madison*, which was launched on the 26th of November, having been completed in the short space of forty-five days. The British force on the lake was still more than double that of the Americans.

Upon land, the success of the first campaign rested entirely with the British. But on the sea, where the English had hitherto been considered sole masters, their superiority was more successfully disputed. For a long time previous to the declaration of war against England, the principal harbours of the United States had been virtually blockaded by British armed



Commodore Chauncey.

vessels, whose commanders appeared to seek every opportunity of showing their contempt for the nation, whose peace, rights, and dignity, they were habitually assailing. They pursued the vexatious and degrading practice of impressment with signal success, and by these means made such an impression on the minds of the seamen, that the news of the declaration of war was received by them with the greatest enthusiasm. Both officers and seamen burned with impatience to avenge the sufferings of their fellow-mariners, and to redeem the honour of their profession, which, in consequence of some recent events, had been most grossly aspersed.

When the news of the declaration of war arrived at New York, the frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns, then undergoing repairs, was fitted for sea, with a celerity which reflected great credit on her commander, Captain David Porter. On the 3d of July, she sailed from Sandy Hook, on a cruise to the



Escape of the Constitution.

south. Nothing of material importance occurred (if we except the capture of a transport with two hundred soldiers,) until the 13th of August, when the *Alert*, a British sloop-of-war, ran down on the *Essex's* quarter, gave three cheers, and commenced an action, which ended in eight minutes, by her capture, with seven feet of water in the hold, and three men wounded. Captain Porter made a cartel of his prize, and sent her to New York, with the prisoners. This was the first ship of war taken from the enemy, and her flag, the first British flag sent to the seat of government during the war.

It was at this early period of the war, that Captain Isaac Hull became an object of public attention, by two brilliant exploits; the one exhibiting an instance of admirable skill as a seaman, and the other of his gallantry as an officer. He succeeded, after a chase of sixty hours, in the frigate *Constitution*, in making good his escape from a British squadron,



Constitution and Guerriere.

consisting of a line-of-battle ship, four frigates, a brig, and a schooner. It is related on the best authority, that the enemy himself expressed his admiration of the skill with which Captain Hull manœuvred his vessel, and effected his escape.

On the 2d of August, the same frigate, the Constitution of forty-four guns, Captain Hull, sailed from Boston on a cruise, which will long be memorable in the republic, as the first of a series of exploits, which elevated the character of the nation, and strongly illustrated the importance of her navy. On the 19th of August, at two in the afternoon, a vessel was descried from the mast-head, standing under easy sail, and was soon made out to be a British frigate. The American vessel cleared for action, and the chase backed her main-top-sail, waiting for her approach. As soon as his ship was ready for action, Captain Hull bore down on his antagonist, with the intention of bringing him to close action immediately; but on coming within gun-shot, he gave the Constitution a broadside and wore away. Both vessels continued manœuvring for about three-quarters of an hour, until the enemy, disappointed in an attempt to get a raking position, bore up, and ran down under her top-sails and jib, with the wind on the quarter. Captain Hull, now, with the greatest coolness, received several broad-



Commodore Hull.

sides from the enemy without returning a shot, until he had secured an advantageous position on the enemy's beam, when, at five minutes before six, he commenced a heavy and well-directed fire. Broadside after broadside was fired with such quick and fatal execution, that in sixteen minutes the enemy's mizen-mast went by the board, his main-yard in the slings, and his hull, rigging, and sails, were cut to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for about fifteen minutes longer, when his main-mast and fore-mast went, taking with them every spar, except the bowsprit. On seeing this, the Americans ceased firing; so that in thirty minutes after the action had fairly commenced, the enemy surrendered, with not a spar standing, and her hull, both below and above water, so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down. The prize proved to be the British frigate *Guerriere*, of forty-nine guns and three hundred men, commanded by Captain J.

R. Dacres. She was so completely torn to pieces that it was found necessary to set her on fire the succeeding day, and she soon blew up. The Constitution received so little injury, that in a very short time she was ready for another action. Her loss was seven killed, and seven wounded; that of the Guerriere, fifteen killed, sixty-two wounded, including the captain and several officers, and twenty-four missing.

The news of this victory was received in the United States with the greatest joy and exultation. All parties united in celebrating it, and the citizens and public authorities vied with each other in bestowing marks of approbation upon Captain Hull, and his gallant officers and crew.

The United States sloop-of-war Wasp, of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Jacob Jones, sailed from the Delaware, on the 13th of October; and on the 18th of the month, after a long and heavy gale, fell in with a convoy of six merchantmen, four of them strongly armed, under the protection of His Britannic Majesty's sloop-of-war Frolic, of twenty-two guns, Captain Whinyates. There was a heavy swell in the sea, and the weather was boisterous. At half-past eleven in the morning, the action commenced between the two national vessels, at the distance of about fifty yards. But, during the action, so near did they come to each other, that the rammers of the Wasp's cannon were, in one instance, struck against the side of the Frolic. The fire of the English vessel soon slackened; and after a most sanguinary action of forty-three minutes, every brace of the Wasp being shot away, and her rigging so much torn to pieces, that Captain Jones was afraid the Frolic would escape him, he resolved to board her. With this view he wore ship, and running down upon the enemy, the vessels struck each other, the Wasp's side rubbing against the Frolic's bow, so that her jib-boom came in between the main and mizen-rigging of the Wasp. At this moment, giving them a sweeping broadside, Captain Jones ordered the boarders to their places. Lieutenant Biddle, and a seaman named Jack Lang, were the first to reach the enemy's deck; but what was their astonishment when they found no person



Wasp and Frolic.

on it except three officers and the seaman at the wheel. The officers surrendered the vessel, and the colours were hauled down by Lieutenant Biddle. The Frolic was in a shocking condition; the berth-deck, particularly, was crowded with dead, wounded, and dying; but a small proportion of her crew having escaped. Captain Jones instantly sent on board his surgeon's mate, and all the blankets of the Frolic were brought from her slop-room, for the comfort of the wounded. To increase this confusion, both the Frolic's masts soon fell, covering the dead and everything on deck, and she lay a complete wreck. The brave officers and crew of the Wasp, were unfortunately deprived, shortly afterwards, of their hard-earned prize. No sooner had the engagement ceased, than a sail was seen, which soon approached near enough for them to discover that she was an enemy's seventy-four-gun ship. From the disabled state of both vessels, an escape was impracticable; they were, therefore, obliged to surrender to the British ship Poictiers, of seventy-four guns, by which they were carried into Bermuda.

The next of the brilliant actions of this war which we have to record, is that of Commodore Decatur, in the frigate *United States*. On the 25th of October, being off the Western Islands, she fell in with the British frigate *Macedonian*, of forty-nine guns and three hundred men, a vessel newly built, and of superior equipment, commanded by Captain John S. Carden, one of the ablest officers in the British navy. The enemy, being to windward, had the advantage of choosing his own distance; and, supposing the *United States* to be the *Essex*, which only mounted carronades, kept at first at long shot, and did not at any moment come within the complete effect of the musketry and grape. As soon, however, as the *United States* was able to bring her enemy to close action, the superiority of the Americans in gunnery was manifestly displayed. The enemy's mizen-mast, and most of his spars and rigging being soon shot away, he deemed it expedient to surrender, with the loss of thirty-six killed and sixty-eight wounded. The damage of the *United States* was comparatively trivial, having only four killed and seven wounded; and she suffered so little in her hull and rigging, that she might have continued her cruise, had not Commodore Decatur thought it important to convoy his prize into port. The whole engagement lasted for an hour and a half, being prolonged by the distance at which the early part of it was fought, and by a heavy swell of the sea. Both frigates arrived in safety at New York, where Decatur was received with a similar degree of rejoicing and gratitude, to that which the republic had heretofore bestowed upon Captain Hull. The great disproportion in the loss of lives which was remarkably displayed in all the naval actions during the war, while it afforded a striking proof of the precision of the Americans in the art of firing, rendered their victories doubly grateful, by depriving them, in a great measure, of the alloy of individual grief, with which such events are too often intermixed.

After his capture of the *Guerriere*, Captain Hull resigned the command of the *Constitution*, for the purpose of attending to his private affairs; and was succeeded by Commodore Wil-

liam Bainbridge, who soon after sailed from Boston, in company with Captain Lawrence, in the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, on a cruise to the East Indies. In running down the coast of Brazil, in the month of December, they found the *Bonne Citoyenne*, a British sloop-of-war, loaded with specie, lying in the port of St. Salvador. The *Bonne Citoyenne* was a larger vessel, and had a greater force, both in guns and men, than the *Hornet*; but so eager was Lawrence to engage her, that he sent through the American consul at St. Salvador, a challenge to her commander, Captain Greene, asking him to come out, and pledging himself that the *Constitution* should not interfere. Captain Greene did not think fit to accept the challenge, and preferred to lie in the harbour, where he was blockaded by the *Hornet*, till the 24th of January, 1813, when the arrival of the *Montague*, a British seventy-four-gun ship, which had sailed from Rio Janeiro, for the express purpose of relieving him, appeared, and obliged Captain Lawrence to withdraw.

In the meantime, Commodore Bainbridge, in the *Constitution*, left St. Salvador, in order that the *Bonne Citoyenne* might not be deterred from fighting the *Hornet* by his presence, and was sailing down the coast of Brazil, when, on the 29th of December, he fell in with the *Java*, a British frigate of forty-nine guns, and upwards of four hundred men, commanded by Captain Lambert. The action commenced about two o'clock, and continued, almost without intermission, until five minutes after four, when the fire of the *Java* was completely silenced, and she lay on the waters an unmanageable wreck, entirely dismantled, without a spar of any kind standing. After removing the prisoners and baggage, a service which it took two days to perform, there being but a single boat left between the two frigates, the *Java* was blown up, and the *Constitution* put into St. Salvador. The loss of the *Java* was sixty killed; and among these was Captain Lambert. Of the wounded, the accounts varied from one hundred and one (which were ascertained positively) to one hundred and seventy. On board the *Constitution*, nine were killed and

twenty-five wounded; among the latter was Commodore Bainbridge.

When Commodore Bainbridge arrived in the United States he was received with an enthusiastic welcome by his countrymen. Fifty thousand dollars prize-money, as a compensation for the loss of the *Java*, were given by Congress to the officers and crew, and a gold medal was presented to the commodore.

Six months had now elapsed from the commencement of hostilities, during which time the national vessels of the republic had carried its flag into almost every ocean. Three of them only, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and those under such circumstances of relative force, as to reflect no discredit on the captured. The *Wasp*, sloop-of-war, was taken, as we have seen, by a seventy-four-gun ship; the schooner *Nautilus*, of twelve guns, commanded by Lieutenant Crane, surrendered, after a long chase, to a squadron of the enemy's frigates; and the *Vixen*, gun-brig, was captured on the 22d of November, by the frigate *Southampton*, and carried into the West Indies, where her commander, Captain Read, subsequently died.

On the other hand, the havoc made upon the commerce of the enemy was beyond all previous calculation. Before the meeting of Congress in November, nearly two hundred and fifty vessels had been captured by the American cruisers, and more than three thousand prisoners taken; while of the American merchantmen, comparatively few had fallen into the power of the enemy. The injury thus inflicted on the British commerce was produced only in a partial degree by the public vessels. The American privateers swarmed in every sea, and the enterprise, so conspicuous in the character of the nation, rendered them most formidable opponents. Being mostly built with a view to expeditious sailing, they were, in general, able to overtake the merchant-vessels, and to escape from the fastest frigates of the enemy. These advantages were never sullied by inhumanity; and the generosity with which they, in many instances, acted in opposition to the love of profit, reflects credit on the national character.

In the meantime, after a recess of only four months, Congress had again assembled at Washington, on the 2d of November. The President, in his message, frankly stated the defeats experienced on the Canada frontier, complaining bitterly of the refusal of the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut to call out their contingent of militia. This resulted from an unfortunate misconstruction of the constitution, by which the governors of those states denied the authority of the President to determine when it was necessary to call out the militia, as well as his power to appoint officers over them. The relations of the republic with the continental powers of Europe, were stated to bear, in general, a favourable aspect. He noticed with just pride the victories of American vessels, and Congress was requested to increase the navy. He recommended in a pointed manner, the propriety of increasing the inducements to enlist in the regular army: and concluded with an expression of confidence in the final success and prosperity of the republic, arising from what was considered the flattering state of the pecuniary resources, and from the spirit and strength of the nation.

The government of Great Britain had offered an armistice, grounded on the repeal of the orders in council: but the President had demanded, by way of preliminary towards the conclusion of the war, some effectual provisions against the impressment of American seamen. Congress now passed resolutions approving his conduct in this affair. The impressment of American seamen being considered a principal cause of the war, hostilities, it was held, ought to be prosecuted until that cause was removed. The United States could never acquiesce in a continuance of the practice; and the omission to notice it in a treaty of peace, would be, in effect, a virtual relinquishment of their opposition to it. Great inducements were now offered to enlist, and the President was authorized to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, and ten companies of rangers, the latter expressly for the protection of the frontiers. A bill was also passed, authorizing the construction of four seventy-four-gun ships, six frigates of forty-four guns,

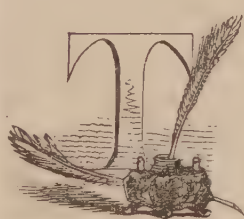
and six sloops-of-war. An appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars was made, for the purpose of establishing a dock-yard for the repair of vessels of war. In order to defray the expenses of the war for the coming year, two bills were passed ; the first authorizing a loan of sixteen millions of dollars, and the other giving the president power to issue treasury notes to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars. The presidential election which took place in the autumn of this year, resulted in the re-election of James Madison as President, to his second term of office, and of Elbridge Gerry, as Vice President, succeeding Mr. Clinton, for the term of four years, from the fourth day of March, 1813.





CHAPTER LIII.

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OF 1813 IN THE NORTH.



HE services required by the administration to be performed on the north-western frontier, were of the most arduous and extensive kind. With the scattered and irregular force of which the army of General Harrison was chiefly composed, to carry on offensive operations, through a swampy and intricate wilderness, was a task which, even at the most favourable season, would require all his varied talents to execute. When the duty of attempting the recapture of Detroit was devolved upon him, the autumn had already commenced, and the difficulties and impediments in his way were almost innumerable. The Michigan Territory, it appears, afforded no suitable supplies. The article of forage must have been brought from the State of Ohio; and General Harrison, in one of his letters to the administration at Washington, declares that "to get supplies forward, through a swampy wilderness of near two hundred miles, in wagons or on pack-horses, which are also to carry their own provisions, is absolutely impossible." In addition to these impediments to an active prosecution of the war, the sufferings experienced by

the troops, during the inclement season, were of the most painful nature. Many of the militia were without a covering to their feet; and a fine body of regulars, of the 17th and 19th regiments, were nearly destroyed for want of clothing.

The plan laid down by General Harrison for the ensuing campaign was similar to the one heretofore adopted. To occupy the Rapids of the Miami; to collect provisions there; to move from thence with a select detachment, and, making a feint upon Detroit, to pass the strait upon the ice and invest Malden. The force he proposed to assemble at the Rapids was between four and five thousand men. This body was to proceed in three divisions from Fort Defiance, Fort M'Arthur, and Upper Sandusky. To the latter place General Harrison proceeded soon after the 8th of January, where he found the Virginia and Pennsylvania brigades, making his effective force at that place about fifteen hundred men; and a large quantity of artillery, with the necessary munitions of war, arriving soon after, he despatched orders to General Winchester, at Fort Defiance, to advance to the Rapids, as soon as he had accumulated provisions for twenty days. He was directed to commence there the building of huts, with a view of inducing the enemy to believe he was going into winter-quarters; and to construct sleds for the expedition against Malden.

Having received a supply of provisions and clothing, and provided for the sick, General Winchester commenced his march, in conformity with his directions, on the 30th of December, and arrived at the Rapids, on the 10th of January, where he immediately formed a fortified camp, on an eminence surrounded by prairies. On the 17th, Colonels Lewis and Allen were detached, with six hundred and fifty men, to the river Raisin; and on the march, hearing that there was a strong body of British and Indians at Frenchtown, on that river, Colonel Lewis determined to gain possession of the place. When he had approached within a few miles of the town, he learned that the enemy were ready to receive him. A general charge was immediately made, which resulted in the repulse and retreat of the enemy. Colonel Lewis resolved on

holding the place; and immediately sent off despatches to Generals Harrison and Winchester.

On the night of the 20th, General Winchester arrived at Frenchtown, with about two hundred and fifty men, and encamped in an open lot, on the right of Colonel Lewis's detachment, which was protected in its encampment by some close garden pickets. Here they remained all the next day and night, in seeming security; but soon after daylight, on the 22d, they were surprised by a party of British and Indians, who opened a heavy fire from their artillery, at the distance of three hundred yards. The American troops were immediately formed, and received a charge from the British regulars, and a general fire of musketry. The detachment under Colonel Lewis, being defended by pickets, soon repulsed the enemy; but the reinforcement which had arrived with General Winchester was overpowered; and not being able to rally behind a fence, as directed by the General, were thrown into complete confusion, and retreated in disorder across the river. All attempts to rally this unfortunate body, although made in several places by General Winchester, and Colonels Lewis and Allen, proved vain. They endeavoured, as the Indians had gained their left flank and rear, to make their escape through a long lane, on both sides of which the savages were stationed, by whom they were shot down in every direction. Their officers also, carried in this general tide of flight, attempted to escape, only, in most instances, to be massacred. Colonel Allen, and Captains Simpson and Mead, were killed on the field, or in the flight; and General Winchester, with Colonel Lewis, was captured a short distance from the village. The troops of the left wing, however, stationed behind the picketing, maintained their post with undaunted valour, when General Winchester capitulated for them; Colonel Proctor, the British commander, promising that they should be protected from the fury of the savages, and that he would remove the wounded, the next day, to Amherstburg. About twelve o'clock, he marched with his prisoners for Malden, leaving Major Reynolds, with a few soldiers, in charge of the wounded

Americans. The Indian warriors, who had participated in the engagement, had chiefly left the village of Frenchtown, with their allies, soon after the conclusion of the conflict. They proceeded, however, only a few miles on the road to Malden; and at sunrise, on the succeeding day, returned to the village, and commenced the work of destruction. The houses, in which the greater part of the prisoners were confined, were set on fire, and most of those ill-fated men perished in the conflagration. Those who possessed sufficient strength, endeavoured in vain to escape; as fast as they appeared at the windows, they were thrust back into the devouring flames. Others met their death in the streets from the tomahawk, and were left mangled on the highway. Thus ended this horrid tragedy of the Indians. But, were the Indians alone to blame for their violence? Were not the British officers responsible for the deeds of their allies? Posterity, in whose impartial balance these awful scenes are to be weighed, will not hesitate to include in the same sentence of condemnation, both those who committed the massacre, and those by whom it was not forbidden. This disaster gave a decisive blow to the operations of the campaign, and occasioned the total abandonment of the enterprise against Malden, for the season. General Harrison employed this time in the fortification of his camp, which he denominated Fort Meigs, in honour of the Governor of Ohio.

Here, about the end of April, he was besieged by the British and Indians. On the 1st of May, the British batteries being completed, a heavy cannonading commenced, which was continued till late at night. The intervening time had not been spent in idleness by the garrison. A grand traverse, twelve feet high, upon a base of twenty feet, and three hundred yards long, had been completed, which concealed and protected the whole army. The fire of the enemy, therefore, produced little effect. Disappointed in his first plan of attack, Colonel Proctor transferred his guns to the opposite side of the river, and opened a fire upon the centre and flanks of the camp. The cannonading of the enemy continued for several days,



General Pike.

incessant and powerful; that of the Americans produced greater execution; but a scarcity of ammunition compelled them to economize their fire.

In the meantime, an attempt was made by General Clay to raise the siege; but it was defeated, on account of the imprudence and insubordination of the troops engaged. In the battle, many valuable lives were lost; and the cruelties perpetrated upon the prisoners in presence of the officers of the British army, are said to be little inferior in atrocity to those of the bloody day of Frenchtown.* From this period until the 9th, little of importance occurred. The British commander, finding that he could make no impression upon the fort with his batteries, and being deserted, in a great measure,

* Colonel Wood's Journal. M'Affee's History, p. 271.

by his Indian allies, who became weary of the length of the siege, resolved upon a retreat. After several days' preparation, his whole force was accordingly embarked on the 9th; and was soon out of sight of the garrison, with little molestation on their part.

The British force, including regulars and militia, during the siege, was supposed to have been upwards of one thousand. Their Indian auxiliaries were not fewer in number. Among them the celebrated Tecumseh was particularly distinguished. The American garrison seldom exceeded twelve hundred, a very small portion of whom were regulars. Its loss, during the siege, with the exception of that occasioned by the unfortunate attempt of General Clay, was not great. About two hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, principally on that occasion.

The land forces on the Ontario frontier were under the immediate command of General Dearborn; who now determined to make an attack on the town of York, the capital of Upper Canada, and a place of great importance to the enemy. The troops destined for the expedition, to the number of about seventeen hundred, embarked on board the squadron, and left Sackett's Harbour, on the 25th of April. On the 27th, they succeeded in effecting a landing, though opposed by seven hundred regulars and militia, and one hundred Indians. Major Forsyth, with his riflemen, was the first to gain the shore; and, after a severe contest of nearly half an hour, succeeded in repelling the enemy with a very inferior force. General Pike now landed; and, pushing on with a small party, drove the enemy before him. They rallied, however, and returned to the attack, but were again repulsed, and retreated to their works. The whole body was by this time formed on the shore, and arranged in the order contemplated for the attack. Led by their gallant commander, General Pike, the column pressed forward with the utmost regularity; and, after receiving a heavy fire from one of the enemy's batteries, which they carried by assault, were moving towards the main works, when a sudden and tremendous explosion

took place from the enemy's magazine, which hurled upon the advancing troops immense masses of stone and timber, and, for a short time, checked their progress, by the havoc it made in their ranks. Numbers were immediately killed or disabled by the contusions; among the latter was their deservedly lamented commander, General Pike, who survived but a few hours. The direction of the troops then devolved upon the senior officer, Colonel Pearce, General Dearborn having remained on board of one of the vessels of the squadron. The enemy's regular troops had now retreated, leaving the defence of the place to the militia. At five o'clock, the Americans took possession of the town, having arranged articles of capitulation with the commanding officer. The land and naval forces were surrendered prisoners of war, and all public stores given up. Private property was guarantied and scrupulously protected. The prisoners taken amounted to forty officers, and two hundred and fifty-one non-commissioned officers and privates, the greater part of whom were militia. Besides these, the loss of the enemy was estimated by General Dearborn at one hundred killed and three hundred wounded. The total loss of the American army in killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and twenty men, of whom thirty-eight were killed and two hundred and twenty-two wounded by the explosion of the magazine.

General Dearborn next made a descent upon Fort George, which was taken, after a spirited resistance. The British retired to Burlington heights, about forty miles west of Fort George, where they concentrated their forces with those of other British garrisons. Generals Chandler and Winder were despatched from Fort George, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of this body; but they were surprised by a night attack of the enemy, both generals were captured, and the detachment compelled, by the arrival of the British fleet under Sir James Yeo, to retreat to Fort George. A detachment of about five hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, being sent soon after to attack and disperse a body of the enemy at Beaver Dams, was surrounded and captured, the

troops being compelled to lay down their arms at the head of the British column.

From this period little of importance occurred in the vicinity of Fort George. The British troops, having been considerably reinforced, and placed under the command of Major-General De Rottenburgh, invested the fort, without, however, making any regular attack upon it.

While the greater part of the American army was thus occupied on the Canada frontier, Sackett's Harbour being left in a comparatively defenceless state, the opportunity was seized by the enemy to make an attack upon that important post. At the departure of General Dearborn for York, he gave the command to Brigadier-General Brown, of the New York militia, although his term of service had expired. On the 27th of May, the enemy's squadron was discovered by Lieutenant Chauncey; and notice being given at Sackett's Harbour, alarm-guns were fired, for the purpose of bringing in the militia of the neighbourhood. By these and other means, a force of about one thousand men was collected, consisting of regulars, seamen, volunteers, and militia, the latter composing one-half of the amount. With this body, General Brown made all the arrangements for defence which the shortness of the time would allow. The militia and volunteers, under Colonel Mills, were posted behind a breastwork, hastily thrown up on a peninsula, at which it was supposed the enemy would land. The regulars under Colonel Backus, formed a second line; and Lieutenant Chauncey, with some seamen, was stationed at the Navy Point, with directions to destroy the buildings and stores, in case of the defeat of these troops. On the morning of the 29th, the enemy landed his whole force, which consisted of one thousand picked men, under Sir George Prevost, after a heavy fire from the battery on the peninsula, which occasioned some loss. This fire was, however, all the defence that the militia attempted. As soon as the enemy began to approach, they were seized by one of those panics to which all new troops are subject, and fled, in haste and confusion. Colonel Mills, their commander, in vain endeavoured



General Brown.

to rally them: in the attempt, he was mortally wounded. The enemy, having thus easily surmounted the first opposition, advanced towards the village, though checked for a time by a bold attack from a small party under Major Aspinwall, whom they soon compelled to retreat. About one hundred of the militia, rallied by General Brown, annoyed the enemy's left flank: and the regulars, under Colonel Backus, having also engaged him, a sharp conflict ensued. The Americans were at length, by force of numbers, compelled to retire. In their retreat, they took possession of the houses in the vicinity, and poured upon the British column so destructive a fire, that it was found expedient to fall back. Perceiving the hesitation on the part of the enemy, General Brown had recourse to a stratagem, which soon converted the retreat into a precipitate

flight. Collecting together a number of the militia who had so ingloriously fled, he formed and marched them silently through a wood, in the direction of the enemy's rear, but so as to be observed by him. Imagining that his retreat would be cut off, the latter re-embarked so rapidly, as to leave most of his wounded, and some prisoners, behind. In his flight, he was not molested by the American troops.

In a short time the enemy was under way from the American shore, after having sustained a heavy loss, and without achieving by his own act a single object for which his expedition had been set on foot.

The Americans, however, besides the fall of several brave men in the action, suffered also during the conflict no inconsiderable loss in property and effects. A false report having reached Lieutenant Chauncey, of the defeat and retreat of the Americans, he conceived it necessary to comply with the orders he had received, to prevent the stores from falling into the hands of the enemy. He was, however, no sooner apprised of the incorrectness of the information, than he spared no exertions to extinguish the conflagration; and his efforts were finally successful, though not until considerable damage had been done.

The British loss was twenty-four killed, twenty-two wounded, and thirty-three prisoners. Of the Americans, the loss was much greater; one hundred and fifty-six in all being killed, wounded, and missing.

The capture of Sackett's Harbour, had the enemy succeeded in effecting that object, would have been productive of the most disastrous consequences to the republic. Being the most convenient place of deposit, great quantities of military stores had been accumulated there, as well as the materials for the increase of the navy upon the lake. A new frigate was at the moment upon the stocks, besides several others in the harbour. Had these fallen into the hands of the enemy, his naval superiority would have been firmly established, and any further attempts of the American troops upon Canada, for a time impeded. No event, therefore, of the campaign, was of more

manifest advantage than the repulse of the British troops on this expedition; and the able dispositions, as well as patriotic zeal of General Brown, acquired him deserved credit. In recompense for his exertions on this occasion, he was shortly afterwards appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

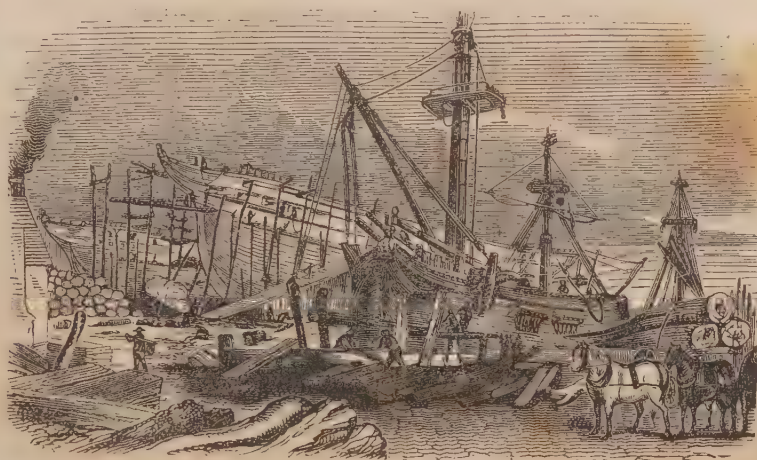
On the 20th of July, the British and Indians made another attempt on Fort Meigs; but after a siege of eight days they were compelled to abandon it. They then sailed round to Sandusky Bay, hoping to surprise Fort Stephenson, at that place. This fort was garrisoned by only one hundred and sixty men, under the command of Major Croghan. The force of the enemy was supposed to consist of about five hundred regulars and eight hundred Indians, the whole commanded by General Proctor. On the 1st of August the enemy landed, and immediately opened their fire from the six-pounders of their gun-boats, and a howitzer, which they had landed a short distance below the fort. The only piece of artillery in the possession of the Americans was a six-pounder, which was occasionally fired from different quarters, to impress the enemy with the belief that there were several. The fire of the assailants having been principally directed against the north-western angle of the fort, with the intention, as it was supposed, of storming it from that quarter, the six-pounder was placed in such a position as to enfilade that angle, and masked, so as to be unperceived. The firing was continued during the next day, and until late in the evening, when the smoke and darkness favouring the attempt, the enemy advanced to the assault. Two feints were made, in the direction of the southern angle; and at the same time, a column of about three hundred and fifty proceeded to the attack of that of the north-west. When they arrived within twenty paces of this point, they were discovered, and a heavy fire of musketry opened upon them. The column, however, led by Colonel Short, continued to advance, and leaped into the ditch; but, at this moment, the embrasure was opened, and so well-directed and raking a fire was poured in upon them from the six-pounder, that their commander and many of the men were



Defence of Fort Stephenson.

instantly killed; and the remainder made a disorderly and hasty retreat. A similar fate attended the other column, commanded by Colonel Warburton. They were received, on their approach, by so heavy a fire, that they broke and took refuge in an adjoining wood. The total loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in this affair, was about one hundred and fifty men. The scene which followed the attack reflected the greatest credit on the Americans. Numbers of the enemy's wounded were left lying in the ditch, to whom water and other necessaries were conveyed by the garrison, during the night, at the risk of their own safety. A communication was cut under the picketing, through which many were enabled to crawl into the fort, where surgical aid, and all that the most liberal generosity could dictate, was administered to them. About three o'clock in the morning after their repulse, the enemy commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving behind them many valuable military articles.

The defence of Fort Stephenson, achieved as it was by a youth scarcely arrived at manhood, against a foe distinguished



Building of the Fleet on Lake Erie.

for his skill and bravery, and that too with so small means of defence at the time subsisting, was certainly one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. The news of the repulse of the enemy was received with great exultation throughout the Union. Major Croghan was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and, together with his brave companions, received the thanks of Congress.

Early in the spring of this year, the attention of the national government had been seriously directed towards the important object of obtaining the command on Lake Erie. The earnest representations of General Harrison had awakened the administration to a proper sense of the necessity of this measure; and great exertions were accordingly made, to obtain a force competent to engage the enemy. Two brigs and several schooners were ordered to be built at the port of Erie, under the directions of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry; the building of which that officer carried on with such rapidity, that on the 2d of August, he was able to sail in quest of the enemy's squadron. He found them lying in the harbour of Malden; their force augmented by a new vessel, the *Detroit*, which rendered them again superior to the Americans. Finding the



Battle of Lake Erie.

enemy, however, unwilling to venture out, the American commander returned to Put-in-Bay, in Bass Island.

On the morning of the 10th of September, while the squadron was lying in this harbour, the enemy's fleet was discovered standing out of the port of Malden, with the wind in their favour. The American fleet immediately weighed anchor, and fortunately got clear of the islands near the head of the lake, before the enemy approached. At ten o'clock the wind changed, so as to give the former the weather-gage. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and at a few minutes before twelve, the action commenced. The fire from the enemy's long guns proving very destructive to the *Lawrence*, the flag-ship of the squadron, she bore up, for the purpose of closing with her opponents, and made signals to the other vessels to support her. The wind, however, being very light, and the fire of the enemy well-directed, she soon became altogether unmanageable; she sustained the action, nevertheless, for upwards of two hours, until all her guns were disabled, and most of the crew either killed or wounded. In this situa-

tion of affairs, the American commodore, with singular presence of mind, and a gallantry rarely equalled, and never exceeded, resolved upon a step which decided the fortune of the day. Leaving his ship, the *Lawrence*, in charge of a lieutenant, he passed in an open boat, under a heavy fire of musketry, to the *Niagara*, which a fortunate increase of wind had enabled her commander, Captain Elliot, to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to lead the smaller vessels into close action; while Commodore Perry, with the *Niagara*, bore up, and passed through the enemy's line, pouring a destructive fire into the vessels on each side. The smaller American vessels, having soon afterwards arrived within a suitable distance, opened a well-directed fire upon their opponents, and after a short, but severe contest, the whole of the British squadron struck their colours to the republican vessels. The *Lawrence*, whose flag had been struck soon after the American commodore left her, had been enabled again to hoist it previous to the conclusion of the contest; the enemy not having it in his power to take possession of her.*

* The Americans vessels were

The Brig <i>Lawrence</i> , Commodore Perry		20	guns.	
" " <i>Niagara</i> , Captain Elliot		20	"	
" " <i>Caledonia</i> , Purser M'Grath		3	"	
" Schooner <i>Ariel</i> , Lieutenant Packet		4	"	
" " <i>Scorpion</i> , Sailing-Master Champlin,		2	"	
" " <i>Somers</i> , " " <i>Almy</i>	...	2	"	and 2 swivels.
" " <i>Tigress</i> , Lieutenant Conklin		1	"	
" " <i>Porcupine</i> , Midshipman G. Senat		1	"	
" Sloop <i>Trippe</i> , Lieutenant Smith		1	"	
				In all, 54 "

The force of the enemy consisted of

The Ship Detroit	19	guns, 1 on pivot, and 2 howitzers.
“ “ Queen Charlotte	17	“ 1 “
“ Schooner Lady Prevost . . .	13	“ 1 “
“ Brig Hunter	10	“
“ Sloop Little Belt	3	“
“ Schooner Chippeway	1	“ and 2 swivels.
In all,	63	“



General Harrison crossing Lake Erie.

This victory will long be memorable in the annals of the republic, both as being the first victory of a squadron of its vessels over one of an enemy, and as being among the most brilliant and decisive triumphs ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare.

The American loss in this engagement was two officers and twenty-five men killed, and ninety-six wounded, among whom were many officers; that of the British, as near as could be ascertained, was three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and nine officers, and eighty-five men wounded.

Not merely was the character of the nation raised to the highest pitch of elevation, by this signal victory over a superior force, but the fate of the campaign, on the whole north-western frontier, was decided by the destruction of the British squadron. Having heretofore drawn its supplies through the agency of that fleet, the army of the allies would, it was foreseen, be compelled to evacuate, not only its position in the American territory, but the greater part of Upper Canada.

On receiving the intelligence of the capture of his fleet, General Proctor immediately abandoned Malden, which was occupied the next day by the American army under General Harrison and Governor Shelby.

On the 2d of October, they moved forward in pursuit of the British, and came up with them on the 5th, on the banks of the Thames; where they were drawn up across a narrow isthmus, covered with trees, and formed by the Thames on the right, and a swamp running parallel to the river, on the left. The British regulars were posted, in open files, three or four feet apart, with their left on the river, supported by the artillery; while the Indians under Tecumseh, were placed in a dense wood, with their right on the morass. Colonel Johnson, with the 2d battalion of the mounted volunteers, was ordered to attack the Indians, while Harrison formed part of the 1st battalion, in four columns of double files, and ordered them to advance and break the British lines. Their horses, frightened by the fire and noise of the musketry, at first recoiled; recovering themselves, however, they continued to advance with such ardent impetuosity, that both the British lines were immediately broken. Wheeling then on the enemy's rear, they poured a destructive fire into his ranks; and in a few minutes, the whole British force, to the number of about eight hundred men, threw down their arms and surrendered to the first battalion of the mounted regiment, the infantry not having arrived in time to share the honour. General Proctor escaped by means of the fleetness of his horses, escorted by forty dragoons and a number of Indians.

In the meantime a more obstinate and protracted conflict had been waged with the Indians on the right of the British line. The second battalion of the mounted volunteers, under the command of Colonel Johnson, having advanced to the attack, was received with a very destructive fire; and the ground being unfavourable for the operations of horse, they were dismounted, and the line again formed on foot. A severe contest now ensued, during which the Indian chief Tecumseh was killed; and at length the militia under Governor Shelby, advancing to the aid of Colonel Johnson's battalion, the Indians broke and fled in all directions, pursued by the mounted volunteers.

By this victory all the territory surrendered by General Hull

was recovered, a great quantity of small-arms and stores, and six pieces of brass artillery were captured. Of the Americans, seven were killed and twenty-two wounded; and of the British troops, twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded. The loss of thirty of the Indians killed was trifling, in comparison with that sustained by the death of Tecumseh, their celebrated leader. His death inflicted a decisive stroke on the confederacy of the savages, from which it never recovered, and deprived the British troops of a most active and efficient auxiliary.

General Harrison having now accomplished the object of the expedition, the capture of the British army; and being without orders from the war department for his subsequent operations, left General Cass with part of his troops in command at Detroit, and embarked with General M'Arthur's brigade and a battalion of regular riflemen for Buffalo, at which place he arrived on the 24th of October. Shortly afterwards he received orders from the secretary of war, to send the brigade of General M'Arthur to Sackett's Harbour, and was informed that he had permission to return to his family.*

General Wilkinson having succeeded General Dearborn in the command of the northern army, made an ineffectual attempt upon Canada by descending the St. Lawrence towards Montreal; during which an indecisive battle was fought at Williamsburg. The whole expedition, though under the personal superintendence of the secretary of war, turned out a complete failure.

The contest for superiority on Lake Ontario, during the fall of this year, was, as heretofore, calculated more to exhibit the skill and seamanship, than the valour of the officers. The prudent caution of Sir James Yeo, the British commodore, induced him to avoid a general action, the result of which might have been so disadvantageous to the interests of his country, while the efforts of Commodore Chauncey to bring on an engagement, were generally crippled by the inferior sailing of his small vessels.

* M'Affee's History, p. 405.

On the 26th of December, 1812, an order in council declared the bays of the Chesapeake and Delaware to be in a state of blockade; and a subsequent order, issued on the 20th of March, extended the blockade as far north as Rhode Island. Early in March, a squadron of four ships of the line and six frigates, under Admiral Cockburn, arrived in the Chesapeake, and three seventy-fours, and several smaller vessels, under Commodore Beresford, arrived in the Delaware about the same time. On the 16th of March, a demand for provisions, with an offer of payment, was made by Beresford, upon the inhabitants of Lewistown, a small port in the State of Delaware. A refusal being immediately returned, the destruction of the town was threatened as the alternative; and the inhabitants still refusing to comply with the request, a bombardment of the place was commenced, on the 6th of April. The fire was returned from an eighteen-pounder placed on a battery hastily thrown up; and the cannonading continued for twenty-two hours without the loss of a man, on the part of the Americans, or any injury being done to the town. Many attempts to land were made, after this period, by the boats of the squadron, for the purpose of obtaining water, without success, the militia being in general assembled at the water's edge, in sufficient force to repulse the assailants. Finding that they could gain no advantage by remaining, the squadron abandoned the river, after burning some merchant-vessels, and sailed for Bermuda.

The squadron in the Chesapeake, displayed much more activity, in the species of warfare it was thought proper to pursue. Admiral Cockburn commenced his operations by capturing small vessels and plundering the country-seats and farm-houses on the shores of the bay and its dependent rivers. From the pillage of farm-houses the transition was easy to the plunder and conflagration of villages. Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, Fredericktown, and Georgetown, were plundered and burned. The private dwellings of the citizens in these towns were made the subjects of the most outrageous rapine. Nothing appeared too valuable, nothing too insignificant, to escape the rapacity or resentment of the victors. Furniture,

clothing, and even the houses themselves, were involved in the same general destruction.

Admiral Cockburn being powerfully reinforced by the arrival of Sir John Borlase Warren, as commander-in-chief, with a large body of troops, under Sir Sidney Beckwith, they determined to attack Norfolk. This town and the villages in its immediate vicinity were only saved from destruction by the determined resistance of the militia, aided by the seamen and marines from the frigate *Constellation*, on Craney Island, at the mouth of Elizabeth river, where they constructed a fort and breastwork, and made such a determined resistance that the British were compelled to retreat with great loss, leaving behind them upwards of two hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Irritated by their repulse from a place of which they expected to become masters with little or no opposition, the British made an attack on Hampton, a town about eighteen miles from Norfolk. After being obstinately resisted by four hundred and fifty militia, they succeeded, by means of an overwhelming force, in taking possession of the town, which was given up to the will of the soldiery, who perpetrated outrages of so revolting and inhuman a nature, as to forbid us from entering into a detail. It is sufficient to say that they called for the interposition of General Taylor, commander of the American forces at Norfolk, who succeeded in obtaining from Sir Sidney Beckwith, a promise that the future military operations should be carried on consistently with the established usages of war, and agreeably to the law of nations. The promise thus given seems to have been adhered to with fidelity. No further operations took place in the Chesapeake during this season. The greater part of the vessels remained, indeed, within its waters, and, by threatening the chief cities, kept the militia on a constant and harassing duty. Admiral Cockburn, however, whose genius seemed to be peculiarly adapted to the pursuit, was despatched with a considerable squadron to the shores of North Carolina, where he continued to pursue the same system of plunder and devastation.

Commodore Hardy, the commander of the squadron blockading New London, conducted his operations with far greater humanity and prudence. He held the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian* there in inaction during the latter period of the war, declining, however, to meet them with an equal force.





CHAPTER LIV.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1813.



THE success of the Americans in their naval encounters, meanwhile, was not less surprising than in the preceding year. On the 23d of February, the *Hornet* sloop-of-war, Captain Lawrence, fell in with, and after an action of less than fifteen minutes, captured the British brig-of-war *Peacock*, Captain Peake. She mounted twenty cannon, and two swivels, and had on board one hundred and thirty men. Such was the shattered condition of the *Peacock*, that she sunk before all the prisoners could be removed, carrying with her nine of her crew and three of the Americans. Besides the three men thus lost, the *Hornet* had only one man killed and three

wounded. Captain Lawrence returned to the United States on the 19th of March, where he was received with all the respect due to valour and good conduct.

Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, then lying in Boston harbour. On his arrival to take the command, he found that several of the officers were sick, many of the crew had but newly enlisted, and the remainder were unacquainted with their officers, and discontented at the withholding of their prize-money ; but he seems to have paid but little attention to these things, and to have seen or known nothing, except that the British frigate Shannon, Captain Broke, was cruising off the harbour of Boston, as if challenging him to come out to battle. The Shannon was fitted out expressly against American frigates, and was perhaps in a higher state of equipment and discipline, than any other in the British service. Captain Broke sent in a formal challenge to Captain Lawrence, signifying his desire to meet the Chesapeake, and giving a minute account of the force and equipment of the Shannon. Unfortunately this challenge arrived too late. Captain Lawrence, burning with impatience to meet the enemy, had sailed on the 1st of June, the day before its receipt. At half-past five, the action commenced by an exchange of broadsides, that from the Shannon proving remarkably fatal. In a very few minutes after the commencement of the action, the sailing-master was killed, and Lieutenants Ludlow, Ballard, and Brown, severely wounded. Shortly afterwards, Captain Lawrence received a dangerous wound ; but remained on the deck, issuing his orders with perfect composure. The fire of the Chesapeake was directed with evident effect against the hull of the Shannon ; that of the latter was aimed at the rigging of the Chesapeake, with such success, that in twelve minutes from the commencement of the action, she fell on board her antagonist. A raking fire was now poured into her from the Shannon ; and Captain Broke, seeing that her decks were nearly swept of the crew, took the opportunity of boarding at the head of his marines. At this moment, Captain Lawrence, who had

persisted in remaining on deck, received a mortal wound, and was carried below, having first issued that memorable order, "Don't give up the ship," which has since become the motto of the American navy. From the confusion which ensued on board the American vessel, at the loss of her commander, and of most of the officers, no efficient resistance could be made to the determined attack of the enemy. The small number who were able to reach the deck, were soon driven below, and, in a few minutes, the enemy obtained possession of the vessel; and, for the first time since the declaration of war, the British flag was hoisted in an American frigate.

The Shannon lost her first-lieutenant with twenty-three men killed, and fifty-six wounded. Captain Broke was among the latter. On board of the Chesapeake, the first and fourth-lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, the master, three midshipmen, and about seventy men, were killed; and the second and third-lieutenants, the chaplain, four midshipmen, and about ninety men, were wounded. But of all others, the loss of her gallant captain was most severely felt.

In August, Captain Allen, in the United States' brig Argus, having conveyed Mr. Crawford, the American ambassador, to France, being on a cruise in the British channel, during which he captured and destroyed British vessels and cargoes to the amount of two millions of dollars, fell in with the British sloop-of-war Pelican, of rather superior force, which had been fitted out expressly for the purpose of seeking him. The action commenced at five o'clock, on the morning of the 14th of August, and continued with great ardour on both sides until half-past six, when the captain, first-lieutenant, and many of the seamen of the Argus being severely wounded, most of her rigging shot away, the enemy about to board, and the British frigate Sea-Horse heaving in sight, her flag was struck by the remaining officers. She was carried into England, where her commander shortly afterwards died of his wounds. It is due to his memory to add, that a more gallant, generous, and noble-hearted seaman, was not to be found in the American navy.



Enterprise and Boxer.

The capture of the *Argus* was followed shortly afterwards by an event which turned the scale of naval victories in favour of the republic. On the 4th of September, the American brig of war *Enterprise*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, fell in with, and after an action of forty-five minutes, captured the British brig *Boxer*, of fourteen guns, and about one hundred men.

During the whole of this year, the enemy's commerce suffered considerably from the private armed vessels of the United States. Almost every quarter of the globe bore testimony to their enterprise and intrepidity. In the course of their cruises, they frequently encountered the armed vessels of the enemy, and in many instances displayed a degree of valour and seamanship equal to that of the public vessels. Perhaps no instance in the annals of naval warfare can be found, of a more desperate and gallant action than that fought by the American privateer-schooner *Decatur*, of seven guns, and one hundred and three men, with his Britannic Majesty's schooner *Dominica*, of fifteen guns, and eighty-eight men. The two vessels met on the 15th of August, and after a variety of manœuvres, and a well-sustained action of two hours, the

Dominica was carried by boarding. A desperate combat was maintained on the deck of the latter vessel, until the captain and most of her officers and crew being disabled, her colours were struck by the crew of the Decatur. When the difference in the force of the two vessels is considered, this action cannot fail to be classed among the most brilliant of a war fruitful of naval renown.



Cruise of the Argus.



CHAPTER LV.

SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1813.



THE Indian nations of the South, included within the limits of the United States, had long enjoyed the same privileges and protection as the white inhabitants. But the force of early habits, and hereditary antipathies, prevented them from joining cordially in the efforts made for their civilization; and made them discontented with their situation, and anxious to return to that life of freedom and enjoyment which they saw other tribes possessing. Their discontent was fanned and inflamed to the highest pitch in the spring of 1812, by a visit of the celebrated Tecumseh. He, with an ardent, but savage eloquence, endeavoured to excite them to a resistance against what he represented as flagrant oppression. He reminded them of the

usurpation of their lands by the whites ; he painted in glowing colours, their spirit of encroachment, and the consequent diminution and probable extinction of the race of Indians ; and contrasted their sedentary and unmanly occupations with the wild and fearless independence of their ancestors. He went farther ; he denounced the vengeance of the Great Spirit against those of his degenerate children, who should imitate the manners or worship the gods of the whites ; and succeeded in establishing as chief prophet among the Creeks, one who was the partisan of his enterprises, and the partaker of his councils.

The effects of these arguments were soon visible among the Creeks and Seminoles, two tribes residing within the limits of the Floridas. In the month of September, 1812, a party of volunteers, from Georgia, to the number of one hundred and seventeen, were attacked near the Lachway towns, by a superior force of Indians. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Indian chief or king was killed ; but the Georgians were compelled to return to the place from which they had set out. General Jackson was then sent against them, at the head of twenty-five hundred Tennessee volunteers, who completely overawed the Creeks for the time. From this period, until the summer of the succeeding year, no event of any importance occurred.

Intimidated by the threats of the Indians, about three hundred of the settlers in the most exposed situations on the Alabama, had taken refuge in Fort Mimms, in Tensaw settlement. Notwithstanding the warnings frequently received, of an intended attack, this party was so much off their guard, as to be surprised at noon-day, on the 30th of August, by about six hundred Indians, led on by the chief Weatherford, who partially penetrated through the gateway. After a desperate conflict, the garrison succeeded in driving them out, and closing the passage. The enemy retired ; but in a few minutes returned, and having with their axes cut their way into the area, they drove the besieged into the houses, to which they applied the torch. The most dreadful carnage now

ensued. Those whom the flames spared fell victims to the tomahawk; and out of the whole number of three hundred men, women, and children, only seventeen escaped, to carry the dreadful intelligence to the neighbouring stations.

This unprovoked massacre was followed by the ruin and devastation of the remaining settlements. In order to chastise the Indians, an army of three thousand five hundred militia was raised, principally in Tennessee, and placed under the command of General Jackson. On the 2d of November, a detachment of nine hundred men was despatched, under General Coffee, to attack and disperse a body of the enemy, posted at Tallushatchee, about thirteen miles distant. Early on the succeeding morning, he arrived within a short distance of the town, and dividing his force into two columns, completely surrounded it. The Indians, perceiving the approach of a company of spies, sent to draw them into the field, made a furious charge, and drove them upon the main body. The latter, in their turn, compelled the enemy to fall back, and take refuge in their town, where they maintained, for a long time, a desperate conflict, neither asking nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior perished. The wounded survivors, and a number of women and children, were taken prisoners. One hundred and eighty-six of the enemy were killed, among whom were unfortunately some women and children, who lost their lives in consequence of their being mingled with the warriors. Of General Coffee's force, five were killed and forty wounded. The detachment joined the main body on the evening of the same day.

Having received information, soon after this event, that the enemy had invested a fort of the friendly Indians, at Talladega, about thirty miles distant, General Jackson determined to proceed with his whole army to its relief. His force now consisted of twelve hundred infantry, and eight hundred cavalry and gun-men: and, leaving the sick, the wounded, and the baggage, under a sufficient guard, he commenced his march, at midnight of the 7th of December, the day on which he received the information. Such was the ardour of the troops,

and the skill and resolution of their commander, that, notwithstanding a detention of many hours in crossing the river, they arrived at seven, on the morning of the 9th, within a mile of the Indians, and General Jackson made his dispositions for the attack. The advance, under General Carroll, was directed to commence the action, and having drawn the enemy out of their post, to fall back on the main body. The mounted men were placed on the right and left of the infantry, so as to be able to surround the enemy. This plan would have fully succeeded, had it not been for the defection of a part of the infantry, who fled on the approach of the enemy. The reserve, however, having been brought up, a sharp conflict ensued, which ended in the total overthrow of the enemy. The greater part of them escaped, in consequence of the investment not being complete. Three hundred warriors were left dead on the field, and many more were killed in the pursuit. Fifteen of the Americans were killed, and eighty wounded.

The friendly Indians having thus been relieved from their anxiety, the opportunity might have been taken to follow up the blow, but for the want of provisions, which, during the whole of this war, continued to cripple the operations of the army, and soon after this battle, became a fruitful source of dissatisfaction and mutiny.

While General Jackson was engaged, at the risk of his life, in quelling the mutinies of his soldiers, the Indians were suffering, in another quarter, a full measure of retribution. General White, with a detachment of the East Tennessee militia, was sent against the towns of the Hillabee tribe. This unfortunate race, who had been the principal sufferers at the battle of Talladega, had applied to General Jackson for peace, offering to receive it on any terms. Ignorant of this proposal, General White proceeded to fulfil his instructions; and on the 18th of November, he attacked and destroyed their principal town, killed sixty of their warriors, and returned with about two hundred and fifty prisoners. About the same time, too, the Georgia militia, under General Floyd, obtained a signal victory over a body of the enemy, at the Autossee

towns, on the Tallapoosa river. The Indians fought with a degree of bravery, bordering upon desperation. The superior tactics of civilization, however, triumphed ; and after a contest of three hours' duration, the enemy fled, with the loss of about two hundred killed, among whom were two of their kings. Eleven of the Georgians were killed, and fifty-four wounded.

A considerable body of the enemy, being posted at the bend of the Tallapoosa, near the mouth of Emuckfaw creek, General Jackson resolved to proceed thither immediately, both to attack them, and to make a diversion in favour of General Floyd, who was advancing farther into the Indian country. After a difficult march, he arrived, on the evening of the 21st, in the vicinity of the enemy, and encamped in a hollow square. At dawn the next morning, he was attacked by the Indians, who commenced a furious onset on his left flank ; and, after a warm action of half an hour, were repulsed, and driven back about two miles. Shortly afterwards, however, they returned, and, while part of them made a feint upon the right of the army, the main body commenced a furious assault on the left. In the meantime General Coffee was detached to turn their left flank. His force, which had been considerable at the outset, was reduced, by the desertion of his men, to about fifty, with whom, nevertheless, he succeeded in driving the enemy opposed to him into the marshes of the creek. Here, they were secure from danger ; the General, therefore, retired, with the hope of drawing them out ; in which he completely succeeded. The Indians advanced from the place of their retreat, and a sharp contest ensued, which continued about an hour, when a reinforcement arriving from the main body of the American army, the Indians fled with precipitation, pursued by the victors, and perished, it is supposed, to a man. In the meantime, the conflict on the right of the main body, had also eventuated in the success of the American arms. The enemy, posted behind logs and trees, had maintained a warm fire for some time, which was sustained by the Americans with great gallantry. A general charge was, however,

soon ordered, which the Indians were unable to resist. They betook themselves to flight, and reached their fortified post with great loss. General Jackson, having effected his twofold object, retired to Fort Strother.

In the meantime, General Floyd had been pursuing with success his separate plan of operations. On the 27th of January, before dawn, his camp was assailed with great violence by the enemy. A warm and general action ensued, which ended in the flight of the savages, with the loss of thirty-seven killed. That of the Americans was also considerable.

After General Jackson returned to Fort Strother, discontent, and the want of provisions, again threatened to produce frightful consequences in his army. By great exertions, he succeeded in obtaining the necessary supplies; and on the 14th of March, with about three thousand men, commenced another expedition against the Creeks, which ended in the total overthrow and subjugation of that unfortunate nation. At ten in the morning of the 27th of March, he reached the vicinity of Tohopeka, a strongly-fortified Indian fortress on the Tallapoosa, at that part of the river called the Horse-Shoe Bend. The enemy, aware of his approach, made every preparation in their power to receive him; and arrayed their force, which was supposed to amount to one thousand men, in the best manner for defence.

Having despatched General Coffee, at the head of the mounted infantry and friendly Indians, with directions to gain the southern bank, and encircle the bend, General Jackson drew up the remainder of his forces in front of the breastwork. The cannon, directed by Major Bradford, were posted on an eminence, about two hundred yards from the enemy's line, while the musketry was placed nearer, to take advantage of the appearance of the enemy from their works. In this situation, the army lay for some minutes. At last, the signal being made that General Coffee had reached the opposite side of the river, the troops moved forward to the charge. They advanced to the breastwork with unexampled gallantry, and

were received with equal coolness. For some moments a most destructive contest was maintained at the port-holes ; at length, Major Montgomery, springing to the wall, called to his men to follow him. He was immediately killed : but the ardour of the troops was not restrained by his fall. They scaled the ramparts with impetuosity, and, in a short time, drove their opponents into the brush, with which the peninsula was covered. From this they were again forced, and retreated to the southern bank, where they found General Coffee's command on the opposite shore. Driven now to desperation, by finding their retreat cut off, those who survived endeavoured to take refuge behind the lofty and precipitous banks of the river, from which they occasionally fired upon their conquerors. General Jackson, who saw that the victory was completely gained, sent a flag with an interpreter, to summon them to a surrender ; but either mistaking the nature of the proposal, or being determined to refuse quarter, they fired upon and wounded one of the party. The destruction which they appeared to seek, was now, therefore, accorded to them. The trees and brush, in which they had concealed themselves, were set on fire ; and being then exposed to the view of the assailants, their numbers were soon materially thinned. This work of slaughter and misery continued until night, when the darkness enabled the few wretched survivors to effect their escape.

In the meantime, General Coffee's detachment, by making an attack on the village, and diverting the attention of the enemy, had contributed materially to the success of the action. This victory, which in its consequences was final and decisive, gave a death-blow to the power and hopes of the Creeks. Never, in any preceding conflict, had their native valour and resolution been more eminently conspicuous. They fought with undaunted courage at their entrenchments, and only fell back when overpowered by vastly superior numbers. Their contempt of death, and loftiness of spirit, are manifested by the fact, that only four men were taken prisoners, while three hundred women and children fell into the hands of the victors.

Five hundred and fifty-seven warriors were found dead on the ground, besides a great number who perished in attempting to cross the river. Fifty-five of the Americans were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded.

Soon after this, General Jackson marched to the Hickory Ground, where he was met by a deputation from the principal chiefs, who were sent to treat for peace. Among them was Weatherford, the instigator of the massacre at Fort Mimms, who now used his influence among the Indians in restoring peace. The submission of the Indians was complete. They agreed to retire in the rear of the army, and occupy the country to the east of the Coosa, while a line of American posts was established from Tennessee and Georgia, to the Alabama.

The members of the Thirteenth Congress assembled at Washington, on the 24th of May, 1813, and on the succeeding day the President transmitted to both houses his customary communication, in which, among other things, he informed them that the Emperor of Russia had offered his services as mediator between the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them; that he had accepted the offer on the part of the United States; and that he had commissioned John Quincy Adams, the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, Albert Gallatin, and James A. Bayard, with the full powers to conclude a treaty of peace with the same number of commissioners clothed with the same powers on the part of Great Britain. After passing some bills, imposing a tax upon lands and houses, and duties upon distilled liquors, refined sugars, retailers' licenses, sales at auction, carriages, and bank and other notes, Congress adjourned on the 2d of August.

On the 2d of December, the second session of the Thirteenth Congress commenced, according to law. The President, in his message, after stating the expectation of the American people, that the government of Great Britain would have promptly acceded to the offered mediation of Russia, informed them, that it had been declined. During the session,

however, a communication was received from the British government, stating that the prince-regent, equally desirous with the republican government, to put a period to the calamities of war, was willing to appoint commissioners to treat with those of America, in London or Gottenburg. This proposal was accepted, and the latter place appointed for the meeting, which was afterwards transferred to Ghent. Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jonathan Russell, together with the commissioners already appointed, were the persons authorized to treat with the authorities of Great Britain.

For the purpose of increasing and organizing the military force in a better manner than heretofore, several acts were passed by Congress, offering large bounties to recruits, providing liberally for the pay, rations, and clothing of the troops, and holding out many other inducements to enlist in the regular army. A loan of twenty-five millions of dollars, and the issue of treasury notes for five millions was also authorized. Provision was also made for the increase and better organization of the navy, and for the better defence of the sea-board, by means of floating-batteries, and the use of steam in propelling small vessels of war. An embargo which had been laid on exports, and the importation of articles of British produce or manufacture, about three months before, was repealed in April, 1814. The necessary business of the session having been finished, Congress adjourned, on the 18th of April.





CHAPTER LVI.

MILITARY CAMPAIGN OF 1814.



THE general peace in Europe, which had recently followed the overthrow of Napoleon, enabled Great Britain to concentrate her whole disposable force against the United States; and part of a victorious army, flushed with conquest, had already embarked for that purpose.

This so depressed the spirits of the Americans, that nearly the whole of the spring passed away without any important movement of the army taking place. General Wilkinson, having destroyed the barracks at French Mills, and despatched General Brown, with one division of his army, to Sackett's Harbour, retired to Plattsburg. The enemy, having collected a large force at La Cole Mill, General Wilkinson determined to dislodge them. Accordingly, on the 30th of March, he crossed the Canada frontier, and commenced the attack. As it was found difficult, from the nature of the roads, to bring up an eighteen-pounder, which had been ordered out, a fire was opened from two smaller pieces, which were directed with great precision. Such, however, were the solidity and strength of the walls, that no impression could be made upon them, while a severe fire which was kept up by the garrison,

caused some loss to the besiegers. Finding that his efforts to obtain possession of the building were ineffectual, the American commander withdrew his forces, with the loss of about one hundred in killed and wounded. The enemy, who claimed in this affair a brilliant victory, acknowledged a loss of about sixty, including officers.

In consequence of this, and the failure of the intended attempt upon Montreal, General Wilkinson was shortly afterwards removed from his command, which then devolved upon General Izard.

On the 5th of May, the British made a descent on Oswego; but Colonel Mitchell, the commandant of the place, succeeded in defending it against vastly superior numbers, until he had removed the greater part of the naval stores laid up there, and then retired in good order. The enemy destroyed the ordnance of the fort, and then returned to Kingston.

It was then deemed proper to remove the Oswego stores to Sackett's Harbour, by water. Accordingly, Captain Woolsey, of the navy, left that port, on the 28th of May, with eighteen boats, accompanied by Major Appling, with about one hundred and thirty of the rifle regiment, and about the same number of Indians. On the succeeding day, they arrived off Sandy Creek, where they were discovered by the enemy's gun-boats, and chased into the creek. The riflemen were immediately landed, and, with the Indians, posted in ambuscade. The enemy entered the creek, and landed a party, which endeavoured to ascend the bank. The riflemen arose from their concealment, and poured so destructive a fire upon them, that, in ten minutes, they surrendered, to the number of about two hundred. The loss of the Americans on this occasion was only one man.

Soon after his arrival at Sackett's Harbour from French Mills, General Brown put his troops in motion for the Canada frontier; and on the 2d of July, at midnight, embarked them in boats from Black Rock, for an attack on Fort Erie. On landing next morning, preparations were made for the assault of the fort; but it surrendered before the artillery could be

planted against it. The garrison, to the number of one hundred and thirty-seven, were made prisoners of war.

General Brown then advanced to Chippewa, where about three thousand British, under General Riall, were stationed; and on the 5th, a severe action took place, which ended in the flight of the enemy, leaving one hundred and thirty-three dead on the battle-field, three hundred and twenty wounded, and forty-six prisoners, in the hands of the Americans. The American loss was sixty killed, and two hundred and sixty-eight wounded and missing.

Soon after this victory, General Riall was reinforced by General Drummond, with all the troops he could collect from York, and the other posts on the peninsula; and General Brown prepared to follow up his victory by another engagement with the British, before they would have time to concentrate their forces. He accordingly sent his heavy baggage and wounded to Schlosser, a place on the American side of the Niagara. On the 25th, however, he was informed that General Drummond, with the whole British army, had moved to Queenstown, and was landing a party at Lewistown, for the purpose of attacking the town of Schlosser, and capturing his stores. With the expectation of drawing him off from this attempt, General Scott was despatched on the road to Queenstown, with his own brigade, Towson's artillery, and the dragoons. At four in the afternoon, this detachment moved from the camp; and, having proceeded about two miles, discovered the enemy, posted on an eminence of considerable strength, at a place called Bridgewater, having the Queenstown road in their front, the position being defended by a formidable battery of nine pieces of artillery. Between this post and General Scott's advance, was a narrow strip of wood. He immediately determined to attack the enemy; and, after despatching an express to camp for a reinforcement, formed his small party in a plain, in front of the British position. The artillery, under Captain Towson, opened a cannonade, which was returned by the enemy's batteries, with great effect, and an action commenced, which was supported

more than an hour, by the first brigade, against greatly superior numbers. The 11th and 22d regiments, having expended their ammunition, fell back; both of their commanders, and most of the inferior officers being wounded. The brunt of the engagement then fell on the 9th, commanded by Colonel Leavenworth, which suffered severely from the enemy's fire. In the meantime, the 25th regiment, under Major Jessup, which had been placed on the right of the American line, finding the road which led to the rear of the enemy's left unoccupied, moved along it, and threw itself on the rear with such signal success, as to capture General Riall, and many other officers, and to cause the flight of a great part of their line. The enemy's batteries, however, still continued a heavy fire, before which the ranks of General Scott's brigade were rapidly thinning; and, reduced as it was in numbers, it was evident that it could not withstand the assault of a fresh body of troops, which General Drummond had ordered up. In this critical situation of affairs, day being now spent, and its light partially supplied by the moon, the second brigade, under General Ripley, arrived in time to retrieve the fortune of the day.

General Ripley saw at once, that the position of the enemy's artillery, on the eminence at the head of Lundy's Lane, was the great source of annoyance to the American army; and unless that should be carried, their defeat might be considered as certain. Forming, therefore, the two regiments of which his brigade was composed, in the intended situation, he determined to proceed himself, at the head of the 23d regiment, to the attack of the infantry on the left; and selecting Colonel Miller from among his officers, as the one on whom he could best depend, he asked him if he would "advance at the head of the 21st, and capture that battery?" "I will try, sir," was the modest reply of the Colonel, and it afterwards became the motto of the regiment. The order was executed with a degree of gallantry never exceeded in any previous combat, and in such a manner that it shed the highest glory upon that regiment and its gallant commander. He advanced steadily,



Battle of Lundy's Lane.

with fixed bayonets, and in a few moments, the enemy's cannon were in his possession. At the same moment, General Ripley, with the 23d regiment, which had at first faltered before the destructive fire of the enemy, attacked the infantry, and drove them from the crest of the eminence. The battery being thus gained, the cannon were turned against the enemy, who being mortified by his expulsion from the eminence, and having received an accession of fresh troops, now brought up his whole force, and made three resolute and determined attempts to recover his position. The last effort was made about midnight, which was not defeated without great loss on both sides. The firing then ceased in every direction, the British troops having been withdrawn, leaving their opponents in possession of the field.

In this severe engagement, Generals Brown and Scott were both wounded, and compelled to leave the field. The command therefore devolved on General Ripley, who, with this information, received directions from General Brown to col-

lect the wounded and return to camp. Unfortunately, most of the horses having been killed, and the troops being very much exhausted, it was found impossible to remove the captured cannon. They were, therefore, reluctantly left on the ground, having been previously spiked and otherwise injured. The wounded being collected, the line of march was taken up in good order for the camp.

The loss of men was remarkably equal in number on both sides; but, from the inferior numerical force of the Americans, it fell more severely on them. Of the British, eighty-four were killed, of whom five were officers, five hundred and fifty-five wounded, including Generals Drummond and Riall, and thirty-nine other officers, and two hundred and thirty-four missing and prisoners; in all, eight hundred and seventy-eight. Of the Americans, eight hundred and sixty were killed, wounded, or missing, of whom there were eleven officers killed, fifty-six wounded, and eight missing.

The next day General Ripley broke up his camp at Chipewa, and, destroying the bridges in his rear, retreated with sixteen hundred men, to Fort Erie, and immediately proceeded to strengthen and extend its defences. Here he was soon after attacked by General Drummond, at the head of five thousand troops, who formally invested the place on the 4th of August. On the 5th, General Gaines arrived from Sackett's Harbour, and being the senior officer, took the command of the fort. The British continued to draw their lines of circumvallation closer and closer, until the 13th, when, having arrived within four hundred yards of the fort, they commenced a brisk cannonade, which was continued the whole of that and the succeeding day. The fire was steadily returned by the Americans. At two on the morning of the 15th, a furious assault was made by the British, which resulted in their repulse, with the loss of nine hundred and fifteen men. The Americans lost but eighty-four.

On the 2d of September, General Brown again took the command. The British force being continually reinforced by fresh arrivals, and the batteries of the enemy appearing every

day more formidable, he determined to make a sortie for their destruction. The force of the enemy, at this time, consisted of three brigades, of about fifteen hundred men each, one of which alternately was stationed at the batteries, while the other two remained at the camp, two miles distant. The object proposed in the sortie was the destruction of the cannon, and the defeat or capture of the brigade on duty, before the arrival of the reserve. The 17th of September was fixed upon for this enterprise. At noon of that day, the troops moved out of the fort, under Generals Porter, Miller, and Brown, and within thirty minutes, the whole line of the enemy's entrenchments were in their hands; and having taken three hundred and eighty prisoners, and destroyed the fruits of forty-seven days' labour, returned within the fort. The British lost five hundred killed and wounded; the Americans, seventy-nine killed, two hundred and thirty-two wounded, and two hundred and sixteen missing. The enemy claimed a victory; but the retreat of the whole army, which took place on the night of the 21st, palpably contradicted this pretension.

On the 9th of October, Major-General Izard arrived with reinforcements, took the command of the army, and, deeming it inexpedient to attempt any further offensive operations in that quarter, on the 20th of the month, destroyed Fort Erie, evacuated the Canadian territory, and distributed his troops at the posts of Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia. Thus terminated the third and last invasion of Canada by the American forces.

The British next attempted a dismemberment of the Union. By obtaining the command of Lake Champlain, and the posts in its vicinity, and thence moving down the Hudson, while an attack was, at the same time, to be made on the city of New York, it was supposed that a political as well as geographical division of the republic would be made; and the Eastern States, already discontented with the existing order of things, would be disposed to make a separate peace. This plan was undertaken with every appearance of success; but eventuated in only adding greater renown and security to the republic.

During the months of July and August, the British army was powerfully reinforced by the arrival of a numerous and veteran body of victorious troops from Europe. As soon as this army could be organized, it was determined to lead them to the conquest of Plattsburg, on the river Saranac, near its entrance into Lake Champlain. The force left at the place on the march of General Izard to Canada, did not exceed fifteen hundred regulars, and was commanded by Brigadier-General Macomb.

On the 6th of September, the British advance was met at Batemantown, about six miles from Plattsburg, by a body of militia, who, although supported by about two hundred regulars, under Major Wood, broke, and fled in confusion. On the same day, the British entered Plattsburg; and the Americans having torn up the planks of the bridges in their rear, retired across the river to their entrenched camp. The light troops of the enemy, having obtained possession of the buildings near the bridges, annoyed the Americans by their small-arms, until, by a few hot-shot, the houses were set on fire. During this day, several attempts were made to cross the bridges, in which the enemy was uniformly repulsed. From this period to the 11th, the British commander contented himself with erecting batteries opposite the American lines, and skirmishing at the bridges and fords; while the Americans strengthened their lines in every quarter, their force of militia and volunteers being augmented by daily additions.

In the meantime, the enemy was earnestly employed in fitting out his fleet, which, by the original design of the British commander, was to engage the American squadron, commanded by Commodore M'Donough, then lying at anchor in Plattsburg bay, at the same time that the troops assaulted the works. Early on the morning of the 11th, the British vessels appeared in view of Plattsburg, and at 9 o'clock, anchored in line abreast of the American vessels, at about three hundred yards distance, the larger vessels being opposed to each other, and the enemy's galleys assailing the smaller American vessels. In this situation, the engagement commenced.

The *Confiance*, the flag-ship of the British commodore, carrying a greater number and heavier weight of cannon than the *Saratoga*, the latter suffered severely from her fire; notwithstanding which, the contest was maintained for two hours. At length, the guns of the starboard side of the *Saratoga* being nearly all dismounted, or unmanageable, a stern-anchor was let go, the bower-cable cut, and the ship winded with a fresh broadside on the *Confiance*, which, unable to effect the same operation, struck about fifteen minutes afterwards. The chief vessel of the enemy being thus captured, the brig struck her colours in a few minutes; the two sloops had surrendered some time before; three of the galleys were sunk, and the others escaped. The killed on board the American squadron amounted to fifty-two, the wounded to fifty-eight. Of the British, eighty-four were killed, including Captain Downie, the commander of the squadron, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty-six remained prisoners, a number exceeding the whole amount of the Americans engaged.*

At the same moment that the naval engagement commenced, the enemy's batteries on shore were opened upon the American lines. The bombardment was continued until sunset of that day, during which several attempts were made by the British columns to force a passage of the river. One effort was made at the village bridge, another at the upper bridge, and a third at a ford, about three miles distant. In each attempt they were repulsed with great loss, particularly in the latter, where a considerable number were destroyed or

*The relative force of the two squadrons in this engagement, stood as follows:

AMERICANS.		BRITISH.	
Number of men, about 800.		Number of men, about 1000.	
	<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>
<i>Saratoga</i>	26	<i>Frigate Confiance</i>	39
<i>Eagle</i>	20	<i>Brig Linnet</i>	16
<i>Ticonderoga</i>	17	<i>Sloop Chubb</i>	11
<i>Preble</i>	7	“ <i>Finch</i>	11
<i>Ten Galleys, carrying</i>	16	<i>Thirteen Galleys, carrying</i>	18
Total	86	Total	95

taken prisoners. The surrender of the fleet, which took place in the sight of both armies, and was announced by the cheers of the American troops, put an end to any further attempts on the part of the enemy's land-forces. At dark he withdrew his artillery, and raised the siege. Having sent off such of the baggage as could be conveniently transported, the whole army, "Wellington's veterans," numbering about fourteen thousand, fled with such precipitation from fifteen hundred American regulars, and three thousand militia, that they reached Chazy, a distance of eight miles, before their flight was discovered. The light troops and others of the American army, were sent immediately in pursuit; but only a few prisoners were taken. The killed and wounded of the British amounted, according to their official report, to only two hundred and fifty. Their whole loss, however, including deserters, and the sick and wounded left behind in their precipitate retreat, was supposed by General Macomb to be about two thousand five hundred. That of the Americans was only ninety-nine. Thus gloriously for the interests and honour of the republic did this invasion of its territory terminate. It was the last expedition undertaken on this frontier during the war, and served to gild with unusual splendour its final operations.

In the spring of 1814, the whole of the coast of the United States, from its southern to its most eastern boundary, was declared by the British government to be in a state of blockade, and a force was stationed along the shores for the purpose of maintaining it. The town of Eastport, on Moose Island, in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, had been held by the United States since the war of Independence, although never definitively allotted to them; and now, the British government determined to take possession of it. Accordingly, on the 11th of July, Sir Thomas Hardy landed a powerful force, and having taken possession of Eastport, declared all the country on the eastern shore of the bay to belong to His Britannic Majesty, and required the inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to his government. With this order the greater part of the

people complied; and the island remained in the possession of the British troops until the conclusion of the war.

On the 7th of April, a detachment from the blockading squadron in Long Island Sound, ascended the Connecticut river to Pettipaug Point, and burned twenty-two vessels which had been moved there as a place of safety. The village was set on fire in several places; but the flames were extinguished by the inhabitants before much injury was done.

On the 9th of August, Commodore Hardy appeared before the village of Stonington, in the State of Connecticut, with a ship of seventy-four guns, a frigate, a bomb-ship, and a gun-brig; and immediately sent in a flag, with a laconic note to the magistrates, giving one hour for the removal of the offending inhabitants. Three hours, however, elapsed, before any attack was made, during which time the citizens were eagerly employed in collecting means of defence. The militia of the vicinity were hastily assembled at a small breastwork, four feet in height, with a battery of three guns, two of them eighteen-pounders and one four-pounder. The enemy commenced his fire in the evening, and continued it until midnight, without the slightest injury to the town or its inhabitants. The bombardment was renewed the next morning, and continued, heavy and unremitted, until the 13th, when the enemy weighed anchor and departed. In this unprovoked attack upon an unoffending village, the result of which was so little creditable to the assailants, about forty buildings were injured; but no one of the inhabitants or of the militia was killed. An immense number of cannon-balls and shells were collected, and long remained at Stonington, a striking proof of the difference between the threats and the performance of the British commander.

On the 1st of September, an expedition under Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor of Nova Scotia, and Admiral Griffith, with forty sail, and several thousand troops, entered the Penobscot river, and took possession of Castine. A detachment of six hundred men was sent to Belfast, and, having received the surrender of that place, proceeded thirty-five miles up the

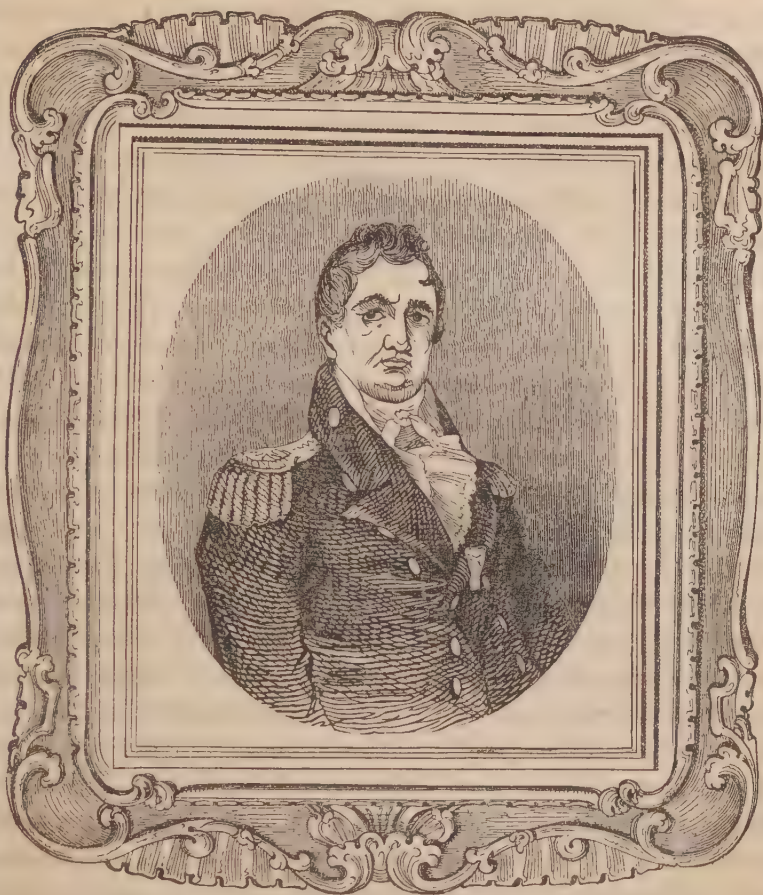
river, for the purpose of capturing the frigate John Adams, then lying at Hampden. On the approach of the enemy, the militia fled, and the crew were obliged to blow up their ship to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. Captain Morris, with his crew, retired to Portsmouth.

Soon after this, the British commanders having taken possession of the principal towns on the coast, made a proclamation at Castine, declaring the conquest of the country, from the Penobscot to Passamaquoddy Bay, and requiring the submission of the people to the British government.

The operations of the powerful armies which the European peace placed at the disposal of the British government, were not confined to the eastern coast, or the northern frontier. In the beginning of August, the enemy's fleet in the Chesapeake was augmented by the arrival of Admiral Cochrane, and shortly afterwards, of Admiral Malcolm, with a large force of vessels of war, and several transports, containing a considerable number of troops. It was now evident that some important measure was in agitation; and the militia of the District of Columbia, and of Baltimore, were immediately ordered out. The better to mask their intentions, the enemy divided his force into three parts. A number of frigates and bomb-vessels were ordered to the Potomac, to force their passage up that river; another division, under Sir Peter Parker, was despatched higher up the Chesapeake, to threaten Baltimore; while the main body, under General Ross, ascended the Patuxent to the town of Benedict, where the army was landed on the 19th of August, to the number of about five thousand men, altogether infantry. In the mean time, General Winder had collected about three thousand men, one-half of whom were militia and volunteers of the District of Columbia; and with this body, as the British advanced, retired before them, until, on the 24th, he arrived at Bladensburg, where he was joined by a reinforcement of two thousand one hundred men, including two companies of artillery, under General Stansbury. Here, also, he was joined by Commodore Barney and his sailors, who, on the 22d, in the presence of an overwhelming

force, had destroyed his flotilla, to prevent its falling into their hands. General Stansbury took a position in a field, on the left of the road leading from Washington to Bladensburg. His artillery, consisting of six six-pounders, was posted behind a breastwork, near the bridge. General Winder, with the main body, formed a second line, in the rear of General Stansbury's command; while Colonel Beall's militia, to the number of about eight hundred, were posted on the right of the road. The heavy artillery, under Commodore Barney, was placed on an eminence commanding it. While these dispositions were making, the President of the United States, and several of the chief officers of the government, were present on the ground; but withdrew, shortly after the engagement commenced.

The second line had scarcely been formed, when the enemy's column appeared in sight, and immediately moved down towards the bridge. Here their van, led by Colonel Thornton, was, for a moment, checked; but, encouraged by their officers, they proceeded firmly to the charge. General Ross, accompanied by Admiral Cockburn, crossed with the main body; and meeting no impediment, except from General Stansbury's artillery, continued steadily along the road, and soon compelled the artillery and riflemen to fall back with the loss of one of their pieces. On the right, Colonel Beall's militia fled without making the least resistance; and a detachment of the Annapolis militia, sent to check the advance of the enemy, having been driven back upon the main body, the enemy were advancing along the turnpike road, in high spirits, considering the victory as already won; when Commodore Barney opened a most destructive fire upon their front, whilst Colonel Miller, with the marines, enfiladed their left flank. The first discharge from one of Barney's eighteen-pounders, literally cut an avenue through their column. They hesitated for an instant, and then tried to deploy upon Miller's division; but they received such a copious discharge from Barney's artillery, doubly loaded with canister-shot, and from Miller's musketry, at the same time, that their leading platoons were



Commodore Barney.

thrown into confusion, and fell back upon the advancing column. At this moment the whole army might have been compelled to surrender, had the commodore's left been supported by such an officer as himself, or by another Miller. But this not being the case, and his left being exposed, the opportunity was lost. General Ross succeeded in his manœuvres, and charged the marines simultaneously in front and on both flanks, by a force three times their number. Their commander was wounded, and resigning his post to Captain Sevier, ordered them to retire. Barney's corps continued to make

dreadful havoc, until they were nearly surrounded, and the British had even seized on their pieces ; but they were compelled to join the marines in their retreat. The Commodore now lay bleeding on the ground, and, with the gallant Miller, fell into the hands of the enemy ; both receiving from them, on account of their brave defence, the greatest praise and attention.

Thus, the fate of Washington, the capital of the United States, was decided. Such was the panic of the militia, that, instead of retreating towards Washington, where they might have been formed on the heights of the Capitol, they had scattered in every direction, so that it was found impossible to collect any considerable number. General Ross slowly approached the city, where he arrived at eight o'clock in the evening. Having reached Capitol Hill, he offered terms of capitulation, which were, that the city might be ransomed, by paying a sum of money equal to the value of the public and private property which it contained ; and that on receiving it, the British troops should retire unmolested. As there was neither civil nor military authority on the spot, at that instant, competent to enter into such an engagement, he proceeded to burn the Capitol, containing the Senate-Chamber and Representative-Hall, the Supreme Court Room, the Congressional Library, and the Public Records. The President's House, the Treasury, War, and Navy Offices, shared in the conflagration. Every public building, except the General Post-Office, was subjected to the same Vandalic torch ; in retaliation, it was declared, for the burning of York, and other places in Canada.

Having indulged their national animosity in the destruction of the finest specimens of the arts in the republic, the British army retired from Washington, on the evening of the 25th, leaving behind a number of wounded officers and men, and arrived, on the 29th, without molestation, at Benedict, where they were re-embarked, on the following day. The British loss in this expedition was four hundred killed and wounded, and five hundred who were made prisoners, or deserted ; while that of the Americans was but thirty or forty killed,

about fifty wounded, and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners.*

In the meantime, the squadron under Captain Gordon, which had entered the Potomac, passed up that river without opposition. Fort Warburton, by which they might have been successfully assailed, was abandoned by its commander, Captain Dyson, in a disgraceful manner; and no further obstacle remaining, they reached Alexandria, on the 29th of August. The inhabitants of that defenceless town, being at the mercy of the enemy, were compelled to agree to a capitulation, by which all their merchandise and vessels were delivered up to him. Having collected a rich booty by the pillage of this unfortunate town, the squadron descended the river, without serious injury, although annoyed by the militia, and detachments of seamen, under Commodore Rodgers, and Captains Perry and Porter. In this expedition, the British lost seven killed and thirty-five wounded.

The remaining expedition, under Sir Peter Parker, was not so fortunate as the others. Having ascended the Chesapeake, that officer landed a corps of about two hundred and fifty seamen and marines on the eastern shore, with the hope of surprising a body of militia, to the number of about two hundred, who were encamped near Bellair, under the command of Colonel Reed. The Americans were, however, prepared to receive him; and, on the advance of the British column, delivered so galling a fire, as to compel it to press to the right, with a view of gaining the flank of the militia, where it was again repulsed. The cartridges of the Americans being now exhausted, they fell back, for the purpose of obtaining a supply; and the enemy, who had sustained a severe loss, also retreated, carrying with them part of their wounded, among whom was their commander, Sir Peter Parker, who died in a few minutes after leaving the field. They lost fourteen killed and twenty-seven wounded. Of the Americans, only three were wounded.

The success of the attack upon Washington encouraged

* General Winder to the Secretary of War, August 27th.

the British commander to undertake an expedition against another city, from which he was, however, destined to meet with a different reception. Baltimore, from its proximity and its exposed situation, as well as from the booty it was supposed might be obtained, became the next object of attack; and no time was lost in assailing it.

The whole of the militia of the city were called into the field, which, with a brigade of Virginia volunteers, a few companies from Pennsylvania, and about seven hundred regulars, amounting in all to fifteen thousand men, formed the defence of the place. Commodore Rodgers, with his marines, took charge of the principal batteries on the high ground, situated on the eastern side of the town—the only point through which it was assailable by land—where a ditch was hastily thrown up, and guarded by at least ten thousand men. One division of this force was confided to General Winder, another to General Stricker, the whole under the command of General Samuel Smith, an officer distinguished in the revolutionary war, by his defence of Fort Mifflin. The approach to the city, by water, was defended by Fort M'Henry, garrisoned by one thousand men under Major Armistead; by large vessels sunk in the channel of the river; and by two temporary works, between Fort M'Henry and the city, superintended by Lieutenants Newcomb and Webster of the navy.

On the 11th of September, Admiral Cochrane appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, with a squadron of fifty sail, and on the succeeding morning, the land-forces, to the number of about five thousand men, debarked at North Point, about fourteen miles from Baltimore, and took up their march for that city. In anticipation of their landing, General Stricker was detached with three thousand two hundred men, to impede their progress. On the morning of the 12th, information being received of the landing of the enemy, General Stricker took a favourable position at the junction of two roads, about eight miles from Baltimore, resting his right on Bear creek, and his left on a marsh; the artillery (six four-pounders,) being posted on the main road. Having sent on an advanced corps, to

engage the light troops of the enemy, who had taken possession of a farm-house, at the distance of about three miles, he awaited their approach. This detachment had hardly proceeded half a mile, when it fell in with the main body of the enemy ; and a skirmish ensued between the most advanced parties, in which the British commander, General Ross, was killed. The command devolved upon Colonel Brook, who continued to move forward ; and, about half-past three, the action commenced by the discharge of cannon on both sides. The Americans retired gradually towards the city, until the evening, when they rested within half a mile of their intrenchments. During the day, the enemy suffered heavily. On the following morning the British appeared within two miles of the intrenchments, and shortly afterwards they moved to the right, with the apparent intention of taking a circuitous route to reach the city ; but, having been frustrated in their attempts to do so, by the skilful manœuvres of General Smith, they advanced within one mile, apparently with the design of assaulting the works in front during the night.

Meanwhile Fort M'Henry was furiously assailed. At sunrise, on the 13th, the bombardment commenced from the bomb-vessels of the enemy, at the distance of about two miles. This being out of range of the guns of the fort, it was compelled to remain silent. Though thus inactive, and exposed to an incessant shower of shells, the troops within the fort remained steadfast at their posts, with a degree of firmness that would have reflected honour on the most experienced veterans. The bursting of a shell within the south-west bastion, having created some little confusion, the ships of the enemy were advanced, in the hope of profiting by it ; they were, however, soon compelled, by the heavy and well-directed fire of the garrison, to retreat with very considerable loss, to their former stations, where they continued the same tremendous bombardment until seven in the morning of the 14th. During the night, and in the midst of a most heavy cannonade, several of the rocket-vessels and barges succeeded in passing the fort, and entering the Patapsco undiscovered ; but they

were perceived by the smaller forts, and were received by so well-directed a fire, that they retired, with the loss of one of their barges, which sunk, with all on board. The British admiral, finding that the defences by water were too strong to be overcome, had, after consulting with Colonel Brook, resolved that the whole force should be withdrawn: and, at nine in the morning, the fleet fell down to North Point, where the re-embarkation of the troops took place on that evening. The next day the whole fleet descended the Chesapeake. The loss of the British troops in this demonstration, according to their own official accounts, was thirty-nine killed and two hundred and fifty-one wounded. Of the Americans, twenty-four were killed, one hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and about fifty taken prisoners.*

All classes and parties had united in defence of their homes and firesides. The experience of other parts of the country had evinced what was to be anticipated from a successful issue to the enemy's designs; and they had every reason to expect, in case of the capture of their city, that neither sex nor age, the works of art, nor the temples of religion, would be held sacred by the licentious invaders. The most strenuous exertions were therefore made to prevent the deeds of Hampton, Havre de Grace, and Washington, from being repeated at Baltimore. With a few exceptions, the militia maintained their ground with a degree of bravery which evinced that they had not degenerated from their predecessors of the revolution. Their efforts were happily crowned with success. This repulse of the enemy at Baltimore, happening at the same period with his defeat at Plattsburg, and on Lake Champlain, taught him a useful lesson, which had an important effect on the negotiations then pending at Ghent.

In the meantime an attack was made on the remote southern coast, which was the prelude to an invasion of a more important nature. After the conclusion of the contest with the Creeks, the head-quarters of General Jackson were removed to Mobile, where, about the end of August, he received

* Historical Register, Vol. IV., p. 63.

information that a body of three hundred British troops, with an immense quantity of the munitions of war, had arrived at Pensacola, in three armed vessels, and had marched into the fort at that place, then in the possession of the Spanish; and that an additional force of thirteen sail of the line, and ten thousand troops, was daily expected. From Pensacola, Colonel Nicholls, the commander of the British forces, soon after issued a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, recommending to them to "throw off the yoke under which they had been so long groaning, and put an end to the unnatural war by which they were oppressed."

About the same period also, an attempt was made by the same officer to engage in his service a band of lawless pirates, who had formed an establishment on the Island of Barrataria, within the limits of Louisiana. The efforts of the American government had been hitherto unavailing to destroy this nest of outlaws. Mixing with the sanguinary audacity of the buccaneer, the address and caution of the smuggler, they had contrived, for a long time, under the government of a chief named Lafitte, to overawe or elude the expeditions sent against them. To these marauders the British officer made a proposal of union and alliance, communicating, at the same time, important information with respect to his designs: but, although proscribed by the American government, which had set a price upon his head, Lafitte would not consent to act the part of a traitor. Instead of accepting the British offers, he immediately made the whole known to Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana. Struck with this proof of magnanimity, that officer promised a general pardon to the whole band, on condition of their engaging in defence of the country, at that time menaced by invasion; an offer which was joyfully accepted by the Barratarians, who from that time rendered eminent services to the republic; distinguishing themselves particularly at the defence of New Orleans.

The three vessels which had arrived at Pensacola, joined by another, soon after sailed from that port for Mobil, and

on the 15th of September, appeared off Fort Bowyer. Mobile Bay is about thirty miles long, and of considerable breadth; but its entrance is only five miles broad, and is completely commanded by Fort Bowyer, which is situated at the extreme point on the east side of the bay. The fort was occupied by a small garrison, commanded by Major Lawrence.

The British squadron, consisting of two ships and two brigs, appeared in sight about noon of the 15th, standing directly for the fort. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the battery was opened upon them. The fire was immediately returned from all the vessels. A force of a hundred and ten marines, commanded by Colonel Nicholls, two hundred Creek Indians, headed by Captain Woodbine, of the British navy, and about twenty artillerists, which had been previously landed in the rear of the fort, opened a fire upon it from a twelve-pounder and a howitzer; but they did no execution, and were soon silenced by a few shot. The action continued without intermission on either side, for nearly three hours, when three of the vessels were compelled to retire. The commodore's ship, which mounted twenty-two thirty-two-pound carronades, having anchored nearest the fort, had her cable cut by the shot, and was so much disabled, that she drifted on shore, within six hundred yards of the battery; when, the other vessels being out of reach, such a tremendous fire was opened upon her, that she was set on fire and abandoned by such of her crew as survived. Of a crew of one hundred and seventy men, the commander and twenty men only escaped. On board of the other ship, eighty-five were killed and wounded; one of the brigs also was very considerably damaged, but her loss was not ascertained. The effective force in the fort was about one hundred and twenty men; their loss was only four killed and five wounded. During the hottest part of the action, the flag-staff was shot away, but the flag was immediately regained, under a heavy fire of grape and canister, hoisted on a sponge-staff, and planted on the parapet. The land forces retreated by land to Pensacola.

The unprecedented conduct of the Governor of Pensacola,

in harbouring and aiding the British and their Indian allies, and in allowing them to fit out expeditions against the United States from that port, had been forcibly remonstrated against by General Jackson, but hitherto without effect. Having been reinforced by about two thousand Tennessee militia, who had marched to Mobile through the Indian country; Jackson advanced to demand of the Spanish authorities in Pensacola, redress for thus violating the rules of neutrality. He reached the vicinity of that post, on the afternoon of the 6th of November, and immediately sent a flag to the governor, to communicate the object of his visit. The flag was fired on, and forced to return. Nothing remained now but to take possession of that post, which had been so long a source of annoyance to the United States. General Jackson accordingly commenced the attack early on the 7th. The encampment of the American army being to the west of the town, it was natural for the enemy to suppose that the attack would be made in that quarter; a detachment of five hundred men, however, was ordered to move in that direction, while, with the main body, he gained an opposite and unexpected point, and, by hastening rapidly on, entered the town before the garrison was aware of his approach. They were unexpectedly saluted, however, by a battery formed in the street, which, after a few volleys, was carried at the point of the bayonet; and the Spanish and British troops were soon driven from all their positions. The governor then surrendered the town and forts unconditionally, and soon after signed a capitulation, by which Pensacola and its dependencies were delivered up to the United States. The British in evacuating the bay, destroyed the fortress of the Barrancas, and General Jackson returned with his troops to Mobile.

The projected attack upon New Orleans, which, it was now certain, the British would attempt, induced General Jackson to proceed to that city with his troops. He accordingly left Mobile on the 22d of November, and arrived at New Orleans on the 2d of the succeeding month. In the situation in which he found that city, abundant occasion existed for the display

of those warlike talents and that mental energy with which he was eminently gifted. The population was composed of a mixture of various nations, among whom there was little bond of union; and the country having been but recently transferred to the republic, there was perhaps less national attachment than in any other quarter. Discontent and apprehension pervaded a great portion of the community; the city corps refused to turn out on the requisition of General Flournoy; and even the legislature of the state, then in session, encouraged them in their disobedience. Added to this, the important post to be defended was approachable in various quarters, and the troops stationed at each of these points were insufficient to defend them. But the intrepid spirit of General Jackson was unappalled in the midst of the difficulties with which he was surrounded. He immediately adopted the most decided and efficient measures for the defence of the place. He visited in person every point at which an invading enemy might be opposed; and left no point unfortified that could at all conduce to the great object of defence. The grand approach by the Mississippi was secured by batteries; and the inlets and bayous were obstructed by all possible means. The active and energetic measures, and the confident tone of the commanding general, revived the spirits of the inhabitants of Louisiana, which had fallen at the prospect of invasion by so numerous an army as that which it was ascertained was on their coast; and all the true lovers of their country in the state flocked to his banner, and declared their intention of standing by him till the British were expelled from their shores, or they had died for their country. Upon the lakes, to the east of the town, a small force of five gun-boats, under Lieutenant Jones, had been collected, which, in the narrow passes, would, it was supposed, be competent to repel any force that could be conveniently brought against them.

Information having been received early in December of the arrival of sixty sail of vessels off Ship Island, Lieutenant Jones made sail for the passes leading into Lake Pontchartrain, where they might be opposed to advantage. On the 14th,

the enemy were discovered, moving, in forty-three gun-boats, with twelve hundred men, to the attack of Lieutenant Jones's small force, which, consisting of five gun-boats, as mentioned above, and one hundred and eighty men, lay becalmed, in an unfavourable position. After a gallant resistance of an hour, against such an overpowering superiority of force, the American flotilla was compelled to surrender, with the loss of about forty killed and wounded. That of the assailants was, from concurrent circumstances, believed not to have been less than three hundred. This gave the British the command of Lakes Pontchartain and Borgne.

The capture of the gun-boats, upon which General Jackson had depended greatly, as a means of defence, as well as of the transmission of intelligence, made it necessary to use greater exertions than before on the land. The militia of New Orleans was called out *en masse*; and measures which nothing but the urgent necessity of the case could justify, were adopted. An embargo was laid on all vessels in the harbour; the negroes were impressed and compelled to work on the fortifications; and on the 16th, martial law, of the most rigid nature, was proclaimed by General Jackson. The rigid police which this last measure enabled him to exert, soon freed the city from the disaffected, the spies and the traitors with which it had abounded; and the citizens arose as one man and laboured day and night at the fortifications.

By his command of Lake Borgne, the enemy had it in his power to approach New Orleans by any of the numerous bayous and canals leading to the Mississippi. Most of these had been obstructed with great care. Unfortunately, however, a pass, called the bayou Bienvenue, which was little known and used only by fishermen, was left open, and undefended except by a picket guard. Guided by some traitors, the enemy, on the 23d, came suddenly on the American guard, through that secret passage, and having made them prisoners, pushed rapidly on, and, by two o'clock in the afternoon, reached the bank of the river. This intelligence being conveyed to General Jackson, he resolved immediately to attack



Fortifying of New Orleans.

them. Having therefore collected about two thousand men, he marched at five in the afternoon, to meet the enemy, and at seven, came in sight of them, encamped on the bank of the river, and engaged in preparing their evening repast. The enemy's force on shore amounted to about three thousand men, and extended half a mile on the river, and in the rear to a wood. Their position being thus exposed to an attack from the water, it was determined that a fire should be opened upon it from Commodore Patterson's schooner, the *Caroline*, at the same time that General Coffee, with his brigade, assailed their right, and General Jackson, with the remainder of the force, attacked the strongest part of the position, near the river. The darkness of the night preventing a discovery, the *Caroline* gained her position, and opened a heavy and galling cannonade, the seamen being lighted to the slaughter by the enemy's own camp-fires. This was the first intimation that the British had of the approach of an enemy. At the same moment, the brigade of General Coffee rushed impetuously on their right and entered their camp, while the force of General

Jackson assailed their front and left with equal ardour. Though taken by surprise, and several hundred killed or wounded, the enemy were not yet defeated; extinguishing their fires, they came boldly forward into action. A thick fog arising shortly after the commencement of the engagement, General Jackson deemed it most prudent to call off his troops; and having lain on the field all night, he retired in the morning to a stronger position, about two miles nearer the city. His loss was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four missing; that of the British was forty-six killed, one hundred and sixty-two wounded, and sixty-four missing.

The position now taken by General Jackson occupied both banks of the river. On the eastern bank, a ditch containing five feet water, which had been dug for agricultural purposes, reaching from the river to the swamp, was now made use of for an important military purpose. On its northern bank entrenchments were thrown up, and large quantities of cotton bales were so arranged as to protect the troops effectually from the enemy's fire. These works were well mounted with artillery. On the western bank of the river, a heavy battery of fifteen cannon enfiladed the whole front of the position on the eastern bank. This battery was manned by Commodore Patterson, with the crews of part of his squadron, and near him General Morgan was stationed with a body of militia.

In the meantime, the enemy, who had suffered severely from the fire of the *Caroline*, took advantage of her running aground on the 27th, set her on fire and destroyed her by means of hot shot. On the 28th, the British commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Pakenham, having landed with the main body of his army, and a large train of artillery, advanced within half a mile of the American works, and commenced a furious attack with rockets, bombs, and a heavy cannonade. The fire, however, from the batteries, and an American vessel, the *Louisiana*, caused so much destruction, that, after a severe contest, the British general drew off his troops with considerable loss. On the 1st of January, 1815, the invaders made

another attempt to force General Jackson's fortifications. They had, in the night, erected a battery, and early in the morning opened a brisk cannonade; making, at the same time, two bold efforts to turn his left wing; but they were again repulsed, with the loss of about seventy men. Shortly after this event, both armies were reinforced; that of General Jackson by the arrival of twenty-five hundred Kentuckians, under General Adair, and that of the invaders by General Lambert, with four thousand men. The American force now consisted of about seven thousand men, most of them indifferently armed; that of the British, of about twelve thousand, all of whom were veterans, well appointed, and commanded by able and experienced officers. With great labour, the British general completed, on the 7th of January, a canal from the bayou to the Mississippi, by which he was enabled to transport the necessary number of boats and troops to the attack of the works on the western side of that river. The American commander had, in the meantime, not been deficient in preparation. His works had now been completed. The defences on the eastern bank were manned with the Tennessee and part of the Kentucky militia, under the personal command of General Jackson.

Early in the morning of the 8th of January, a day which will ever be memorable in the annals of the republic, the British commander, having detached Colonel Thornton, with a strong body, to the west bank, moved to the assault, with the remainder of his force, in two columns, under Generals Gibbs and Keane, the reserve being commanded by General Lambert. They approached with determined countenances, slowly but firmly, accompanied by detachments carrying fascines and scaling-ladders. The former were designed to fill up the ditch, and with the latter they intended to mount the ramparts. When they arrived within nine hundred yards, the Americans commenced a heavy and incessant cannonade, which mowed them down with terrible slaughter. But they still moved on with a firm step; invariably supplying the place of the fallen, with fresh troops. At length they came within



Battle of New Orleans.

reach of the American small-arms. Then commenced a stream of such well-directed and destructive fire, that, after losing hundreds in the vain attempt to advance, they broke, and retreated in confusion. In the endeavour to rally them, their commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Packenham, was killed. A second time did the British columns advance to within a short distance of the ditch, with the same ill success. The cannon thundered from every battery; the Tennessee rifles were leveled with deadly aim; and grape-shot and shells were scattered as thick as hailstones over the plain. The British again faltered, and again were pressed forward by their officers. But all their efforts succeeded only in leading their veteran soldiers to destruction; the men shrunk from a contest, in which they saw nothing but immediate slaughter. The columns broke and retreated in confusion. A third, but equally unavailing attempt was made by the British officers to bring them up to the charge. The loss of the commander-in-chief, the disability of Generals Gibbs and Keane, who were severely wounded,

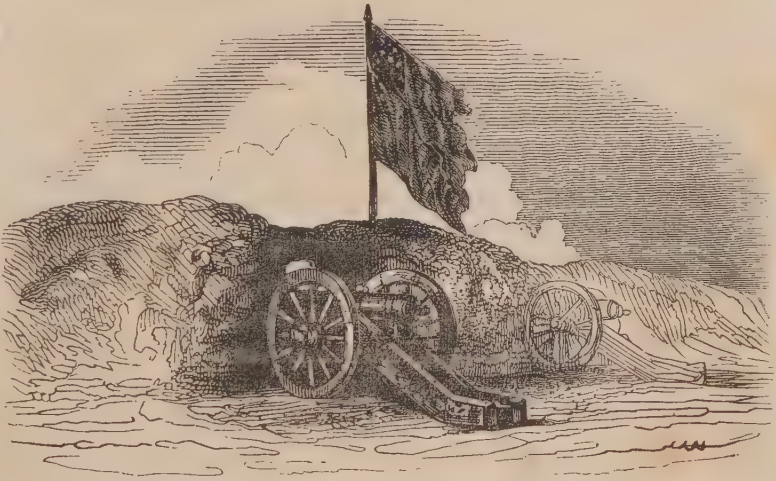
and the sight of the plain, covered as it was with the bodies of near two thousand dead and wounded, operated in checking any further advance. General Lambert, on whom the command now devolved, finding that no hope remained of a successful result, collected together the broken remnants of this once formidable army, and retired to the encampment.

In the meantime, the detachment under Colonel Thornton, after landing on the west bank, immediately attacked the American works. The Kentucky militia, believing themselves to be outflanked, retreated, leaving the enemy in possession of their works. This post, completely commanding that on the opposite bank, its occupation by the enemy would have proved of the most serious detriment to General Jackson, had he not, by a dexterous stratagem, induced him to abandon it. General Lambert having proposed an armistice, to continue till twelve o'clock, in order to enable him to remove his dead from the field of battle, the proposition was agreed to by the American commander, with a condition, however, that it should not extend to the west bank, to which no reinforcements were to be sent by either party. Deceived by this reservation, and supposing that a large American force was already on that bank, General Lambert ordered Colonel Thornton to withdraw his troops, and it was immediately reoccupied by General Jackson.

In this battle the British loss was two hundred and ninety-three killed, twelve hundred and sixty-seven wounded, and four hundred and eighty-four missing or prisoners, including almost all the commanding officers; while of the Americans, only thirteen were killed, thirty-nine wounded, and nineteen missing. This splendid and most important victory was thus rendered doubly gratifying, from the reflection that it was clouded by the loss of so few of those by whose exertions it was achieved.

From New Orleans the whole British fleet proceeded to Mobile Bay, where they took possession of Fort Bowyer, which was garrisoned by three hundred and seventy-five men, a number so small when compared with that of the force sent

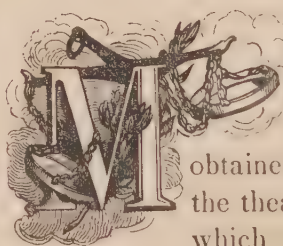
against them, as to render resistance unavailing. The further prosecution of their schemes of conquest was arrested, about this time, by the news of peace, which being soon after confirmed officially, the territory of the United States was evacuated by the British.





CHAPTER LVII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1814.



MARITIME skill and bravery still rendered illustrious the flag of the republic. The ocean, upon whose broad bosom the first victories of the war were obtained by the United States, continued to be the theatre of exploits of no less importance, by which its closing scenes were adorned. Distinguished equally by courage, enterprise, and skill in naval affairs, the American seamen traversed the most remote seas, and raised in every quarter of the globe, the reputation of their country. Vanquishing an equal, or eluding the vigilance of a superior force, they added to the laurels of victory, that fame which is justly due to a profound acquaintance with the science and practice of their profession, and successfully vindicated their character and rights; for the support of which, the war had been, in a great measure, undertaken.

In February, 1814, Commodore Rodgers returned to the United States, from a cruise of seventy-five days, during which he captured many British merchant-vessels, and by superior skill eluded the squadrons cruising in search of him. Off

Sandy Hook, on his return, he descried three vessels of war, one of which was the *Plantagenet*, of seventy-four guns. Believing that he would not be able to escape, he prepared his ship for action, and lay to, for the enemy to approach. She, however, declined an engagement, and Commodore Rodgers pursued his course to New York. The British commander subsequently alleged the mutinous state of his crew, as the reason for not engaging the *President*.

Among those by whom the enterprise of the American navy was chiefly evinced, was Captain Porter, whose cruise in the Pacific terminated about this time. As early as the month of October, 1812, he sailed from the *Delaware* in the frigate *Essex*. He doubled Cape Horn, amidst tremendous storms, about the middle of February, 1813, and on the 15th of March put into the port of Valparaiso, and having obtained the necessary supplies, proceeded on his cruise, along the coast of Chili, and thence to the Gallipagos islands. In the vicinity of these isles the *Essex* cruised for upwards of six months, during which she totally destroyed that valuable part of the enemy's commerce which was carried on in those seas. The whole of the British vessels at that time in the Pacific, to the number of twelve, carrying in all one hundred and seven guns, and three hundred and two men, were captured. Their value was estimated at two and a half millions of dollars. He converted one of them into a vessel of war, mounting twenty guns, which he named the *Essex Junior*; and sailed for Valparaiso.

The intelligence of Captain Porter's exploits had at length occasioned a force of the enemy to be sent in pursuit of him. Soon after his arrival at Valparaiso, the *Phoebe*, a British frigate of thirty-eight guns, and a sloop of war, appeared off the port, having been fitted out expressly to meet the *Essex*. They entered the harbour to obtain provisions, and having effected this, again stood out and cruised off the port for about six weeks. Their united force was much greater than that of Captain Porter, the *Essex Junior* being of but little utility in action. At length, on the 28th of March, the *Essex* made



Commodore Porter's cruise in the Pacific.

an attempt to get to sea, with a favourable wind. The enemy's vessels were close to the shore, and Captain Porter expected to be able to pass to windward of them. Unfortunately, however, in rounding the point, the American vessel was struck by a squall, which carried away her main-top-mast. Thus crippled, escape to sea was impossible; and as it was equally difficult to reach the harbour, Captain Porter ran into a small bay, and anchored within pistol-shot of the shore. In this situation it was to have been expected that the ordinary rules of warfare, which forbid an attack upon an enemy lying within a neutral territory, would have been observed. It was, nevertheless, soon perceived that Captain Hillyar, the English commander, was determined to avail himself of the opportunity offered, without regard to the rights of sovereignty of the local government. The Essex was prepared for action with all possible despatch; but before a spring could be put upon her cable to enable her to bring her broadside to bear, the attack was commenced. The British commander, desirous of capturing the Essex with as little loss to himself as possible, placed his frigate, the Phœbe, under her stern, while the Cherub took a position on her bows. The latter soon finding the fire of the Essex too warm, bore up, and ran also under

her stern, where both ships kept up a heavy and raking fire. Captain Porter continued the action for a considerable time, with three long twelve-pounders, being all the guns which he found it possible to bring to bear on the enemy, when, finding his crew falling fast around him, he cut his cable, and ran down on the enemy, with the intention of laying the *Phœbe* on board. For a short time a close and sanguinary action ensued; but the superior equipment of the British frigate enabling her to choose her distance, she edged off, and continued so heavy a fire from her long guns, that Captain Porter determined to run his ship ashore. He was, however, disappointed in this hope by the wind setting off the land; and after an unequal and hopeless contest of three hours, was compelled to give the painful order to strike the colours.

The loss of the *Essex* in this engagement was fifty-eight killed, sixty-six wounded, and thirty-one missing, most of the latter escaping to the shore by swimming; that of the British was said to be only five killed and ten wounded. Both of the enemy's vessels, as well as the *Essex*, were so much crippled, that it was with difficulty they were enabled to reach the port of Valparaiso. Captain Porter and his crew were paroled and permitted to return to the United States in the *Essex Junior*, her armament being previously taken out. On arriving off the port of New York, they were overhauled and detained by the *Saturn* razee. Being thus treated, Captain Porter told the boarding-officer that he gave up his parole, and considered himself a prisoner of war, and as such should use all means of escape. In consequence of this threat the *Essex Junior* was ordered to remain all night under the lee of the *Saturn*; but the next morning Captain Porter put off in his boat, though thirty miles from shore; and, notwithstanding he was pursued by the *Saturn*, effected his escape and landed safely on Long Island. His reception in the United States was such as his great services and distinguished valour deserved.

On the 29th of April, the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Warrington, fell in with, and, after an action of forty-two minutes, captured the British brig-



Captain Warrington.

of-war Epervier, of a like number of guns, and one hundred and twenty-eight men, of whom eight were killed and fifteen wounded. The Peacock was deprived of the use of her fore-sail and fore-top-sail in the early part of the action; but received no other injury, two men only being slightly wounded. The prize had on board one hundred and twenty thousand dollars in specie, which was transferred to the Peacock, and both vessels arrived in safety in the United States.

About this period the sloop-of-war Wasp, of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Blakely, sailed from Portsmouth, on her first cruise. After capturing seven merchantmen, she encountered, on the 28th of June, the British brig-of-war Reindeer, of nineteen guns and one hundred and eighteen men. After a series of manœuvres on the part of the latter, by which a close action was for a long time prevented, a warm engage-

ment commenced, which was continued with great spirit on both sides for upwards of two hours, during which the enemy several times attempted to board, but were as often repulsed. The crew of the Wasp now boarded with great ardour, and in a few minutes resistance ceased and the British flag was hauled down. Owing to the proximity of the two vessels and the smoothness of the sea, the loss on both sides was severe. That of the Americans was five killed and twenty-one wounded; while the British lost twenty-five killed, including Captain Manners, and forty-two wounded. The Reindeer was so much injured that it was found necessary to set her on fire.

Captain Blakely, continuing his cruise, about the 1st of September discovered a fleet of merchantmen under convoy of a seventy-four-gun ship. One of them was taken, and after removing her cargo, was set on fire. On the same evening he fell in with and captured the British sloop-of-war Avon, of twenty guns. The appearance of a British squadron compelled him to abandon his prize, which sunk soon after the removal of her crew.

The damage sustained in this action being soon repaired, Captain Blakely continued his cruise, and on the 23d of September, captured the British brig Atalanta, which he sent into the United States. From this period no tidings ever reached the republic of this gallant ship. Whether she foundered in darkness and tempest, or perished in a conflict with an enemy, has never been ascertained.

In December, the Constitution proceeded on a cruise, under the command of Captain Charles Stewart. On the 24th of that month he captured and destroyed, to the eastward of the Bermudas, the brig Lord Nelson; off Lisbon, he captured the ship Susan, with a valuable cargo, and sent her to New York; and on the 20th of February, 1815, he fell in with two men-of-war, both of which he attacked. In less than half an hour they both surrendered, and proved to be His Majesty's frigate Cyane, of thirty-four guns and one hundred and eighty men, and sloop-of-war Levant, of twenty-one guns, and one hundred



Commodore Decatur.

and fifty-six men. Of the crew of the *Levant*, thirty-nine were killed or wounded during the action. On board the *Cyane*, twelve were killed and twenty-six wounded. The loss of the Americans was trifling in comparison; three only being killed and twelve wounded. The *Constitution* and *Cyane* arrived in safety in the United States; but the *Levant* was recaptured by a squadron of the enemy, composed of two sixty-gun ships and a frigate.

About the same period, the enemy captured the frigate *President*, without, however, any loss of honour to her brave officers and crew. Commodore Decatur, who commanded that vessel, put to sea from New York, on the 14th of January, 1815. At daylight on the succeeding morning, the enemy's squadron, consisting of the *Majestic*, of seventy guns, the *Endymion*, *Pomona*, and *Tenedos*, of fifty guns each, were discovered in chase. By noon, Commodore Decatur found that he had outsailed them all except the *Endymion*, which continued to gain considerably upon him. At five in the

afternoon, the *Endymion* obtained a position on his starboard-quarter, and commenced a destructive fire upon his sails and rigging. In this situation he was compelled to bear up and engage her, in the hope of disabling her, before the remaining vessels of the squadron could arrive. A warm action then ensued, and was continued for two hours and a half, which ended in the enemy's vessel dropping astern, her fire having ceased and being completely dismantled. The *President* now made sail again, in the hope of escaping; but the remainder of the squadron being within gun-shot, her brave commander was compelled to strike his colours, with the loss of twenty-four killed and fifty-five wounded.

On the morning of the 23d of March, while the *Hornet* sloop-of-war of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Biddle, was preparing to anchor off the island of *Tristan d'Acunha*, a sail hove in sight, steering to the northward, with a fine breeze, and disappeared in a few minutes behind a projecting point of land. The *Hornet* immediately made sail, and on clearing the point, discovered the same vessel, bearing down before the wind, when Captain Biddle shortened sail and hove-to for her to come up with him. When the stranger got near he began also to shorten sail, and took in his steering-sails very clumsily, for the purpose, as it afterwards appeared, of practising a deception. At forty minutes past one, the engagement commenced by a broadside from the *Hornet*. The action was sustained with great spirit for fifteen minutes, when the enemy approached with the apparent intention of boarding; but, finding the *Hornet* prepared to receive him, he desisted from the attempt, and in a few minutes surrendered. The prize proved to be the British brig-of-war *Penguin*, of nineteen guns and one hundred and thirty-two men, forty-two of whom were killed or wounded. So heavy and well-directed had been the fire of the *Hornet*, that it was found necessary to scuttle the *Penguin*, after removing the prisoners. The *Hornet* received no material injury; one man only of her crew was killed, and eleven wounded.

Shortly after this event the *Hornet* was joined by the



Escape of the Hornet.

Peacock ; but was soon separated from her again by the appearance of a seventy-four gun-ship, by which the former was chased.

Captain Biddle finally succeeded in effecting his escape from the seventy-four, by throwing his guns overboard, and otherwise lightening his ship. This rendered the Hornet's return into port indispensable ; and as it would have been extremely hazardous to approach the American coast, being without guns, boats, or anchors, he concluded to go into St. Salvador, for the purpose of refitting and resuming his cruise. He arrived there on the 9th of June, and received intelligence of the peace with Great Britain.

The refusal of the British government to treat for peace, under the mediation of Russia, its subsequent proposal of a direct negotiation at London or Gottenburg, the appointment of commissioners on the part of the United States, early in the year 1814, to treat at the latter place, and the subsequent substitution of Ghent for Gottenburg, have been related in a preceding part of this history. After a long and unnecessary delay, which evinced little anxiety to put a period to the

calamities of war, the British commissioners, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams, arrived at Ghent, on the 6th of August, where the commissioners of the republic were already assembled.

At the first stage of the negotiations, the British plenipotentiaries were imperious and exacting in their demands; but, when the intelligence of the repulse of the British troops from Baltimore and Plattsburg, and of the capture of the squadron on Lake Champlain, reached Europe, the views of the British government in relation to America were materially altered, and the high demands which had proved to be the only obstacles to the conclusion of peace, were relinquished. The treaty of peace, which was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, was ratified by the Prince Regent of England, on the 28th of the same month, and by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the 17th of February, 1815.

The first article of this treaty provided for the restoration of all places and possessions, taken from either party by the other, with the exception of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy. The second and third related to the period, in which prizes, taken after the ratification of the treaty, should be deemed valid, and to the restoration of prisoners. By the fourth article it was agreed, that the claims of the two countries to the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy should be referred to two commissioners, one to be chosen by each party; and, in the event of a difference of opinion arising, it was provided that the question should be referred to the decision of some friendly sovereign or state. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, related to similar questions of boundary, and provided a similar mode of settlement. By the ninth article, both parties agreed to put an end to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they were at war, provided such tribes or nations desisted from warlike operations on being notified of the ratification of that treaty. The traffic in slaves being declared to be irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, it was agreed by the

tenth article, that both parties should use their best endeavours to promote its entire abolition.

A treaty regulating the commerce between the United States and Great Britain was signed at London on the 3d of July, and ratified by the President, on the 22d of December.

At the commencement of the war between the United States and Great Britain, the Dey of Algiers, probably incited by the British, and stimulated by the hope of seizing some valuable American property with impunity, commenced hostilities. The war with Great Britain prevented the United States from insisting on reparation until the conclusion of peace in 1815, when war was declared against Algiers. In order to support this declaration, Commodore Decatur was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean, with a squadron consisting of the *Guerriere*, *Constellation*, and *Macedonian* frigates, the *Ontario* and *Epervier* sloops-of-war, and the schooners *Spark*, *Spitfire*, *Torch*, and *Flambeau*. Commodore Bainbridge was to follow this fleet with another squadron; and on his arrival, Decatur was to return to the United States in a single vessel.

Decatur's squadron sailed from New York, on the 20th day of April, 1815, and on the 17th of June, off Cape de Gatt, in the Mediterranean, captured the Algerine frigate *Mazouda*, killing thirty men, including the famous Algerine admiral, Hammida, and taking four hundred and six prisoners. In this engagement the Americans had but four men wounded. On the 19th, they fell in with and captured an Algerine brig of twenty-two guns, which they sent into Carthage.

They arrived in the harbour of Algiers on the 28th of June, and so surprised and intimidated the Dey with their show of vessels, and the fame of their deeds, that he was induced on the 30th to sign a treaty of peace and amity with the United States. The principal articles in this treaty were, that no tribute, under any pretext, or in any form whatever, should, from the date of the treaty, ever be required by Algiers from the United States of America. That all Americans in slavery should be given up without ransom, on the restoration of the

subjects of the Dey of Algiers, taken since the declaration of war. That compensation should be made for American vessels captured, or American property seized or detained at Algiers. That the persons and property found on board an enemy's vessel should be held sacred. That vessels of either party putting into port should be supplied with provisions at market price, and, if such vessel should have occasion to repair, she should be at liberty to land and re-embark her cargo, without paying any customs or duties whatever. That if a vessel belonging to either party should be cast on shore, she should not be given up to plunder. And, if a vessel belonging to either party should be attacked within cannon-shot of a fort of the other, she should be protected, and no enemy be permitted to follow her when she went to sea, within twenty-four hours after her departure. It was also stipulated that in case of war again breaking out between the two nations, the subjects of both parties should be permitted to embark with their effects unmolested, on board of any vessel or vessels they should think proper; and that prisoners captured in war, should not be made slaves, nor held to ransom, but should be treated as prisoners of war are treated by other nations, and exchanged rank for rank. After concluding this treaty, so highly honourable to the United States, Commodore Decatur made a present of the captured frigate and brig to the Dey.

Mr. Shaler was left as consul at Algiers, and Decatur proceeded to Tunis. There, learning that two prizes which had been captured by an American privateer and sent into that port, had been taken by a British vessel of war, within gun-shot of the fort, and while under the protection of the Bey of Tunis, he demanded satisfaction of the Bey. After some hesitation, and proposing a delay of payment for one year, his demand was acceded to, and the money, amounting to forty-six thousand dollars, was paid into the hands of the consul, then acting as agent for the privateer.

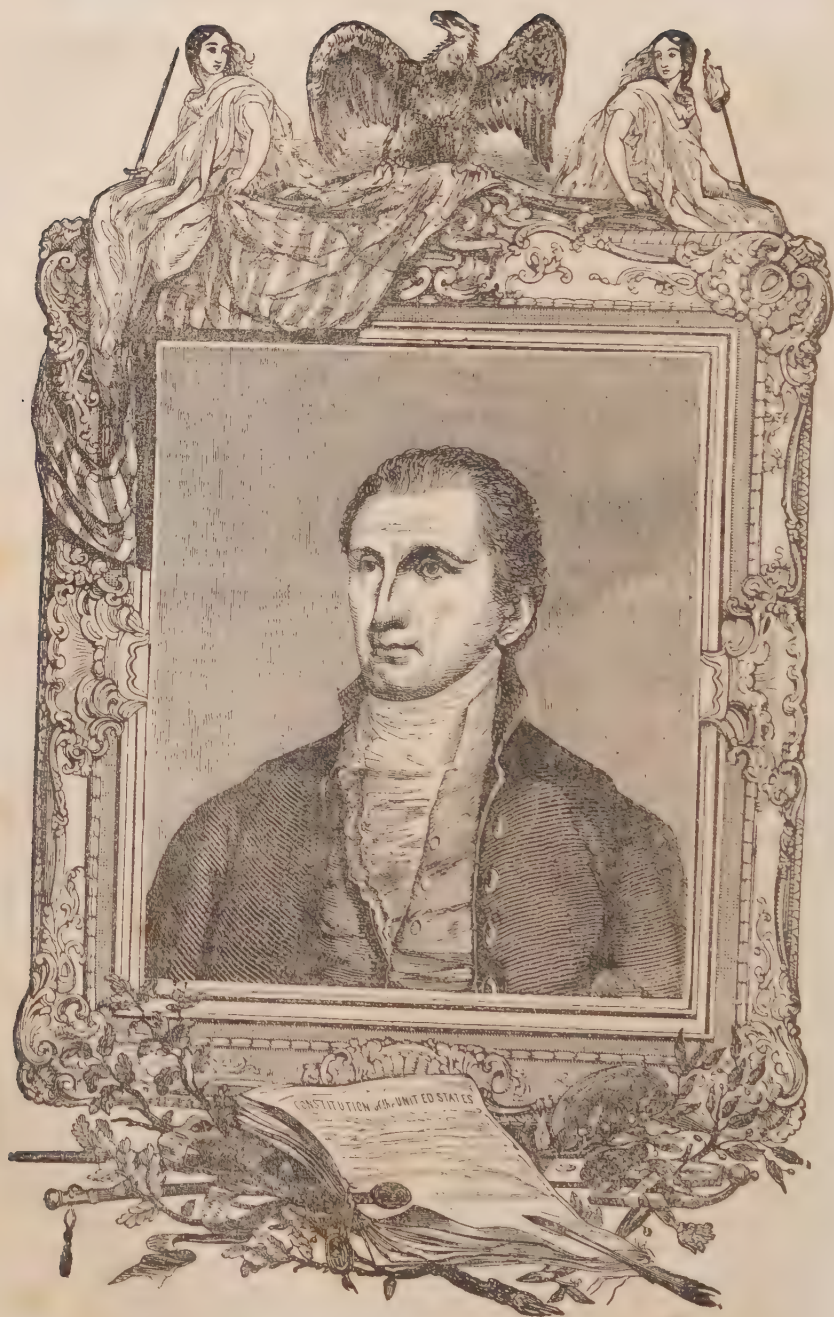
From Tunis the squadron sailed for Tripoli, at which place it arrived on the 5th of August. There Commodore Decatur

made a similar demand for a similar violation of the treaty existing between the United States and the Bashaw, who had permitted two American vessels to be taken from under the guns of his castle by a British sloop-of-war, and refused protection to an American cruiser lying within his jurisdiction. The Bashaw, who was willing to make restitution in full, at first objected to the amount claimed by the commodore; but finally agreed to his demands. The money, amounting to the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, was paid into the hands of the American consul. In addition to the satisfaction thus obtained for unprovoked outrages, Decatur had the pleasure of obtaining the release of ten captives, two Danes and eight Neapolitans, the latter of whom he landed at Messina.

After touching at Syracuse, Messina, Naples, and Carthage, Decatur sailed for Gibraltar, where he found Commodore Bainbridge, with the relief squadron. There Commodore Decatur relinquished his command and sailed in the *Guerriere* to the United States, where he arrived on the 12th of November, 1815. Commodore Bainbridge proceeded according to his instructions to exhibit his force, now consisting of seventeen sail, before Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and to make arrangements for the security of the American commerce in the Mediterranean. Having settled all for the honour and interests of his country, he returned to the United States, and landed at Boston, on the 15th of November, 1815.

The rapid growth and increasing prosperity of the republic in 1816, was indicated, among other things, by the formation of the territory of Indiana into a state, and its admission into the Union; the progress of canals in various states; the institution of a national bank with a charter for twenty years; and the arrival of many thousand emigrants, chiefly from Great Britain.

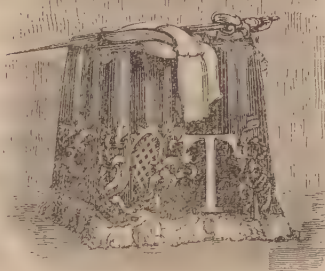
In 1816, Mr. Madison's term of office being about to expire, James Monroe was elected to succeed him, and entered upon the duties of his office, March 4th, 1817.





CHAPTER LVIII.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.



HE new President, in his inaugural address, remarks, "had the people of the United States been educated in different principles, had they been less intelligent or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While, then, the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, everything will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives for every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us, then, look to the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in its full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties. It is particularly

gratifying to me to enter on the discharge of these duties at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it, so far as depends on the executive, on just principles, with all nations—claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due.”

In concluding his address, the President observes, “In the administrations of the illustrious men who have preceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties of early life, examples are presented which will always be found highly instructive and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made, I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes that he may long enjoy in his retirement the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents, and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty that he will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection which he has already so conspicuously displayed in our favour.”

During the year 1817, the Territory of Mississippi was erected into a State, and admitted into the Union; and in the following year, Illinois also joined the older states. In 1819, another accession was received in the State of Alabama, and Congress erected Arkansas into a territorial government. In 1820, Maine was separated from Massachusetts, erected into a State, and admitted into the Union.

In the summer of the year 1817, whilst the President was on a tour through the Northern States, several persons, claiming to act under the authority of the revolted Spanish colonies, undertook an expedition against East Florida. This expedition, headed by a man, calling himself “Citizen Gregor

M'Gregor, Brigadier-General of the armies of the United Provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela, and General-in-chief, employed to liberate the provinces of both the Floridas, commissioned by the supreme governments of Mexico and South America," took possession of Amelia island, at the mouth of St. Mary's river, near the boundary of the State of Georgia. The President, in his message to Congress, stated that as the province lay eastward of the Mississippi, and was bounded by the United States and the ocean on every side, and had been a subject of negotiation with the government of Spain, as an indemnity for losses by spoliation, or in exchange for territory of equal value, westward of the Mississippi, a fact well known to the world, it excited surprise, that any countenance should have been given to this measure by any of the colonies. He went on to state that the course of the people on the island had plainly shown the enterprise to be a mere private unauthorized adventure. As their resources failed, the island was made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring states, and a port for all kinds of smuggling.

In connection with this subject, the President also stated the formation of a similar establishment on an island in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Texan coast. It was contended by the administration that this place was within the limits of Louisiana, as ceded by the French. The latter establishment was much more considerable than that on Amelia island, as well on account of numbers, as for the greater facilities of piracy and smuggling. An adventurer named Aury was at the head of this establishment, and he called around him a regular civil government. Finding his proceedings noticed by the American government, he left his first rendezvous, and removed to Matagorda, some ninety miles west of his first station. The Lafittes and others of the Barratarian pirates were conspicuous in his company, and took several prizes. Some of these were sent to New Orleans for sale, where they were claimed by the Spanish consul and delivered into his charge.

Finding smuggling difficult at so great a distance from the United States, Aury returned to Galveston, which had been resorted to by some thirty other smugglers, when he formerly left it, and soon after he united all the adventurers in the Gulf of Mexico who would join him, and sailed to Amelia island, giving notice that Galveston was no longer under his protection. Upon arriving at Amelia island, he found M'Gregor returned to the Spanish main, and the island under the government of Hubbard and Ironil, two of M'Gregor's associates. The two parties were soon united, and in a little while after joined by about twenty half-pay British officers, who had been thrown out of their employment by the general pacification of Europe. They had intended to join their fellow-countrymen; but finding Aury in command, they joined his party. They professed to capture none but Spanish vessels; but the flag of no nation was respected by them when a rich cargo excited their cupidity. Many hundred slaves were by them introduced into the United States, in violation of law, and smuggling was successfully practised to a considerable extent.

Their conduct finally became so outrageous that the Executive determined to employ a force in ridding the coast of such dangerous neighbours. Captain Henly, in the ship John Adams, with a squadron and a battalion of Charleston artillery under Major Bankhead, was ordered to take possession of Amelia island. On the 22d of December, a joint letter was addressed to Aury by the naval and military commanders, requiring him to evacuate the island with his company, leaving all property as he found it when he first occupied the station. On the 23d they took quiet possession of the island, and in February, Aury left it. He soon after came to Charleston, where the Spanish consul had him arrested. His offence, however, did not fall under the jurisdiction of the United States court, and he was discharged. The Galveston company, being narrowly watched and unsupported, soon dispersed.

Towards the close of the year, General Andrew Jackson was ordered to repair to Fort Scott, and assume the immediate command of the forces in that quarter of the southern

division. This order was occasioned by the commencement of hostilities by the Seminoles and other Florida Indians, numbering, according to General Gaines, about twenty-seven hundred men. The American force, consisting of about eight hundred regulars, and one thousand of the Georgia militia, were also ordered out. The term of service of this latter body was fixed at three months, but such delay occurred in bringing them into the field, that their term had expired before a junction was made with the troops under Gaines. As no persuasions could induce them to volunteer for a longer period, they were allowed to return home, and a second detachment of a thousand militia ordered out. Much suffering was endured by the troops in consequence of the failure of the contractors to supply provisions to the army, when an increase of prices rendered the operations of those persons less lucrative than at other times.

An attack on a boat carrying a number of wounded soldiers and women, under Lieutenant Scott, by the hostile Indians, induced the executive to act more vigorously against the Indians of East Florida. Hitherto the general had been prohibited from crossing the boundaries of the Spanish possessions. To Jackson, full, ample, and general powers were given. To advance against and punish the enemy for their murders and outrages, and bring the war to a speedy termination, were his duties, unlimited and unrestricted. The Spanish authorities were either too weak or were unwilling to punish the Indian assassins, or to protect the friendless from their cruelties. British emissaries were among the savages, exciting and instigating them to their outrages. Thus left entirely to themselves by the Spaniards, and believing that the United States authorities would not order their troops to cross the ideal boundary of Florida, they prosecuted their inroads and excursions with impunity.

Thus circumstanced, General Gaines had been compelled to continue in inactivity, and daily to hear of outrages, which he could neither prevent nor avenge. This state of affairs was known to the government, and Jackson was expected to

remedy it. Knowing the unmilitary and tardy movements of militia, General Jackson, with the consent of the Governor of Tennessee, called upon the citizens of that state who had formerly served under his command, and others desirous of entering the service, to appear at his quarters and enlist themselves. The number required was soon completed, and the men were ready to march under their own officers. Hastening on to the scene of contention, General Jackson was soon in the midst of the enemy's retreats. Many were the scalps, torn from the heads of persons of all ages and conditions, from the infant child to the aged man, exhibited on all hands. Several skirmishes were had with the enemy, and a fight occurred on the 1st of April, at the Indian town of Mickasuckee. In the centre of that village they found a large high pole, painted red, and adorned with scalps. About fifty of these were fresh, and many were recognised, from the colour of the hair, to have belonged to the heads of Lieutenant Scott's party. From the circumstance of this pole being painted red, the hostile Indians received the name of Red Sticks.

The army now under the command of General Jackson, consisted of eight hundred regulars, one thousand Georgia militia, as many Tennessee volunteers, and fifteen hundred friendly Creek Indians, under their own chief, known as General M'Intosh. Leaving M'Intosh to scour the country round Mickasuckee, the general took up his line of march for the Spanish fort of St. Mark's, at the mouth of the river of the same name, at the head of Apalachee Bay. Off the mouth of this river, Captain M'Keever and Colonel Gibson had been cruising, for the purpose of taking such of the Seminoles as might endeavour to escape that way. Here, by hoisting the English flag, they succeeded in decoying two chiefs, Francis Hillishago, and Hornot Henrico, on board their ship. The former of these two chiefs was the principal instigator of the war, and had just been to England to solicit aid for the dispossessed Creeks. The other was a celebrated warrior, and had led the party which massacred the detachment under Lieutenant Scott.

At St. Mark's, General Jackson found none of the enemy he sought. As, however, the fort was a rendezvous for them, and the Spanish garrison was unable to preserve neutrality, General Jackson took possession of the fort, and shipped the authorities and garrison to Pensacola. Near St. Mark's, he found Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scotch trader from New Providence. This individual carried on an extensive business with the Indians and negroes of East Florida, whom he furnished with ammunition and arms, and was suspected of inciting them to their outrages.

The two Indian chiefs captured in the bay were hung, and the general soon after marched for Bowlegstown, on the Suwanee. This was one hundred and seven miles distant, in an easterly direction. From its neighbourhood, the hostile bands of Indians came, who devastated the Georgia frontier. On the day after he left St. Mark's, he was rejoined by the Creeks under General M'Intosh, and the rear of the Tennessee volunteers. On the 16th of April, six mounted Indians were discovered, who escaped, and gave notice of his approach to the towns. Jackson arrived some hours after them, killed eleven Indians and negroes, and took two prisoners. On the 17th, the towns were destroyed, the corn and cattle secured, and the country around scoured in pursuit of enemies. At the mouth of the Suwanee, a schooner, which had belonged to Arbuthnot, fell into the hands of the general, and was employed to convey the sick and baggage of the army to St. Mark's. On the 18th, a lieutenant of marines in the British army under Nicholls, named Robert C. Ambrister, was made prisoner. The Georgia militia and the Creek warriors of M'Intosh were discharged, and the army commenced its march back to St. Mark's, on the 21st, which it reached in five days.

On the 26th of April, a court-martial was formed, composed of General Gaines and six other officers, for the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. They were found guilty of the charges preferred against them, and the first was sentenced to be hanged, the other to be shot. General Jackson approved the sentences, and they were both executed on the same day.

St. Mark's was garrisoned with two hundred men, and the army set out on a march to Pensacola, after a party of Seminoles which had fled thither for refuge. Several Indians had passed through the town, obtained provisions, and fled across the bay. The general took possession of it, and Fort Barancas near it, shipped the Spanish authorities and garrison to Havana, and took formal possession of West Florida. This town and fortress, with St. Mark's, were soon after ordered by the executive to be given up whenever a sufficient Spanish force should appear to demand them.

During the absence of the M'Intosh Indians with General Jackson, Chehawtown, belonging to them, was destroyed, by a misconstruction of orders from the Governor of Georgia. Captain Wright, who commanded the party, had been sent against the Indians of the towns of Philemmes and Hoppones, on Flint river, when he learned that the chiefs of those towns were at Chehaw, which place he immediately and inconsiderately destroyed. The government promised that the Creeks should have the town rebuilt, and their losses indemnified.

All complaints of the Spanish government, and of the British parliament, were silenced by the eloquence of the secretary of state, Mr. Adams; and in February, 1819, a treaty was made with Spain, by which the Floridas were ceded to the United States. His Spanish Majesty was very unwilling to sign this treaty, and he did not finally ratify it until the year 1821. On the 1st of July of that year, General Jackson, who was Governor of West Florida, issued a proclamation, declaring the Spanish government in that province to have ceased, and that of the United States of America to be established over it. On the 7th of July, the Spanish commandant transferred his government to General Jackson, together with the keys of the town of Pensacola, the archives, documents, and other articles mentioned in the inventories. Those of the Spanish residents of West Florida who chose to remain under the American government, were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to Spain. A similar proceeding by the Spanish Governor of East Florida, transferred that province into the

possession of Colonel Robert Butler, the American commissioner.

In this year, James Monroe was inaugurated as President for a second term of four years. No events of public note occurred until the year 1824, when two treaties were concluded, one between the United States and Russia, the other between the United States and England. The first, among other things, determined the north-west boundary of the two countries at the line of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude. The second treaty was for the suppression of the African slave trade, and it was signed at London by plenipotentiaries specially appointed for the purpose.

The year 1825 was further signalized by the visit of La Fayette to America. He arrived in New York harbour, on the 13th of August, and proceeded to Staten Island, the residence of Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice-President of the United States. A committee of the New York city corporation, and many distinguished citizens, proceeded thither, to welcome him to their capital. Steamboats with thousands of passengers, decorated with the flags of every nation, escorted him to the city, where the whole population was waiting to welcome him who had periled his life in the cause of their liberties. He was received by the civil officers to their city, and an address was delivered by the mayor.

During the few days that he remained in New York, deputations poured in from all the principal cities of the Middle and Northern States, inviting him to visit them. From New York he proceeded to Boston, and as far to the eastward as Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He went as far south as Savannah, south-west to New Orleans, west to St. Louis, Missouri, and back to Boston. This journey of five thousand miles was performed in the course of the year, and the same extraordinary marks of respect and attention were paid him throughout, as in the great cities. The whole nation joined in wishing health, happiness, honour and long life to America's favourite adopted son.

He reached Washington during the session of Congress,

and that body voted him the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, and a township of land, six miles square, to be located in any of the unappropriated lands where the President should direct. These resolutions were conveyed to the general by a joint committee from both Houses, accompanied by a highly-complimentary address. In reply, La Fayette said that "the immense and unexpected gift, which, in addition to former and considerable bounties it had pleased Congress to confer upon him, called for the warmest acknowledgments of an old American soldier, an adopted son of the United States, two titles dearer to his heart than all the treasures of the world."

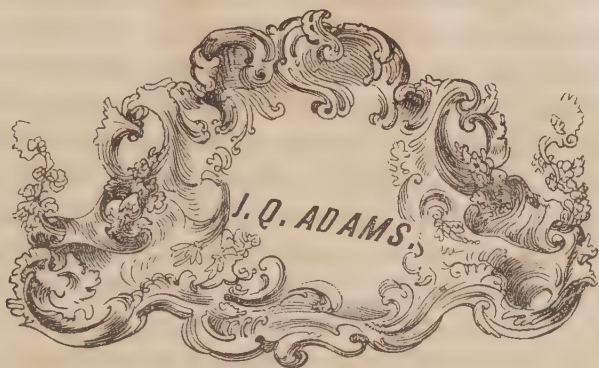
On a second visit to Boston, he witnessed the interesting ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, and listened to an address from the lips of the eloquent Daniel Webster. Wherever he went, the people rose in a mass to welcome him to their homes; and when he wished to return to France, a new American frigate, the *Brandywine*, was fitted out for his accommodation. In this vessel he set sail, on the 7th of September, 1825, for his native country. The authorities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, the principal officers of the general government, civil, military, and naval, some members of Congress, and other citizens, assembled on that day at the President's house to take leave of the general. President Adams addressed him with dignity, but with evident emotion, and bade him adieu.

As the usual term of office for President was about to terminate, an active canvass was commenced for the election of the successor of Mr. Monroe. Four candidates were proposed, Messrs. Jackson, Adams, Clay, and Crawford; and consequently the election devolved upon the House of Representatives, who chose Mr. Adams.









CHAPTER LIX.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

IN his inaugural address the new President stated his intention of pursuing the course which had been marked out by his predecessor. He observed that "ten years of peace, at home and abroad, had assuaged the animosities of political contention, and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains," he continued, "one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who have heretofore followed the standard of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancour against each other; of embracing as countrymen and friends; and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion."

The principal events of the first two years of Adams's administration are the treaties concluded by the government with the Indians. The first was with the tribe of Creeks. By this treaty, the Creeks ceded all the lands lying within the boundaries of the State of Georgia, occupied by them, within certain described boundaries. The United States obligated

themselves to give in exchange for the lands thus acquired, the like quantity, acre for acre, westward of the Mississippi, on the Arkansas river. Other stipulations, favourable to the equitable claims of the emigrating parties, were made, particularly that a deputation from the Indians might be sent to explore the territories offered them in exchange; and if the same should not be acceptable to them, they might select any other territory, west of the Mississippi, on Red, Canadian, Arkansas, or Missouri rivers, — the territory occupied by the Cherokees and Choctaws excepted, — and if the territory to be selected should be in the occupancy of other Indian tribes, then the United States were to extinguish the title of such occupants for the benefit of said emigrants.

The Kansas tribe of Indians also made a treaty, ceding all their lands, part of which were within and part without the limits of Missouri, excepting a small reservation on the Kansas river, thirty miles square, including their villages. For these lands, the United States were to pay them thirty-five hundred dollars yearly for twenty years, to provide for their education and civilization, and to furnish them with a specified quantity of agricultural stock.

General William Clark, commissioner on the part of the United States, concluded a treaty in June with the Great and Little Osages, at St. Louis, Missouri. Those tribes ceded all their lands, situated in Arkansas and elsewhere, a small defined territory, fifty miles square, west of the Missouri line, to the United States, who were also allowed to keep a residing agent on the reserved tract, and to have the right of navigating all the waters in it. In return, they were to pay to the tribes an annuity of seven thousand dollars for twenty years, to furnish them with a large amount of agricultural stock and farming utensils, to provide for them a person to teach them agriculture and a blacksmith, and to build a commodious dwelling-house for each of the four principal chiefs, at his own village. Reservations were made for the support of schools for the Osage children, and for the Harmony Missionary establishment.

During the year 1825, a general convention of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce, between the United States of America and the Republic of Columbia, was concluded by the plenipotentiaries at Bogota, and signed by the President on the 31st of May, at Washington. The session of Congress was chiefly occupied with the subject of internal improvements, and preparations were made for the continuation of the great national road, westward of the Ohio.

During the year 1826, a general convention of friendship, commerce, and navigation, was concluded and signed between the United States of America and the King of Denmark. A similar convention was also completed between the United States and the federation of Central America. A dispute in relation to the boundary line of the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, was settled and established by commissioners appointed for the purpose.

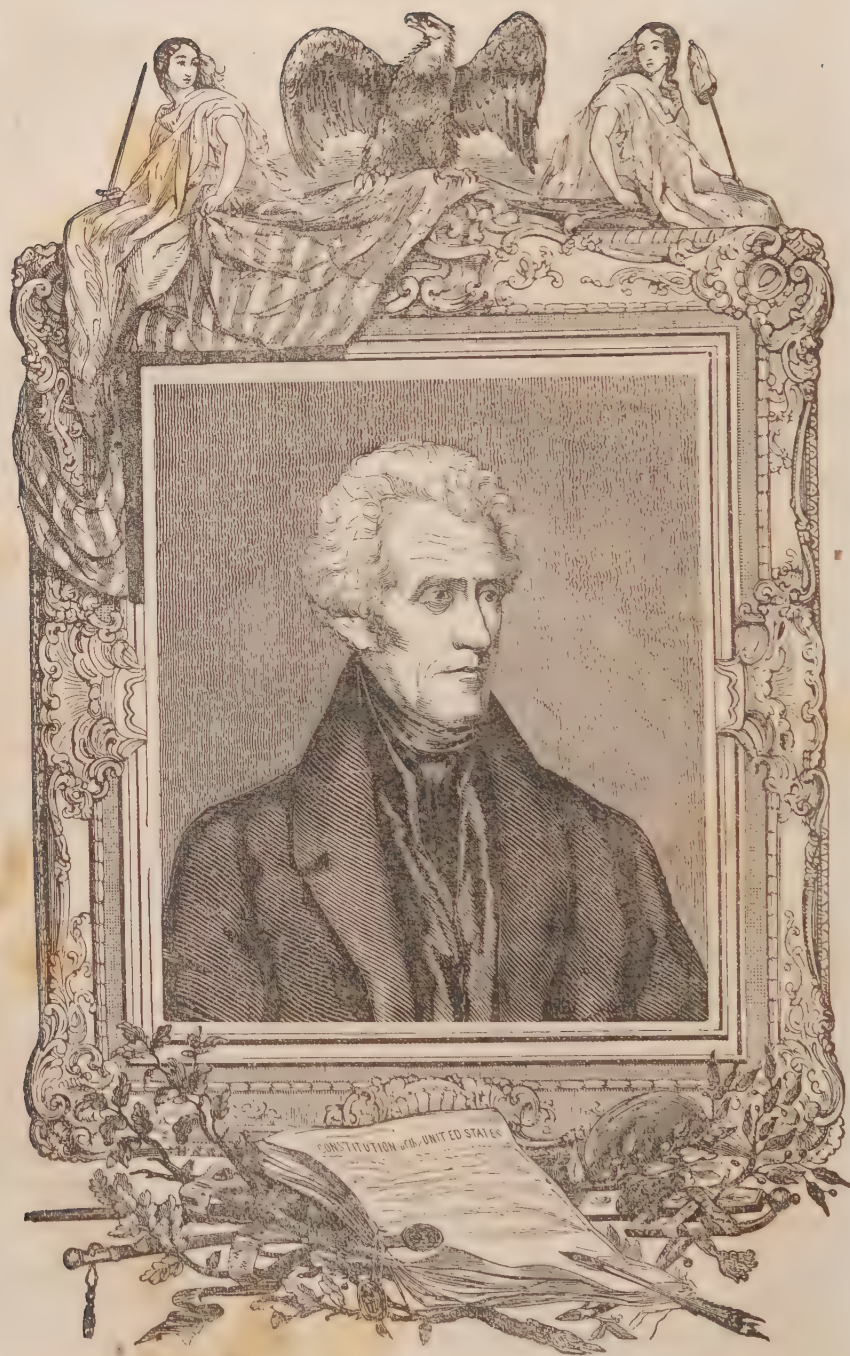
On the anniversary of American Independence, 1826, two of the Ex-Presidents of the United States departed this life; John Adams died at Quincy, in the ninety-first year of his age; Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, Virginia, in his eighty-third year. Both were ever found foremost in the rank of the statesmen who vindicated their country's rights and defended her liberties; both lived to see their efforts crowned with the happiest success; both of them were elevated to the highest office in the gift of the people; and a half century after the Declaration of Independence, both of them expired on the same day. Posterity is presented with their true portraits in their actions, and while their deeds will insure them an honourable place in the history of the world, "the respect of the republic to their memory will be their noblest monument."

The Tariff Bill which was enacted by Congress in the session of 1828, produced the most violent commotion in the Southern States. When it passed through Congress, it received but a small majority, and most of the members voting for it, did so, not because it corresponded to their wishes, but because they preferred having it with its defects, to none at all.

Nothing further of any moment transpired during the latter part of Mr. Adams's administration. Many salutary measures were recommended to Congress by the President, among which were the endowment of a naval academy, and the construction of a national observatory. Owing to the rancour of party feeling, both these and several other recommendations of public benefit were neglected, and it was with the greatest difficulty that, towards the close of his administration, the President procured an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars, to be paid by instalments, for statuary to fill niches in the east front of the capitol, and the engagement of a suitable artist to repair to Italy and commence his labours.

Notwithstanding the great learning, the enlarged views, and open disposition of Mr. Adams, and the perfect harmony which reigned in his cabinet, although composed of very opposite materials, the tide of popular favour had set against him, and he lost his re-election by a large majority. General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was elected to succeed him, and he was inaugurated in the spring following.

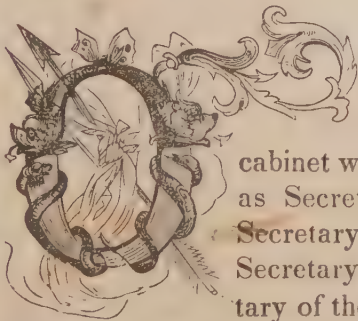






CHAPTER LX.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.



ON the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson was installed in his office, John C. Calhoun taking the seat of Vice-President. The cabinet was composed of Martin Van Buren, as Secretary of State; Mr. Ingham, as Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Eaton, as Secretary of War; Mr. Branch, as Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Berrien, as Attorney General. The inaugural speech of General Jackson was expressed with much moderation, and gave no countenance to the accusations regarding his despotic temper and exaggerated opinions, which had been busily propagated during the excitement of the election. After detailing the different duties which devolved on him, as the head of the executive, he explained the principles by which he was resolved to be guided in discharging them.

The principal topic of discussion upon the assembling of Congress was the Tariff Act, which had been from the moment of its passing, a subject of violent contention and popular irritation between the Northern and Southern States. The

former had not ceased to condemn it as a sacrifice of the manufacturing to the landed interests of the Union, and had expected some modification of its provisions from the new President; but General Jackson, in his message, carried the doctrines of protecting home productions till they can compete with foreign importation to their utmost length. A motion, however, to reconsider the tariff bill, was allowed to go to a committee; but the committee in their report maintained the absolute inexpediency of intermeddling in any degree with the regulations of the tariff.

Another attempt was made by a bill reported from the committee of ways and means for reducing and modifying some of the articles in the tariff; but the House of Representatives refused to allow it to be taken into consideration. Far from being discouraged, the opponents of the tariff renewed the attack, by bringing in a bill which proposed to admit the manufactures or produce of other nations into the Union, on paying the duty of thirty per cent. The bill did not pass, but these discussions and the temper of the government secured an advantage of a similar kind. An act was passed, opening the American ports for the admission of British vessels from the colonies with the same cargoes which might be brought, and at the same duties that were payable by American vessels, suspending the alien duties on British vessels and cargoes. In consequence of this act, the United States were allowed the benefit of the act of parliament of 1825, which upon certain terms allowed foreign nations a participation in her colonial trade. The general effect of this arrangement, however, was highly prejudicial to the commerce of the United States. In 1831, the discussion of the tariff was again resumed upon a clause of the President's message, wherein he declared himself favourable to a re-examination of its principles, or even a modification of some of its provisions. That part of the message was referred by the House of Representatives to a committee. The majority reported a paper hostile to any alteration or modification of the existing tariff; whilst the minority presented a counter-report, diametrically

opposed to the former. A convention of deputies from fifteen states, who had been appointed to procure, if possible, an alteration, likewise put forth a long report, denouncing the tariff as being at once injurious, unjust, and unconstitutional.

In 1832 an act was passed which lowered the duties upon some articles; but it was far from meeting the wishes of Georgia and the Carolinas. They regarded it as a miserably scanty relief, and as it was the only amount of concession to be obtained from the Northern States, they had nearly resolved to throw off the sovereignty of the confederation. After the adjournment of Congress in July, these sentiments were sounded through the Southern States. South Carolina took the lead. A convention assembled at Columbia from all parts of the state, declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void, and not binding on the citizens of the state; that if the United States should attempt to enforce them by naval or military force, the union was to be dissolved, and a convention called to form a government for South Carolina. A convention, denominated from their acts, "Nullifiers," went to still further lengths. The Georgians were more moderate in their acts; and though they were willing to elect delegates to a southern convention in common with the other Southern States, yet they abhorred the doctrine of nullification, and they deplored the proceedings of the convention of South Carolina as being "rash and revolutionary." In November, the Legislature of South Carolina passed acts decidedly hostile, authorizing the governor to provide means of repelling force by force.

While civil war and a dissolution of the Union seemed thus to be approaching, General Jackson, his four years having expired, had been re-elected President. On the assembling of Congress, the attitude of South Carolina and the financial legislation which had produced it necessarily formed the principal topics. His message was followed, on the 10th of December, by a proclamation, in which he both argued the question with the Nullifiers, and announced that he would not hesitate to bring them back to their duty by force.

General Jackson also announced in his message that the public debt of the United States would be liquidated in the course of the year 1833, fifty-eight millions of dollars having been paid during the four years of his presidency. He seemed, however, to have formed an unfavourable opinion of the administration of the United States Bank. There were still about three years and a half of its charter to elapse; but nevertheless a bill was introduced to renew it. This bill passed both houses of Congress; but the President refused to sign it. In his message, after his re-election, he even attacked the solvency of the institution, and intimated that it was no longer a safe depository for the public funds.

Towards the close of December, 1832, a bill was introduced into Congress, by which it was proposed to reduce the duties. This did not meet the views of either party; and with difficulty the Nullifiers were induced to postpone the action of their resolution till the 3d of March, 1833. Meanwhile, two months were spent in vain debates, and difficulties were finally overcome by the introduction of a bill by Henry Clay, of Kentucky, which from the service it was intended to perform was denominated the Compromise Bill. By it, all duties were to be gradually reduced till 1842, when they were to reach the minimum of twenty per cent. *ad valorem*, the reduction to be made at regular periods until that year. This new bill, with one for more effectually enforcing the collection of the duties, were carried through both houses of Congress, and received the sanction of the President.

The session of Congress closed on the 2d of March, and on the 4th, an inaugural address was delivered by General Jackson, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on commencing the second period of his presidency. It was chiefly occupied in recommending union to the states, and in pointing out the dangers they would incur by separation from or disagreement with each other. The refusal of the President to sign the bill for rechartering the United States Bank, has already been noticed. In the present year, he went still further, and gave orders to withdraw the government deposits

from that institution and its branches, and to place them in the local banks. He defended this measure in a long letter addressed to the Cabinet, on the 18th of September. His accusations were denied, and it was contended that his measure was unconstitutional. But, on whichever side the right and law might be, the conduct of the President led to disastrous results in the mercantile world. The deposits being withdrawn, the bank necessarily diminished its issues, and lessened its discounts; all operations of buying and selling were thus discouraged and impeded; a stagnation of trade ensued; property was depreciated; and bankruptcies and failures were multiplied on all sides.

During the year 1834, the United States continued to be agitated by the consequences of the acts of the President. The House of Representatives was inundated with petitions for the restoration of the public money to the vaults of the bank; but the majority of the members were favourable to the measures of the President; whilst the Senate was arrayed in open hostility to his measures, and refused to confirm his appointment of directors for the bank on behalf of the government shares.

In New York and other cities, the public opposition to the President's measures was violent in the extreme; whilst the interior of the country, having little or no sympathy with the great trading and moneyed interests of the commercial cities, were generally favourable to the policy of the President. The election of members to the House of Representatives of this year resulted in adding sixteen or twenty to the former majority in favour of the President. One of the results of this measure was the partial substitution of a metallic for a paper circulation throughout the Union. It has been computed that from the beginning of January, 1833, to July, 1834, an excess of over twenty-two millions of specie was imported into the country.

In his message of December, 1834, the President called attention to the rejection, by the French Chamber of Deputies, of the bill for the indemnification of the United States for

losses sustained in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees. He suggested to Congress retaliatory measures, and his whole message breathed a warlike spirit. The Senate, however, differed from the President upon the subject, and after much deliberation, unanimously adopted the following resolution, on the 14th of July, 1835: "That it is inexpedient at present to adopt any legislative measures in regard to the state of affairs between this country and France." The House of Representatives unanimously agreed to two resolutions: "1. That, in the opinion of this House, the treaty with France of July 4th, 1831, should be maintained, and its execution insisted upon. 2. That the committee of Foreign Affairs should be discharged from the further consideration of so much of the President's message as relates to commercial restrictions, or to reprisals on the commerce of France."

The French minister was recalled, the American government being at the same time assured that the bill should nevertheless be presented to the Chambers. Mr. Livingston was instructed to return home in the event of the refusal of the French government to pay the money. A bill passed the Chambers, authorizing the payment of the money, after satisfactory explanation had been given to France of the President's language. In December, the President met Congress, and declared that there was nothing to explain, and that in any event, he would never allow a foreign power to found demands upon the interior and official communications of one department of the American government with another. Great Britain then tendered her mediation, and both parties accepted the offer. During this year, the whole debt of the United States was paid off. The majority which the friends of the President had secured in one branch of the legislature, rendered all the efforts of his opponents to recharter the bank abortive, and its concerns were consequently wound up.

On the 19th of July, a party of Seminole Indians crossed their bounds, near the Hogs-Town settlement, for the purpose of hunting. They separated, and agreed to meet again on a certain day. On that day, five of them were met together,



Pursuit of the Florida Indians.

when a party of white men came by and commenced flogging them with their cow-whips. Two other Indians came up and fired upon the whites, who returned the fire. Three whites were wounded, and one Indian killed and one wounded. On the 6th of August, Dalton, a mail-carrier, was killed, and the Indians refused to deliver the murderers up to justice. In September, a party of Mickasuckee Indians, led by the celebrated Osceola, waylaid and shot Charley Omathla, a powerful friendly chief, who was journeying with his daughter. General Clinch, who commanded a small force in this section of the country, obtained a body of six hundred and fifty militia from the Governor of Florida, and commenced operations against them, on the Outhlacooche river.

On the 23d of December, two companies of the United States army, under command of Major Dade, marched from Tampa Bay for Camp King. From Hillsborough Bridge, Major Dade sent a letter to Captain Belton, urging him to forward a six-pounder which had been left behind. Horses were procured, and the piece was received by the detachment that night. Soon after the six-pounder joined the column, a shot was heard in the direction of the advanced guard, which was soon followed by another, when a volley was suddenly poured in on

the front and left flank. Half the men were killed or wounded at the first fire, and until several volleys had been received, not an enemy could be seen. The Indians fired lying or squatting in the grass, or from behind pine trees. The infantry threw themselves behind trees and opened a sharp discharge of musketry. Several pounds of cannister were fired from the cannon, and the Indians temporarily retreated. The detachment instantly proceeded to form a breastwork by felling trees, but had scarcely commenced when the enemy returned to the fight. The infantry immediately took shelter behind trees; but they were all gradually cut down by the overwhelming force opposed to them. When all resistance had ceased, the Indians leaped into the breastwork, and stripping off the accoutrements and arms from the dead, carried them away. Forty or fifty negroes then came up on horseback, tied their animals fast to trees, and commenced butchering the wounded. When all were supposed to be dead, they stripped the clothing off all the bodies and departed in the same direction with the Indians, taking the cannon with them. Of eight officers and one hundred and two privates, but four escaped alive from the scene of the action, one of whom was shot the day after the battle.

During the year 1835, much excitement was felt in the Southern States, in consequence of the alleged efforts of the friends of the abolition of slavery to disseminate their doctrines among the slaves, which in many places broke out in riot and bloodshed.

The money due for depredations under the Berlin and Milan decrees, was received from the French government in 1836, and made a large surplus in the treasury. Much debating occurred in Congress about the disposal of the surplus revenue, which was now kept in state banks, selected by the secretary of the treasury. The expiration of the charter of the United States Bank was followed by the creation of a large number of state banks, whose capital was chiefly nominal, the largest being the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. The great increase of the circulating medium which followed the creation of these

banks, produced and nourished all manner of wild speculations, particularly in unappropriated public lands. The money received from their sale increased to an unprecedented amount. They were paid for in notes of the banks, which the land agents conveyed to the banks, who received them to be immediately issued again, the government being credited with the amount of the notes on the books of the bank. These credits upon many of the western banks were already greatly beyond their immediate means of payment, and were rapidly increasing; many fearing that if the practice were allowed to continue, the credits would ultimately be worth nothing to the government. The evil was, however, somewhat checked by the issue of a treasury circular, which prohibited the receiving payment of lands in any currency but specie, and allowed no sales to be made except to actual settlers.

In the middle of the year, Congress adjourned, and the excitement of the presidential election followed, General Jackson's second term having expired. The friends of the existing administration supported Martin Van Buren, of New York, who was the more easily elected from the circumstance that three different candidates were opposed to him. The next year opened upon the people of the United States under very inauspicious circumstances. A sense of approaching disasters pervaded all classes, and the spirit of unbounded speculation was succeeded by one of general despondency and distrust. Many efforts were made by the merchants and bankers to avert them, but with very partial success.

During the winter session, a bill was brought before Congress, recognizing the independence of Texas. The consideration of it was, however, postponed, and a salary was appropriated for a Texan *chargé d'affaires*, whenever the President should think proper to appoint one. This he did before the close of his administration.

The Indian war was continued in Florida during the year 1836. On the 6th of January, five persons, the family of a Mr. Cooly, were murdered at his residence on New river, about twelve miles from Cape Florida. A few days previously,

a battle was fought at a ford of the Ouithlacoochee, in which a small and unsupported body of the troops were attacked by a force nearly three times their number; the enemy being repulsed before a reinforcement could cross to their aid. While these operations were passing in West Florida, the plantations and settlements in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine were ravaged by the enemy, the inhabitants slain, and the negroes taken away; General Hernandez, who was in command, being too weak to offer any resistance. General Gaines had collected a body of volunteers from Louisiana, and near the end of February, moved down the Ouithlacoochee. A skirmish happened at General Clinch's crossing place, another on the 28th, and a third, in which numbers were engaged, on the 29th, when General Gaines was wounded in the under lip. These skirmishes continued till the 5th of March, when Osceola demanded a parley, which was broken up, without any satisfactory conclusion.

Before closing our account of General Jackson's administration, it is proper to notice the troubles with the Indians on our north-western frontier, called Black Hawk's war.

In the summer of the year 1832, difficulties with the savages broke out, owing partly to their dissatisfaction with the stipulations in the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1823, and partly to the injustice of the settlers towards their red neighbours. Eight of a party of twenty-four Chippewas, on a visit to Fort Snelling, were all killed or wounded by a party of Sioux, four of whom were afterwards captured by the commander of the garrison and given up to the Chippewas, who immediately shot them. Red-Bird, the Sioux chief, chose three companions, and they set about seeking revenge. Four or five whites were killed by them, when General Atkinson captured Red-Bird, and a party of hostile Winnebagoes, in the country of that tribe. Red-Bird died in prison soon after, and his companions—one of whom was the celebrated Black Hawk—were released from confinement. Black Hawk immediately commenced exciting hostility among the already disaffected tribes, among whom the Sacs bore a prominent part. Towards

July, General Gaines marched to the Sacs' village, and they humbly sued for peace, which was granted. Meanwhile a party of them, under Black Hawk, murdered twenty-eight of the friendly Menominies, and recrossed the Mississippi to the lands which they had ceded to the United States. General Atkinson marched after him, and at Dixon's Ferry, on Rock River, May 15th, 1833, learned that a party of two hundred and seventy-five men, under Major Stillman, had been attacked at Sycamore Creek, on the preceding day, while incautiously marching after the Indians, and lost a great many of their number, the Indians having suffered but little.

The cholera broke out among the troops, in July, and whole companies were nearly broken up; in one instance, nine only surviving, out of a corps of two hundred and eight. Twelve Indians were killed by Gen. Dodge's men, at Galena, and sixteen others afterwards fell by his arms, about forty miles from Fort Winnebago. Meanwhile, General Atkinson, with an army greatly superior to that of Black Hawk, pursued him through trackless forests, always finding himself no nearer his enemy at the end of his journey, than he had been at its commencement. Finally, however, Black Hawk, seeing the necessity of his escape, and that it could not be effected with his whole force, sent his women and children down the Mississippi in boats, many of which fell into the hands of the whites. About four hundred of them were encamped on Bad Axe river, where they were discovered on the 1st of August, by the steamboat Warrior, which had been sent up the Mississippi with a small force on board, in hopes of finding them. In the action which ensued, twenty-three Indians were killed and many wounded, without any loss to the troops. After the fight, the Warrior returned to Prairie du Chien, and before she could return next morning, General Atkinson had engaged the Indians. The Warrior joined the contest, and the Indians retreated with considerable loss, thirty-six of their women and children being taken. Eight of the troops were killed and seventeen wounded in this engagement. Black Hawk was now pursued over the Wisconsin, and overtaken in an advantageous

position at the foot of a precipice over which the army had to pass. The Indians fought with the fury of tigers, leaving one covert for another, and were only routed at the point of the bayonet. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force, which scarcely numbered three hundred men, Black Hawk maintained the battle for three hours, when he barely escaped, with the loss of all his papers, and one hundred and fifty of his bravest warriors, among whom was Neopop, his second in command. A party of Sioux now volunteered to pursue the remainder of the enemy, of whom they succeeded in killing about one hundred and twenty. The great chief himself was finally captured by a party of Winnebagoes and given up to General Street, at Prairie du Chien. Treaties were then made with the rest of the Sacs, the Foxes, and the Winnebagoes, by which the United States acquired some very valuable lands on favourable terms. Black Hawk, his two sons, and six of the principal chiefs were retained as hostages. The chief and his son were carried to Washington to visit the President, receiving many valuable presents on their route. They returned to their homes by way of Detroit, and were liberated at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, in Illinois, in August, 1833. He having been by the treaty deposed, Keokuk was made chief of the tribe, and Black Hawk settled on the Mississippi.

In the early part of the year 1837, General Santa Anna, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of San Jacinto, and subsequently obtained his liberty from his Texan captors, visited Washington, whence, after a short stay, he sailed for Mexico, in an United States vessel of war.

On the 4th of March, the term of General Jackson's presidency expired, and Martin Van Buren, whose views of general policy coincided with those of his predecessor, took possession of the chair. After issuing a valedictory address, the late President retired to his residence in Tennessee.







CHAPTER LXI.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.



LEAVING the honours and the cares of government to his successor, President Jackson delivered to his countrymen a valedictory address; and nearly at the same time appeared the inaugural speech of the new President.

"Unlike all that have preceded me," was the language of this manifesto, "the revolution that gave us existence as a nation, was achieved at the period of my birth; and whilst I contemplate, with grateful reverence, that memorable event, I feel that I belong to a later age, and that I may not expect my countrymen to weigh my actions with the same kind and partial hand."

The new President was scarcely seated in his chair, when the storm, so long collecting itself, burst upon the commercial classes. It was at New Orleans, that the first failures, of any consequence, were declared; but New York followed; the banks found the demands upon their funds increase with frightful rapidity, while, what was yet more ominous, their circulation returned upon them. The alarm broke out into a panic; then came a general "run" upon the banks; and a

few days more sufficed to bring about the almost universal suspension of cash payments. It has been computed that in New York no less than two hundred and fifty houses stopped payment in the course of the first three weeks in April. The banks of that city, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Albany, and others, ceased to pay in specie. The mammoth Bank of the United States itself bent to the tempest, and imitated the example of the rest.

The secretary of the treasury, as soon as the suspension of cash payments became general, gave orders to the revenue collectors, to receive nothing but specie, or paper convertible into specie on demand, in payment of the revenue bonds, given by traders in the course of business. Meanwhile, the distress spread, like a pestilence, through the various ramifications of society. Public works, railways, and canals, were brought to a stand; the shipwright and builder dismissed their men; the manufacturer closed his doors; one sentiment pervaded all classes, the anticipation of universal ruin, and individual beggary. The administration made several endeavours to restore the financial affairs of the country to their former condition, and an extra session of Congress was convened on the 4th of September; the President, in his message, confining himself to the financial condition of the country. The friends of the administration triumphed in the election for Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Polk being re-elected. A bill was passed suspending the payment of the fourth instalment of surplus revenue to the states, until the 1st of January, 1839.

Another bill was passed, authorizing the issue of treasury notes, equal to any deficiency that might ensue, with four millions of dollars by way of reserve, at any rate of interest, not exceeding six per cent., to be fixed by the secretary of the treasury. A bill for the extension of the payment of revenue bonds, for a short period, and another, authorizing the warehousing in bond of imported goods, for a term not exceeding three years, were also passed during the session.

But a bill, organizing a Sub-Treasury System, whereby the

nation should become its own banker, which the friends of the administration made great efforts to carry, was lost in the House of Representatives; after a very warm debate, that House resolved to postpone the further consideration of the measure until the next session. The war with the Seminole Indians continued during the year to employ the arms of the United States in Florida. The troops succeeded in taking the great chief Osceola, or Powell, whose capture, it was thought, would be followed by the submission of his tribe. Treaties were concluded with Siam and Muscat, which promised considerable commercial benefit.

Congress reassembled on the 4th of December, when the President sent in his message, in which the relations with Mexico, which had recently become confused, the finances, foreign relations, Indian affairs, military and naval matters, and the post-office, were treated at some length. The message concluded by inviting Congress to a thorough and careful revision of the local government and interests of the District of Columbia, which had been "left to linger behind the rest of the Union; its codes, civil and criminal, being not only defective, but full of obsolete or inconvenient provisions;" and the District, although selected as the seat of the Legislature, had never received "that special and comprehensive legislation," which its situation particularly demanded. The annual report of the secretary of the treasury was received, in which the receipts for the year were estimated at nearly twenty-three million, five hundred thousand dollars, which added to the surplus remaining in the treasury in 1836, gave the sum of sixty-nine million, four hundred thousand dollars, in his hands. The expenses of the year when met, would reduce that sum to about one half its present amount.

During the early part of the session of Congress, the Canadian rebellion and the border conflicts, to which it gave rise, occupied the attention of that body, whose proceedings were marked by a becoming forbearance, even at a moment when out of doors the excitement of the more inflammable portion of the community was at its height. The President forbade

by proclamation the interference of American citizens in the war, and ordered the United States marshal to execute warrants upon all those who should violate the national neutrality. General Scott was ordered to the frontier with a portion of the New York troops. But, whilst these efforts were making, an affair occurred on the frontier, which produced much ill feeling for a time, throughout the United States. A party of the Patriots had made a rendezvous on Navy Island, in the Niagara river, opposite to which, on the American side, was a small village, denominated Fort Schlosser. On the night of the 28th of December, a small steamboat, called the Caroline, was moored there, intelligence of which was conveyed to Colonel M'Nab, commander of the Canadian militia on the opposite side. He had suspected her of carrying ammunition and supplies to the Patriots, and he resolved to destroy her. He accordingly despatched a party of militia in boats for this purpose. After a short scuffle, they became masters of the vessel, and then setting her on fire, they suffered her to drift in flames down the Falls of Niagara. Several persons were killed in the affray. This circumstance occasioned a correspondence between the secretary of state and Mr. Fox, the British minister at Washington, of a rather angry nature; and after a long debate, a bill for the preservation of neutrality was passed by Congress, and the matter dropped.

A bill giving a right of pre-emption to the first settlers on unoccupied public lands, was passed during the session, in conformity with the recommendation of the President. The Sub-Treasury bill, one of the cardinal points of policy of the Van Buren party, was again debated at full length, and passed the Senate; but its reception in the House of Representatives was less favourable; and in June, it was ultimately rejected by a vote of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and eleven. During this year, (1838), the banks throughout the United States generally resumed specie payments. The effects of the commercial catastrophe were rapidly subsiding; credit revived, the prospects of trade in the autumn were encouraging, and the harvest was abundant. In the fall,

the elections held throughout the Union, continued the change in the numbers of the Van Buren party in Congress, which had been commenced in 1837, and the administration found itself likely to lose even the small majority which remained.

The contest between the State of Maine and Great Britain respecting the north-eastern boundary, began in the course of the year to assume a threatening aspect. The north-western boundaries were fixed by a treaty with Russia, and land added to the territory of the United States by the removal of the tribe of Cherokees west of the Mississippi. The war with the Seminoles still continued. Texas withdrew her application for admission into the Union; but her consul at New Orleans was recognised by the President, who issued a public notice, according to him the enjoyment of all such functions and privileges as are allowed to consuls of the most favoured nations. At the end of the year, when the second Canadian outbreak occurred, a new proclamation was issued by the President, calling on the citizens of the United States to preserve neutrality, and declaring the protection of the country forfeited by those who should invade the territory of Great Britain with hostile intentions.

A convention for fixing the boundaries of the United States and Texas was concluded at Washington, on the 25th of April. Treaties had been concluded between the United States and the Peru-Bolivian confederation, and also with the King of Greece.

In his message to Congress on the reassembling of that body, the President touched upon the removal of many of the Indians west of the Mississippi. He then stated that no official communications had passed between the government and the cabinet of Great Britain, since the last communication to Congress. The President was, however, assured that the offer to negotiate a convention for the appointment of a joint commission of survey and exploration, would be met on the part of her majesty's government in a conciliatory spirit, and prove, if successful, to be an important step towards the final adjustment of the controversy.

The discussion of the question of the abolition of slavery had been at length completely precluded by an act of Congress, which passed, at the beginning of the session, a series of resolutions to that effect, by the overwhelming majority of one hundred and ninety-eight to six. The excited feelings created by the recent collision of the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Victoria, on the borders of Lower Canada, had scarcely subsided, when the relations of the two countries were once more in the way of being gravely compromised by occurrences in the contested district between Maine and New Brunswick. It would appear that towards the end of January, 1838, a numerous band of British subjects invaded the portion of the territory in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, which is watered by the river Aroostook, and committed extensive depredations by cutting down the timber. An armed force was sent into the district to hinder the carrying off of the timber. This done, they were to return home; but for the seizure of Mr M'Intyre, the American land agent, when he was in the act of putting himself into communication with the agent appointed by Sir J. Harvey, Governor of New Brunswick, to watch the trespassers whom the officer of Maine had been commissioned to drive off. In retaliation, the English warden, Mr. M'Laughlin, was now arrested, and conveyed as a hostage to Bangor. These proceedings were followed by some angry correspondence between Governor Fairfield and Sir John Harvey, and the people of both states began seriously to prepare for hostilities.

Both the prisoners were, however, soon liberated on parole, and the discussion transferred to Washington. Several letters passed between Mr. Fox, the British minister, and Mr. Forsyth, which, with a message from the President, were laid before Congress. Many speeches were made in that body; several of the members advocating a forcible occupancy of the territory, whilst the others were more pacifically inclined. The debate in both houses closed by referring the matter to the committee on foreign affairs, who recommended in their report that power should be given to the President to raise a

provisional army during the Congressional recess ; that appropriations should be made for fortifications, and the immediate repair and building of new vessels of war, and that the President should be instructed to repel any invasion of the territory of the Union in Maine. It was moreover recommended, that a special minister should be sent to England. The session of Congress shortly after came to an end. The war excitement in the north-east soon began to subside, and Messrs. Rudge and Featherstonhaugh were subsequently sent out by the British government, to conduct a new investigation of the still debateable territory.

Great dismay was created in the commercial world towards the close of the year, by the suspension of specie payments on the part of the United States Bank, on the 5th of October. Her example was followed by all the banks in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, and the interior of Pennsylvania.

The result of the election which occurred during the recess of Congress, was, that the government had a small majority in that body ; but the two parties were nearly equally balanced in the House of Representatives, until the middle of July, when five members of the New Jersey delegation, whose seats had been contested, were added to the administration party, who thus gained the ascendancy. On the 24th of December, 1839, the President's message was delivered, and received the first action of Congress. It stated that with foreign countries, the relations of the government continued amicable. He referred to the arrival of the commissioners of exploration and survey of the north-eastern boundary. He also stated that the troubles in Canada had ceased. Treaties of commerce had been made with the King of Sardinia, and the King of the Netherlands. The relations with Mexico and Texas were touched upon, together with finance, the post-office, and the best method of keeping the public revenue. More than half of the message was occupied with a discussion on the evils of the American banking system, and a statement of the "constitutional" as well as other objections entertained by him to the establishment of a National Bank, while at the

same time, he proposed that the public revenue should be kept in a separate and independent treasury, and collected in gold and silver. The Maine and New Brunswick boundary question continued this year still to keep up a feeling of irritation between England and America—and a long and recriminatory correspondence on the subject took place in the month of March, between Mr. Fox, the English minister, and Mr. Forsyth. It was concluded by Mr. Fox, in a brief reply to Mr. Forsyth's last letter, stating that he would transmit the communication to her majesty's government in England, and that until he received instructions from home, he would not engage in farther correspondence on the subject. In June, he addressed another letter to Mr. Forsyth, in which he stated that the most prominent among the causes of failure in past negotiations, had been a want of correct information as to the topographical features and physical character of the country in dispute. In consequence of his statements, and the recommendation of the President, a bill was passed in Congress, appropriating twenty-five thousand dollars towards the expenses of the survey of the disputed territory.

During the vacation of Congress, the election for President was held; Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison being the two candidates. The choice of the nation fell upon General Harrison, who was elected by a large majority.

The negotiations respecting the boundaries of the United States and the British Provinces, and of the United States and Texas, were stated by the President in his message to Congress in January, 1841, to be in a state of progression. The state of the public finances, and the reduction of expenditures during his administration were dwelt upon, and he closed with a long vindication of his own financial policy. But little business was done during the session of Congress, which closed on the 2d of March, and on the 4th, William Henry Harrison was inaugurated President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, Vice-President of the United States.





CHATER LXII.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

UNLIMITED confidence in the ability and integrity of the new President appears to have been entertained by the people. He was elected by a majority so decisive as to leave no doubt respecting their disposition towards himself. General Harrison coming into office by the suffrages of a party in direct opposition to that which elected and had sustained his predecessor, reorganized the cabinet by appointing Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, to the office of Secretary of State, and Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, to that of Secretary of the Treasury, while Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, and Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, were appointed to preside over the departments of war and the navy. Numerous other changes in the executive offices were made, and a total change in administrative measures was anticipated. The state of the commercial and financial relations of the country were considered to be so critical that a special session of Congress was ordered for the purpose of taking those steps which were deemed essential to the restoration of

credit and confidence among the trading and manufacturing classes and increasing the rewards of agricultural industry.

In the inaugural address of General Harrison, his views of the principles of the American government were fully explained, and his determination to carry their execution into effect, solemnly expressed. In concluding his address, he says, "Fellow-citizens: being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you to your homes the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given, to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous people."

But these professions, and this system of policy, General Harrison was destined never to have the opportunity of realizing. His elevation to the high office of First Magistrate of the Union, furnishes a striking and melancholy example of the uncertainty of human greatness; for on the morning of the 4th of April, before he had delivered to Congress a single message, he expired at Washington.

General Harrison was in the sixty-ninth year of his age; he died within one month of his inauguration, and was the first president who died in office. On the 5th of April the public were admitted to view the remains of the late President. His corpse was placed in a leaden coffin, with a roofed lid, and a glass cover over it. The whole was covered with a black velvet pall, trimmed with silver lace. The funeral took place on the 7th. The corpse was borne from the President's house, and was deposited in the Congressional Cemetery. The order of the ceremony was very imposing: the procession extended over two miles of space, and was the longest ever witnessed in Washington.

A sentiment of the profoundest grief pervaded every part of the Union on this melancholy occasion. A national fast was proclaimed; and the affection and respect of the people were testified by every species of public demonstration.







CHAPTER LXIII.

TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.



ACCORDING to the constitution, Mr. Tyler now became President; he arrived at Washington, on the 5th of April, 1841, and was immediately sworn into office. Mr. Southard, who had been elected President of the Senate, *pro tempore*, a few days before the close of the last session of Congress, became Vice-President. On the 8th, the new President issued an address, suited to the occasion, in which, after lamenting the decease of General Harrison, he expressed his intention of carrying into practice during his administration of the government, what he conceived to have been that gentleman's principles. The cabinet chosen by General Harrison, was retained in office.

On the 31st of May, the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the United States assembled at Washington, when Mr. White, of Kentucky, a member of the Administration party, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, by a majority of thirty-seven. A message was transmitted to Congress, in which the President proposed that the nation should reimburse

the family of General Harrison, for the expenses which he must have incurred in taking office for so short a time. His views with regard to foreign policy were of a pacific character, and no important changes had taken place in foreign relations, since the last session of Congress. He stated that the census shows the population to be seventeen millions, and that it had doubled in twenty-three years.

Several important subjects were presented for consideration during the special session of Congress. A bill for establishing a new Bank of the United States, however, which was considered the cardinal measure of the session, was defeated by the President's refusal of his signature. A second bill was prepared, after consultation between the President, his cabinet, and certain members of the House of Representatives; and when this bill was defeated, by a second exercise of the negative power, all the members of the cabinet, except Mr. Webster, resigned their offices. The elevated character of the Secretary of State did not prevent his motives for retaining office from being sternly questioned at the time; but it is now considered a most fortunate circumstance for the country that he did not abandon his post. The importance of his subsequent services in arranging the terms of the treaty with Great Britain, are universally recognised.

Animated discussions took place upon the case of Alexander M'Leod, who had been arrested in New York and committed, on the charge of being concerned in the attack upon the *Caroline*, and the murder of Durfee, an American citizen, one of the parties killed on that occasion. His release was demanded by the British minister, who signified that a compliance with his demand was essential to the preservation of the good understanding which had hitherto been manifested between the two countries. The President refused to comply with the demand, and much excitement was felt throughout the country. The trial of M'Leod took place at Utica, in the State of New York, in October, and he was acquitted, an alibi having been sworn in evidence. Thus terminated this unpleasant affair, which seemed likely at one time to involve the two nations

in a war, and excited angry feelings on both sides of the Atlantic.

Before the close of the special session, Congress passed a bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, which received the assent of the President. This measure had for many years been urged upon Congress by Henry Clay, who had repeatedly prepared bills for the purpose, one of which was passed by both branches of the national legislature, but was defeated by the omission of President Jackson to return it with his signature before the close of the session.

On the reassembling of Congress at the close of the year, an important subject of dispute sprung up between Great Britain and the United States, respecting the "right of search" claimed by the former power. The debate was brought up in Congress by a clause in the message of the President at the commencement of the session, accompanied by a copy of correspondence between Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen, and Mr. Stevenson, the American minister at London. The nature of this dispute will be best understood from Mr. Stevenson's own account of it.

"The government of Great Britain, with that of other nations, regarding the African slave trade as a great evil, united in measures for its abolition. For that purpose laws were passed and treaties concluded, giving to the vessels of each of the contracting parties, the mutual right of search, under certain limitations. Independent of these treaties, and under the principles of public law, this right of search could not be exercised. The United States were invited to become a party to these treaties; but, for reasons which they deemed satisfactory, and growing out of the peculiar character of their institutions and systems of government, they declined doing so. They deemed it inexpedient, under any modification or in any form, to yield the right of having their vessels searched or interfered with in time of peace upon the high seas.

"In the meantime, some of the Powers who were parties to these treaties, and others who refused to become so, con-

tinued to prosecute their slave traffic; and to enable them to do so with more effect they resorted to the use of the flags of other nations, but more particularly that of the United States. To prevent this, and enforce her treaties, Great Britain deemed it important that her cruisers in the African seas should have the right of detaining and examining all vessels navigating those seas, for the purpose of ascertaining their national character. Against this practice the government of the United States protested, and the numerous cases out of which the present discussion has arisen, became subjects of complaint and negotiation between the two governments."

A circumstance occurred at the close of the previous year, connected with the question of the right of search, which threatened to produce unpleasant consequences, and make its settlement still more difficult. Some negroes had been carried off from the coast of Africa by a Spanish slaver called the *Amistad*. They rose in revolt during the middle passage, seized the ship, and murdered some of the crew. They afterwards landed in the United States, where they were tried for the murders, and acquitted. In this case the American government refused to recognise the right of slave trading, and decided that any kind of resistance was lawful on the part of those who were forcibly torn from their native country. The Spanish owners demanded that the slaves should be given up to be tried in a territory subject to the crown of Spain; but their claim was disallowed.

On the 27th of October, the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, Virginia, bound to New Orleans, sailed from Hampton Roads, with a cargo of merchandise, and about one hundred and thirty-five slaves. On the 7th of November, some of them rose upon the crew of the vessel, murdered a passenger named Hewell, who owned some of them, and wounded the captain dangerously. When they had obtained complete possession, the brig was taken into the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, where at the request of the American consul, a guard was placed on board to prevent the escape of the mutineers. Nineteen of the slaves were identified as having

participated in the deed, and they were placed in confinement until further orders. The remainder were set at liberty, notwithstanding the demand of the American consul that they should be sent to the United States. The Governor of New Providence justified this proceeding on the ground that the slaves became free on landing in a British territory, and that he could not recognise any right of dominion over them, claimed by American owners. An earnest remonstrance was raised on this occasion in the Southern States, where the British government was charged with abetting piracy and murder. But the case of the *Amistad* furnished a precedent against the surrender of the slaves who mutinied on board the *Creole*. The result was, that the nineteen incarcerated in the jail at Nassau were not given up, but were tried there, the rest being allowed to depart wherever they pleased.

During this year the President gave proofs that he did not intend to allow the veto with which the constitution intrusted him to be an ineffective instrument in his hands. A bill for the extension of the celebrated Compromise Act, was first subjected to the use of this power; and a new tariff bill, which followed, shared the same fate. In September, however, a modified bill was passed, to which he gave his consent. His independent exercise of the veto power, however, gave great offence to the party to whom the President owed his elevation to office; and a committee was appointed, who reported against the course he had pursued. A protest followed on the part of the President, in which he inveighs against the unfairness and unconstitutionality of the report.

As several questions had occurred between the British and American cabinets, of an irritating nature, Sir Robert Peel determined to send Lord Ashburton as a special ambassador to the United States, clothed with full powers to effect an amicable adjustment of all causes of dispute between the two governments. His lordship arrived in New York on the 1st of April, and proceeded immediately to effect the object of his mission. He was met by Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, on the part of the United States, and their negotiations

were brought to a close in August. On the 9th of that month a treaty was signed by the two plenipotentiaries, with a provision that it was to be duly ratified and a mutual exchange of ratifications to take place in London, in six months from that date. By this treaty the line of the North-Eastern Boundary was settled by a minute geographical description of the country through which it was to run. It was also stipulated that Great Britain and the United States should each maintain on the coast of Africa a sufficient squadron or naval force, carrying not less than eighty guns, for the purpose of enforcing separately and respectively the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the slave trade. Both parties to the treaty also agreed to unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with those powers within whose dominions slave markets were allowed to exist; and to urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets at once and for ever.

The treaty was ratified by the Senate on the 20th of August, 1842, and on the 31st of the same month, Congress adjourned, after a laborious session, in which were passed ninety-five public acts, thirteen joint resolutions, and one hundred and eighty-nine private bills. Two other public bills were passed, which were defeated by the veto of the President, and two more were defeated by not receiving the executive approval before the close of the session.

On the reassembling of Congress, the principal subject of attention was still the plan for an Exchequer. That which was presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, and recommended by the President, however, was rejected by the House of Representatives, (one hundred and ninety-three to eighteen,) January 27th, 1843.

During the same session of Congress which closed, (June, 1844,) the principal subjects of attention were the modification of the tariff, and the annexation of Texas to the United States. The attempt to reduce the duties on imports was defeated by decisive majorities. The treaty which was originally negotiated by the commissioners appointed

by the government of Texas, and signed by President Tyler, was rejected by the Senate.

One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of the United States, is the deliberate repudiation by several of the States of the public engagements which they had contracted by bonds, on the faith of which private individuals have advanced money to them. One pretext alleged for this flagrant violation of public faith was, that the bonds were not assignable, and that as they had been negotiated by the original holders, payment could not be legally enforced by the assignees of these instruments. The effect of a resort to such a contemptible quibble as this, on the credit of a state, appears not to have been duly considered. In the case of Pennsylvania, there was no professed repudiation, but a simple bankruptcy of the exchequer, with abundant wealth in the state, and apparently the most lamentable extravagance or incapacity in the management of its fiscal affairs. The shock which American credit has received in consequence of these proceedings was abundantly manifest, when the government of the United States found itself unable, with the utmost exertion, to negotiate in Europe a loan so small as not to amount to more than one-fourth of its ordinary annual income.

It is but just, however, to remark, that the public sentiment on the subject of repudiation has been so clearly and universally expressed, that a confident hope is now entertained among intelligent men that the state debts will all be ultimately paid. The gradual return of general prosperity, and the increase of enlightenment as to the utter impolicy of repudiation and its disastrous effects on public morals as well as individual happiness, will soon demonstrate the necessity of honouring every engagement to which a state seal has been affixed.

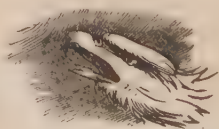
The principal remaining feature of President Tyler's administration, was the passing of a joint resolution, by both Houses of Congress, for the annexation of Texas. The independence of Texas had never been recognised by Mexico; on the contrary, a continual war was kept up by her, consisting

mainly in predatory incursions, attended by circumstances revolting to humanity. The contiguity of the two nations to our territory involved our own peace. Our government, therefore, from time to time exerted its friendly offices to bring about a termination of hostilities upon terms honourable alike to both the belligerents. Its efforts in this behalf proving of no avail, the only alternative left the executive, was to take advantage of the well known disposition of Texas, and to invite her to enter into a treaty for annexing her territory to that of the United States.

The treaty, which was negotiated for this purpose by the executive, failed to receive the ratification of the Senate, that body urging as an objection that the question of annexation had not as yet been placed before the people of the United States. This objection, however, soon lost its force, for at the presidential election in November, a controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the states, declared in favour of immediate annexation. Immediately after this election, President Tyler recommended the adoption of the terms of annexation, by Congress, in the form of a joint resolution, or act, to be perfected and made binding on the two republics, when adopted in like manner by the government of Texas.

The joint resolution, or act, proposed by President Tyler, passed both Houses of Congress by a large majority; and on the 3d of March, 1845, the last day of his administration, President Tyler proposed to submit the first and second sections of that resolution to the republic of Texas, as an overture, on the part of the United States, for her admission as a State into our Union.

On the 4th of March, the term of Mr. Tyler's presidency expired, and James K. Polk (of Tennessee) took possession of the chair. George M. Dallas (of Pennsylvania) was chosen Vice-President.







CHAPTER LXIV.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.



HE first act of the new President was to instruct the Charge d'Affaires of the United States in Texas to lay before the government and citizens of that republic the first and second sections of the joint resolution of Congress, for their approval and acceptance. The executive government, the Congress, and the people of Texas, successively complied with all the terms and conditions of the joint resolution. Nothing now remained to consummate the event, but the passage of an act by Congress to admit the state of Texas into the Union upon an equal footing with the original states. This act was passed at the next annual meeting of the American Congress on the 29th of December, 1845.

During this session of Congress (1845-6) the tariff law of 1842 was repealed, and another substituted which reduced the duties on imports in a considerable degree. This important change in the national policy was not effected without a lively opposition in both houses of Congress; and in the senate the new tariff bill was passed only by the casting vote

of the Vice President. Serious apprehensions were entertained respecting the probable effects of the new law on the manufacturing interests of the country ; and Pennsylvania, in particular, resented the apprehended injury to her coal miners and iron manufacturers so gravely as to elect a new legislature, a majority of which was composed of members opposed, in their political views, to the administration of the general government.

Another important measure which marked the early part of Mr. Polk's administration, was the establishment of what is termed the independent treasury. By the provisions of this act of Congress, all moneys paid into the treasury for customs, imposts, and other dues, are required to be in specie ; and instead of being as heretofore deposited in banks, the public treasure is entrusted to officers specially appointed by the government to receive and disburse it. Payments from the treasury are also required to be made in specie. The reason assigned for this measure is the increased security of the public funds, which were supposed to be in constant peril from the alleged insecurity of the banks. The result of the experiment, of course, can only be known, after a trial of several years' duration ; and can only be fairly stated, after a comparison of the expenses and losses actually suffered by the treasury under the operation of the old and the new systems respectively. A great deal of apprehension has been entertained by the commercial classes with respect to the effect of this measure in withdrawing specie from circulation.

Simultaneously with the repeal of the tariff of 1842, Great Britain modified her corn laws, and reduced many other duties to moderate revenue rates. This simultaneous abandonment of a protective tariff by the United States and Great Britain, has opened new markets for our agricultural and other products ; commerce and navigation have received a new impulse ; and a reciprocity in the exchange of commodities has been established by the two nations.

At the same time that the tariff question agitated the country, the "Oregon question" was settled between the United States and Great Britain. In the two preceding administra-

tions, the parallel of 49 degrees of north latitude, as a boundary, had been offered to and rejected by Great Britain; and she in return made such inadmissible demands, that the offer of 49 degrees, as a boundary, was withdrawn by the direction of President Polk, and our title to the whole Oregon territory asserted by him. The question, after agitating both countries for a considerable length of time, was, however, finally settled on the parallel of 49 degrees; both nations retaining the free and open navigation of the Columbia river, south of that line.

While these two great questions (the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the Oregon difficulty) agitated the public mind, our dispute with Mexico, arising principally from the annexation of Texas, was rapidly approaching the necessity of an appeal to arms. Although this republic was in no condition to resist her powerful neighbor, she still strenuously protested against the act of annexation as a violation of the law of nations, and an unjust dismemberment of her territory; and while threatening war as the consequence of that act, she called upon other nations to bear witness to the justice of her plea. So powerful was the popular feeling upon this point, that President Herrera, who favored an amicable adjustment of all the difficulties, was compelled to resign, and General Paredes elevated to the supreme dignity. This change occurred about the time that the American envoy-extraordinary arrived at the capital; and with several other unhappy circumstances, contributed to render his mission fruitless. He was even obliged to return to the United States, without having been acknowledged in his proper capacity by the new government.

This transpired while the terms of annexation were under consideration by the congress of Texas. The Mexican minister at Washington had already demanded his passports, and left the United States, declaring that the "resolution of annexation was an act of aggression, the most unjust which can be found recorded in the annals of modern history; namely, that of despoiling a friendly nation like Mexico of a considerable portion of her territory." After his return, intercourse between the two countries in a great measure closed; and a

period of non-intercourse, the terrible calm of suspense and anxiety which precedes the storm, ensued.

War was now confidently anticipated by a large number in both countries; and, resolving to prepare for the emergency, President Polk issued orders for the organizing of a "corps of observation," "to concentrate an efficient military force on the western frontier of Texas." This force, in the words of the president's message, "was ordered to take positions in the country between the Nueces and Del Norte, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces. Our squadron in the gulf was ordered to co-operate with the army." The whole was placed under the command of General Zachary Taylor. This officer was intrusted with his responsible station on the recommendation of Major-General Scott. His abilities as a soldier and commander had been fully tested in all the wars of the United States, since his entering the army in 1808; but he appears to have been overlooked by government, until brought to notice by the commander-in-chief. When but twenty-three he defended Fort Harrison against an overwhelming body of savages, compelling them to retreat with heavy loss; and the greatest battle of the Florida war was fought and gained by five hundred troops under his command, opposed to seven hundred Indians. He is the oldest brevet officer in the army, and when appointed to superintend the corps of observation was in command of the 2d division of the western army, stationed near Fort Jessup, Louisiana. One of his most remarkable qualities is his extreme modesty—a diffidence in his own abilities, and this had contributed, among other causes, to render him actually unknown to a majority of the American people, at the time of his appointment. To himself the measure was, no doubt, unexpected; but he immediately commenced the necessary preparations for a proper discharge of his important duties. He was directed by government to choose a position in the Texan territory, which would enable him to repel any invasion from Mexico.

Corpus Christi, lying west of the Rio Nueces was the position selected by General Taylor. The army encamped

at that place in August, 1845, and remained in that position until the 11th of March, 1846, when it moved westward, and on the 28th of that month, reached the east bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras.

General Taylor received positive orders to abstain from all aggressive acts towards Mexico, or Mexican citizens, and to regard the relations between the two countries as peaceful, unless Mexico should declare war, or commit acts of hostility indicative of a state of war: these orders were faithfully executed.

General Taylor, on his arrival at the east bank of the Rio Grande, left his army under the command of General Worth, and proceeded towards Point Isabel, with a company of dragoons, occupied it, and received from steamboats, which arrived at the same time, a considerable quantity of supplies for the army. This place was made the *dépôt* for the supplies and military stores of the "army of occupation." Having completed this arrangement, General Taylor returned to the main body of his army, and set about erecting ramparts and troussees, employing fifteen hundred men constantly, in order to render the position which he had chosen secure.

About this time Colonel Cross, United States' quartermaster-general, was murdered by a band of marauding rancheros. This was the first life lost in the "army of occupation," and was soon followed by the waylaying and killing of Lieutenant Porter and three others, who had been sent out to reconnoitre.

The Mexicans now crossed the Rio Grande in great numbers, both above and below General Taylor's camp; concentrating their forces mainly between Point Isabel and the main fortification, afterwards called "Fort Brown." All communication between these two posts was cut off for the space of three days. Captain Walker, of the Texan Rangers, on the 28th of April, went out to reconnoitre, but was driven back to Point Isabel, with the loss of some of his party. Notwithstanding this, on the 29th he set out with a message from Major Munroe (commanding at Point Isabel) to General Taylor, and succeeded in reaching the camp of the latter in safety.

The day after the receipt of this message, (May 1st, 1846,) General Taylor took up the line of march for Point Isabel, with the main body of his army, leaving a regiment of infantry and two companies of artillery at Fort Brown, under the command of Major Brown. He reached Point Isabel on the evening of the 2d, having met with no opposition on the part of the enemy.

As soon as the Mexicans became aware of the departure of the main body of the army, they opened a heavy fire on the small force left in Fort Brown, from a battery of seven guns. The fire was instantly returned with spirit, and twenty minutes after the Americans commenced firing, the battery was silenced. Another attack was commenced with shot and shells from another battery, killing a serjeant, but effecting no other injury.

On the morning of the 5th of May, a heavy force of the enemy assailed Fort Brown on the rear, from a strong battery which they had placed during the preceding night. Simultaneously with this attack, the fire was renewed from Matamoras, thus exposing the Americans to a galling cross-fire. Nothing daunted, however, the Americans returned the fire on both sides, and maintained the unequal contest with the utmost coolness, until the fire of the enemy ceased. On the morning of the 6th, the attack was again renewed with spirit, on both sides. On the forenoon of this day, Major Brown, the commander of the fort, was mortally wounded by a shell from one of the Mexican batteries. He was succeeded in command by Captain Hawkins, who, at half-past four o'clock, was summoned to surrender the fort, and, as might have been expected, refused. The firing was again renewed, and continued for the rest of that day. Early on the 7th, the enemy recommenced the attack, and, with very few intermissions, continued their fire till dark. On the 8th, the attack was again renewed, and was continued until the firing on the field of "Palo Alto" was heard, when the Mexicans retreated towards the main body of their army under General Arista, who was then engaged in battle with the forces under General Taylor.

The main body of the army of occupation marched from



Battle of Palo Alto.

Point Isabel, on the evening of the 7th of May, and bivouacked seven miles distant from that place. On the morning of the 8th, the march was resumed. About noon the advance of cavalry reached the water hole of "Palo Alto," and reported a large Mexican force in front. General Taylor ordered a halt on reaching the water, with a view of resting his men, and deliberately forming his line of battle. The Mexican line was now plainly visible across the prairie, and about three-fourths of a mile distant. Their left, composed of a heavy force of cavalry, occupied the road resting upon the thicket of chaparral, while masses of infantry were discovered in succession on the right, greatly outnumbering the American forces.

At two o'clock, the Americans took up the march by heads of columns, in the direction of the enemy; their eighteen-pounder battery following the road. While the columns were

advancing, Lieutenant Blake, of the topographical engineers, volunteered a reconnoissance of the enemy's line. This was handsomely performed, and resulted in the discovery of two batteries of artillery in the intervals of their cavalry and infantry.

These batteries were soon opened upon the American line; their fire was, however, shortly returned by all the American artillery. The eighth infantry, which formed the extreme left of the American line, was thrown back to secure that flank. The first fires of the enemy did little execution in the ranks of the Americans, while the cavalry, which formed his left, was completely dispersed by the fire of the eighteen-pounder battery, and Major Ringgold's artillery. The Mexican cavalry, with two pieces of artillery, now made a movement through the chapparel towards the right of the Americans, but was gallantly repulsed by the fifth infantry, and Captain Walker's company of volunteers, supported by a section of Major Ringgold's battery, under the command of Lieutenant Ridgley.

The grass of the prairie had been accidentally fired by the artillery, and the volumes of smoke now partially concealed the armies from each other. As the cannonade was suspended, the eighteen-pounder battery was ordered to occupy the position first occupied by the Mexican cavalry. The first brigade and fifth infantry were advanced from their former positions, and assumed positions to the right and left of the eighteen-pounder battery. The Mexicans made a change of position corresponding to that of the Americans, and after a suspension of nearly an hour, the firing was resumed.

The fire of the American artillery was now most destructive; openings were constantly made in the Mexican line. The constancy with which this severe cannonade was sustained by the Mexican infantry, drew from the Americans marks of surprise and admiration.

Captain May's squadron, which was detached to make a demonstration on the left of the enemy's position, suffered severely from the fire of the artillery, to which it was for some time exposed. The fire of the Mexicans was now mainly



directed against the eighteen-pounder battery, and the guns under Major Ringgold in its vicinity. The Major, while coolly directing the fire of his pieces, was struck by a ball from the enemy, and mortally wounded.

In the mean time, the American artillery on the right had been reinforced by a battalion of artillery under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Childs. A strong demonstration of cavalry was now made by the enemy, against this part of the line, and the column continued to advance under a heavy fire from the eighteen-pounder battery. The battalion was instantly formed in square, and held ready to receive the charge of the cavalry; and when the advancing squadrons were within close range, a deadly fire of canister from the eighteen-pounders soon dispersed them. A brisk fire of small arms was now opened upon the square, but being returned by a well-directed volley from the front of the square, all further firing of the enemy in this quarter was silenced. It was now nearly dark, and the action on the right had closed, the Mexicans having been*completely driven back from their position, and foiled in every attempt against the American line.

While the above was going forward on the right, several serious attempts were made against the left of the American line. Captain Duncan's battery, supported by the eighth infantry, and Captain Kerr's squadron of dragoons, gallantly held the enemy at bay, and finally drove him with immense loss from the field. The action continued until dark, when the enemy retired into the chapparel, in the rear of his position. The American army bivouacked on the ground it occupied.

The loss of the Americans in this battle was, nine killed, forty-four wounded, and two missing: that of the Mexicans was not less than two hundred killed, and four hundred wounded.

The force of the Americans engaged was one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand one hundred and eleven men—aggregate, two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight. The Mexican force, according to the statements of their own officers, was not less than six thousand regular troops

On the morning of the 9th, the Mexicans, who had encamped near the field of battle of the day previous, were discovered moving by their left flank, in order to gain a new position on the road to Matamoras, and there again resist the advances of the Americans.

General Taylor ordered his supply train packed in the rear of his position, and left with it, for its protection, four pieces of artillery. He, at the same time, sent the men and officers who were wounded in the battle of the day previous, to Point Isabel. He then moved forward with the columns to the edge of the chapparel or forest, which extends to the Rio Grande, a distance of seven miles. Several companies of infantry, and a select detachment of light troops, (under the command of Captain M'Call,) were thrown forward to ascertain the enemy's position. The command of General Taylor, about daylight, came up with the division under the command of Captain M'Call, who reported the enemy in force in the front, and occupying a ravine which intersects the road, and is skirted by thickets of dense chapparel. Captain M'Call's command became, soon after, closely engaged with the enemy, who, with eight pieces of artillery, maintained an incessant fire upon his advance.

The action now became general, and although the Mexican infantry gave way before the resistless progress of the Americans, yet their artillery was still in position to check the advance, several pieces occupying the pass across the ravine which they had chosen for their position. General Taylor, perceiving that no decisive advantage could be obtained until this artillery was silenced, ordered Captain May to charge the batteries with his squadron of dragoons. This was gallantly and effectually executed; the Mexicans were driven from their guns, and General La Vega, who remained alone at one of the batteries, was taken prisoner. The squadron not being protected by infantry, were unable to retain possession of the artillery taken, but it was completely silenced. In the mean time, the eighth infantry had been ordered up, and had become warmly engaged with the Mexicans on the right of the road.

This regiment, and a part of the fifth, were now ordered to charge the batteries, and after a short, but severe, resistance on the part of the Mexicans, the latter were entirely driven from their guns and position on the left of the road.

The light companies of the first brigade, and the third and fourth regiments of infantry, had been deployed on the right of the road, where, at various points, they became warmly engaged with the Mexicans, who were finally driven from every position on the right of the road; and precipitately retreated towards the river, leaving baggage of every description. All the Mexican official correspondence was captured in the camp where the Mexican general-in-chief had established his headquarters.

General Taylor ordered Captain Kerr's dragoons, and Captain Duncan's battery, to pursue the retreating enemy, and, if possible, cut off his retreat to Matamoras. This they could not effect, but they succeeded in capturing a number of prisoners. Great numbers of the Mexicans were drowned in attempting to cross the river near the town.

The strength of the marching force of the Americans, on this day, was one hundred and seventy-three officers, and two thousand and forty-nine men—aggregate, two thousand two hundred and twenty-two. The actual number engaged with the enemy did not exceed seventeen hundred. The Mexican force numbered at least six thousand men: they had been reinforced after the action of the 8th, both by cavalry and infantry, to an extent at least equal to their loss on that day.

The loss of the Americans, in the battle of the 9th, (Resaca de la Palma,) was three officers killed and twelve wounded; thirty-six men killed and seventy-one wounded. The loss of Lieutenant Trego, killed in Capt. May's charge on the Mexican battery, was deeply regretted.

The loss of the Mexicans was very great. Nearly two hundred of their dead were buried by the Americans, on the day succeeding the battle. The total loss of the Mexicans, in killed, wounded, and missing, in the two affairs of the 8th and

9th, is moderately estimated, by General Taylor, at one thousand men.

"Our victory," says General Taylor, "has been decisive. A small force has overcome immense odds of the best troops that Mexico can furnish—veteran regiments, perfectly equipped and appointed. The causes of victory are doubtless to be found in the superior quality of our officers and men."

Not having the means for crossing rivers, the Americans were unable to complete the victories of the 8th and 9th, by crossing the Rio Grande, and taking immediate possession of Matamoras. At daylight, however, on the 18th, the troops commenced crossing the river. No resistance was offered by the Mexicans on the bank of the river, and it is said that many of them assisted in landing the boats. After crossing, General Taylor demanded the unconditional surrender of the city: this demand was instantly complied with, the Mexican flag being hauled down, and that of the United States run up in its stead. On arriving at the city, it was discovered that Arista had departed with all his forces; such of the military apparatus as could not be removed, in their haste to escape, was thrown into the wells. A party of the Americans was despatched to pursue the retreating army, and harass its rear; they succeeded in overtaking a small rear party, and after a slight skirmish, made twenty-two of them prisoners.

Arista retreated, with all his force, to Rimosa, where he encamped, waiting a reinforcement from his commander-in-chief, Paredes, then President of the Republic of Mexico.

On the 15th, Barita, a town near the mouth of the Rio Grande, on the Mexican side, was quietly taken possession of by a small force despatched by General Taylor for that purpose. A part of the fleet, then blockading the coast, co-operated with this force.

General Taylor, although in possession of Matamoras, was in no condition to advance further into the enemy's country. He was deficient not only in troops, but in supplies and the means of transportation. He was, in consequence, compelled to remain at this post through the greater part of the summer.



Colonel Trueman Cross.

Before the end of June, General Taylor was strongly reinforced by the arrival of numerous bodies of volunteers from various parts of the Union; but his means of transportation were still deficient; and it was not until the latter part of August, that he was enabled to commence his movement through the interior, towards Monterey.

In the mean time, the Mexican ports of Mier, Reynosa, and Camargo, had been occupied by the Americans, without any resistance on the part of the Mexicans.

Towards the end of August, General Worth was ordered by General Taylor to advance with his division from Camargo to Seralvo, and there await further orders. From this post he sent advices to General Taylor, on the 5th of September, that Monterey had been reinforced by a large force of Mexicans, under the command of General Ampudia.

This important information determined General Taylor to

advance immediately and attack Monterey. He accordingly took up his line of march towards Seralvo on the 7th, leaving General Patterson in command of all the forces stationed at the various posts between Camargo and Matamoras. On his arrival at Seralvo, instead of waiting for further reinforcements, he pushed forward with the main body of his army, consisting of but little more than six thousand men, and arrived before Monterey on the morning of the 19th, establishing his camp at the "Walnut Springs," within three miles of the city.

On the 20th, General Worth, with the division under his command, was ordered by General Taylor to move by a circuitous route to the right, to gain the Saltillo road beyond the west of the town, to storm the heights above the bishop's palace, which vital point the enemy appeared to have well fortified.

Various circumstances prevented General Worth from reaching the intended position, until the morning of the 21st, and after an encounter with a large force of Mexican cavalry and infantry, supported by artillery from the heights, he repulsed them with loss, and finally encamped, covering the passage of the Saltillo road. It was here discovered, that besides the fort at the bishop's palace, and the fortified heights above it, two forts, on commanding eminences on the opposite side of the palace, had also been fortified and occupied by the Mexicans.

To favour the enterprise of Worth in the rear, the first division of regular troops, under General Twiggs, and the volunteer division under General Butler, were ordered to make a diversion against the centre and left of the town. A heavy fire was now opened from all the Mexican batteries upon the advancing Americans, and for a time was most destructive. Ere this day closed, Worth had successfully stormed and carried the two principal redoubts in the rear of the town, and immediately turned the enemy's guns upon the Palace. A small force of the Americans, detached to favour the movements of Worth, entered the town under a heavy fire of artillery from





Storming of Monterey.

the citadel and works to the left of the town, and of musketry from the houses and small works in front. After entering the town, a movement was made towards the right, with a view of gaining the rear of one of the principal forts and carrying it. This was effected, but not without a very heavy loss on the part of the Americans, embracing some of their most gallant and accomplished officers. The division under General Worth sustained comparatively little loss.

The 22d passed without any active operations in the lower part of the city. The citadel and other works continued to fire at parties exposed to their range, and at the work which was occupied by the Americans. One of the principal batteries of the Americans, under the command of Captain Bragg, was placed under cover in front of the town, to repel any demonstration of the enemy's cavalry in that quarter. At the dawn of day, the two remaining heights above the bishop's palace were stormed and carried by General Worth's division, and early in the afternoon the palace itself was taken, and its guns turned upon the fugitive garrison and the town, which latter, being so distant, was little injured.

During the night of the 22d, the Mexicans evacuated nearly all their defences in the lower part of the city, and threw the main body of their force into the cathedral and principal defences of the centre of the town. The abandoned works were immediately occupied by the Americans, who opened a heavy fire, both of artillery and musketry, upon the defences of the Mexicans. This day's fight is said to have been worth seeing; it was sublimely magnificent. The Americans advanced from house to house, and from street to street, until they reached a street but one square in rear of the principal plaza, in and near which the Mexicans were mainly concentrated. This advance was conducted vigorously, and with due caution, and although destructive to the Mexicans, was attended with but small loss on the part of the Americans. Deeming it imprudent to advance further, General Taylor withdrew his troops to the evacuated forts, and concerted with General Worth for a combined attack upon the points still held by the enemy.



General Worth.

Simultaneously with the evacuation of the works in the lower part of the town, the works at the upper extremity were for the most part abandoned, which enabled General Worth to push his division still further into the town. Before night the Americans had entered the city at all points, driving the enemy to the cover of the principal works in the centre of the town. All night long the mortar (which had been sent to General Worth's division in the morning) did good execution, within effective range of the enemy's position.

Early on the morning of the 24th, General Taylor received a communication from General Ampudia, commander-in-chief of the Mexican force, proposing to evacuate the town upon certain conditions, to be agreed upon by the commanding officers of both armies. The terms of the capitulation of the city were in substance these: That the Mexican forces evacuate the city, which was to be delivered up to the Americans. The

Mexicans should march out with their muskets and twenty rounds of cartridges, and six pieces of cannon. That the Mexicans (during an armistice of six weeks) should not appear this side of a line running through Leinares, and terminating at Rinconada; and the Americans should not advance beyond it.

Upon occupying the city, the Americans discovered it to be of great strength in itself, and all its approaches carefully and strongly fortified. The town and works were armed with forty-two pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition, and manned with a force of at least seven thousand troops of the line, and from two thousand to three thousand irregulars. The whole effective force of the Americans was four hundred and twenty-five officers, and six thousand two hundred and twenty men—aggregate six thousand six hundred and forty-five. The artillery of the Americans consisted of one ten-inch mortar, two twenty-four pounder howitzers, and four light field batteries of four guns each—the mortar being the only piece suitable to the operations of a siege.

The loss of the Americans was twelve officers and one hundred and eight men killed; thirty-one officers and three hundred and thirty-seven men wounded. The loss of the Mexicans not known, but it considerably exceeded that of the Americans.

Monterey now became the head-quarters of the main body of the regular army. This city is one of the oldest in Mexico, having been built by the Spaniards nearly three centuries ago. It is nearly two miles long and one mile wide, with streets running parallel, crossed by others at right angles. The city contains three plazas or squares, upon the main one of which stands the principal cathedral. This building, during the attack, was used by the Mexicans as a depository for military stores.

The houses are of one story, with walls of strong masonry, thirty inches in thickness, rising three or four feet above the roof. These walls, rising in the manner they do, afforded the Mexicans a powerful means of defence. The reduction,

and subsequent occupation of this city, was necessary, as it commanded one of the principal passes to the interior, and its capital. After establishing the head-quarters of his army at this place, General Taylor detached Brigadier-general Worth, with twelve hundred men and eight pieces of artillery, to Saltillo. Brigadier-general Wool, and the column under his command, two thousand four hundred strong, with six pieces of artillery, were ordered to occupy the town of Parras, lying seventy miles north-east of Saltillo. Saltillo, to which Worth was ordered, is about seventy miles from Monterey, and at an elevation of two thousand feet above the latter place. These two places were occupied by the Americans without any opposition, the enemy having fallen back as far as San Luis Potosi.

The American fleet, although in the Gulf of Mexico from the commencement of hostilities, had as yet taken no active part in the war, except capturing Tampico, and blockading Vera Cruz and the various ports lying on the coast; thus preventing any communication, and cutting off all supplies from foreign countries.

In the mean time, the government of Mexico had undergone a serious change. Paredes had been deposed, and Santa Anna, who had been exiled, was recalled, and placed at the head of affairs. Immediately after his arrival at the capital, he set about raising a formidable army to resist the further advance of General Taylor. Before the close of the year, he had succeeded in raising twenty thousand men, and concentrating them at San Luis Potosi, which place he strongly fortified and filled with military stores.

General Taylor waited for the advance of this formidable force for some time, and at last determined to meet and attack them upon their own ground. He accordingly set out with his force for Victoria, where he arrived on the 30th of December.

General Taylor was now superseded in the supreme command of the American army in Mexico, by General Scott, the commander-in-chief, who drew from General Taylor the main



General Taylor.

body of the regular and volunteer force then under his command, to act in conjunction with the fleet in the Gulf, in the reduction of Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa. General Taylor was ordered to fall back to Monterey, to await the arrival of the fresh recruits—volunteers which had been ordered by Congress to take the field before he advanced any farther into the interior. On reaching Monterey, his regular force was but six hundred men, including the company of dragoons under the command of Captain May. In February, 1847, he had received reinforcements raising his army to nearly six thousand men; and anticipating an attempt, on the part of Santa Anna, on the line of posts between himself and Matamoras, he determined to advance and fight a pitched battle with him. Accordingly, the army

under his command took up the line of march, and on the 20th of February encamped at Agua Nueva, (new water,) eighteen miles south of Saltillo; but learning from one of his scouts that Santa Anna was within twenty miles of his position, rapidly advancing with twenty thousand men, he broke up his camp at Agua Nueva, and fell back to a well chosen position in front of Buena Vista, seven miles south of Saltillo.

The position chosen by General Taylor for his battleground was an admirable one. The mountains rise on either side of an irregular and broken valley, nearly three miles in width, which is dotted here and there with hills and ridges.

On the right of the American line ran a deep ravine, which protected that flank more effectually than half a dozen regiments could have done. The left was protected by the mountains, and a succession of rugged ridges and precipitous ravines. The peculiarities of this position supplied, in a great measure, the disadvantage of so vast an inferiority of numbers.

On the morning of the 22d of February, the Mexicans were seen approaching, in immense numbers, over the distant hills. Their officers and engineers were distinctly seen flying over the field, dragging their cannon, (thirty-two in number,) about to put them into position.

While the Mexicans were arranging themselves in the line of battle, Santa Anna sent a summons to General Taylor to surrender at discretion; announcing that he had with him twenty thousand men, and that the small force of the Americans (five thousand four hundred) was unequal to the contest. To this summons General Taylor returned a negative reply.

Immediately after the return of the messenger to General Santa Anna's camp, the Mexicans opened the fire of their artillery upon the American lines, which, though kept up briskly, did so little execution in the ranks of the Americans, that it was considered unnecessary to return it.

Just before dark, a number of Santa Anna's infantry, having succeeded in getting a position high up the mountains, to the left of the Americans, opened a most tremendous fire

upon their flank. The fire was returned by a portion of the Kentucky mounted regiment, under Colonel Marshall, who were dismounted and detached for that purpose. The skirmishing continued until dark, with no result to the Americans but the wounding of three men slightly.

During the night, a Mexican prisoner was taken, who reported that the Mexican force consisted of fifteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, thus confirming the statement of his superior.

At sunrise, on the morning of the 23d, the battle began in earnest. The Mexicans were drawn out in immense numbers. The dark lines of their infantry were drawn out as far as the eye could reach, and their cavalry seemed to cover the whole view with their interminable lines. From the movements soon perceptible along the left of the American line, it became evident that the Mexicans were attempting to turn that flank, and for this purpose had concentrated a large body of cavalry and infantry. To prevent this movement of the enemy, General Taylor ordered Sherman's and Bragg's batteries to the left, the second Illinois regiment, under Colonel Bissel, occupying a position between them; while the second Kentucky regiment were transferred from the right of the line, so as to hold a position near the centre. The extreme left was supported by the second Indiana regiment, under Colonel Bowles: this regiment was placed so as to oppose, by a direct fire, the flank movements of the enemy. As soon as these dispositions had been effected, both armies opened the fires of their artillery, and at the same moment the Mexican infantry commenced a rapid fire of musketry. The fire of the enemy was received with great firmness by the Americans, who returned an ample equivalent: each regiment vying with the other in the honourable ambition of doing the best service to their country.

While this fierce conflict was going on, the enemy's cavalry had been slowly pursuing its way along the mountain defiles, and, though the American artillery had wrought great havoc among its numbers, the leading squadrons were almost in posi-

tion to attack the Americans in the rear. To prevent this movement of the enemy, the American artillery was advanced, its front extended, and its whole fire opened upon the ranks of the enemy, completely dispersing them.

The battery on the right had now opened its fire, and had driven back, with an immense loss, a large body of Mexican lancers, advancing in that direction. The battle now raged with fury—the discharges of the infantry, and the volleys of artillery followed each other in rapid succession, and deadly was the effect. Twice more did the Mexican cavalry rally their scattered numbers, and twice were they driven back, in utter confusion, after the last charge taking refuge among the mountains, on the opposite side of the valley.

The fortunes of the day were now with the Americans. Santa Anna saw the probable result, and by craft and cunning sought to avert it. He sent a white flag to General Taylor, desiring the bearer to ask him "what he wanted." The answer returned by General Taylor was, "that he wanted peace." The flag, however, only proved a ruse on the part of Santa Anna, in order that he might gain time to collect his scattered forces. This he effected, notwithstanding the efforts of the Americans to prevent it.

The Mexicans now came on in large numbers, and the carnage for some time was dreadful on both sides. The Americans were but a handful to oppose the frightful masses that were ever and anon hurled upon them. A superior force of the enemy engaged the second Illinois and second Kentucky regiments, and completely overwhelmed them by numbers. Captain O'Brien, with two pieces of artillery, sustained this heavy charge to the last, but was finally compelled to leave his guns on the field, his infantry support being entirely routed. The moment was now most critical; the day seemed lost beyond redemption to the Americans. Victory, which a very short time before appeared within their grasp, was as suddenly torn from them.

At this critical moment, Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was, by General Taylor, ordered at once into



Battle of Buena Vista

battery. Without any infantry to support him, and at the momentary risk of losing his guns, this gallant officer opened a heavy fire upon the Mexican line, which was but a few yards from the muzzles of his pieces. The first volley caused the enemy to hesitate, and the second and third drove them back in utter confusion. The second Kentucky regiment, which had advanced beyond supporting distance, was attacked and driven back by the Mexican cavalry. Taking a ravine which led in the direction of the battery under Captain Washington, the cavalry soon became exposed to his fire, which checked and drove them back with severe loss. The remainder of the American artillery now opened a heavy fire upon the right flank of the enemy, and thus contributed to his final repulse.

No further attempt was made by the enemy upon the American position; and after the last deadly fire of the American artillery, both armies seemed willing to pause upon the result. The Americans slept upon the field of battle, prepared, if necessary, to resume operations on the morrow. But before sunrise on the 24th, the enemy had disappeared, having retreated to Agua Nueva, leaving only his dead and dying on the battle-field. The great disparity of numbers, and the exhaustion of the Americans, rendered it inexpedient and hazardous to attempt a pursuit.

The American force engaged in the battle of Buena Vista, was three hundred and thirty-four officers, and four thousand four hundred and twenty-five men—aggregate four thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. The remainder of the American army was stationed in and near Saltillo, for its defence. The Mexican force was stated by General Santa Anna, in his summons, to be twenty thousand men.

The loss of the Americans was two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. That of the Mexicans in killed and wounded was nearly two thousand; deserters from their ranks nearly three thousand. Nearly five hundred of their dead were left upon the field of battle. Many officers of distinguished merit among the Americans were killed. Colonels Yell, Hardin, and Clay,

were particularly regretted. Colonel Clay was the son of the celebrated Henry Clay.

After the battle of Buena Vista, General Taylor determined to open the communication between Monterey and Camargo, which had been cut off by General Urrea, at the head of about five thousand cavalry. He immediately started in pursuit of this general, taking with him Captain May's dragoons, and two companies of artillery. He pursued Urrea as far as Caidereta, where he ascertained that he had escaped beyond the mountains.

General Taylor then fell back on Monterey. General Wool, with the main body of the American army, had encamped at Buena Vista. Both generals awaiting orders from General Scott before proceeding farther into the interior.

General Scott, commander-in-chief of the American army, did not arrive at the seat of war until the first of January (1847). Finding the forces on and near the Rio Grande inadequate to the object of capturing the city of Vera Cruz and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, he was under the necessity of detaching a portion of the army under General Taylor; and General Worth was accordingly ordered to leave Saltillo with a body of regular and volunteer infantry, and join the forces then concentrating at Tampico and the island of Lobos. It was not, however, till the 7th of March that General Scott, after concentrating his forces, amounting to nearly twelve thousand men, and embarking them in the fleet, consisting of ships and transports of all sizes, one hundred in number, arrived at Anton Lizardo.

The beach lying due west from the island of Sacrificios was selected by General Scott and Commodore Conner, then commander of the American fleet in the Gulf, as the most suitable point for landing the troops for the investment of Vera Cruz.

On the 9th of March the disembarkation of the troops commenced, superintended by the principal officers of both army and navy in person. During the 9th, the Americans met with no opposition to their landing, but early on the morning of the 10th, the Mexicans opened a brisk fire upon them from the



General Scott.

chapparel near the camp. The fire was returned with spirit by the Americans, and the Mexicans were finally driven within the walls of the city. The American steamer Spitfire, at sunrise the same morning, took a position in front of the castle and the city, and commenced a fire, which she continued for about an hour. Her fire was returned by both with spirit. Little damage was effected on either side. The investment of the city now commenced, and although exposed at intervals to a heavy fire from the town, and the attacks of the Mexican cavalry without, the Americans succeeded in completing, by

the 13th of March, the entire investing line, which occupied a space of ground about eight miles in length, and completely circumscribed the place.

From the 13th to the 22d, the Americans were employed in landing and planting their heavy batteries, exposed during the whole time to a heavy fire of artillery from the castle and town.

About midday on the 22d, General Scott summoned the authorities of the city to surrender. The answer returned him was, that they would bury themselves beneath its ruins, sooner than surrender it into the hands of their foe. Immediately after this answer was returned, the Americans took their position and opened upon the city with their mortars. The American batteries consisted of nine mortars, four twenty-four pounders, and two ten-inch howitzers. The city and castle, the moment the Americans were discovered taking position, commenced firing shot and shell, and the firing between both parties, from the time of the opening of the American batteries to the night of the 25th, was heavy and uninterrupted. On the 25th, in particular, the damage done to the city was immense. On the evening of the 22d, a battery of thirty-two pounders and four sixty-eight pounders, from the squadron, manned by seamen, and commanded by officers from the squadron, was landed and placed directly in the rear of the city, and on the morning of the 23d opened its fire. This battery told with such powerful effect, that five of the twelve batteries surrounding the city were directed to it, without having the least effect in damping the ardour of the American seamen. On the evening of the 22d, the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and the schooners Petrel, Bonita, Reefer, Tampico and Falcon; each vessel having one heavy gun, and commanded by Captain Tattall, of the steamer Spitfire, moved from the anchorage at Sacrificios, and took up a position close in shore, and commenced firing shot and shells into the city. They remained in this position until the morning of the 23d, when they got under way and stood within about one quarter of a mile from the castle, at a point to the north of Washerwoman Shoal, so

that both city and castle were within range of their guns. This position they retained nearly three hours, firing alternately into the city and castle; and, notwithstanding their close proximity to the latter, and a continued fire of shot and shells from that point of the enemy's defences, and from Fort Santiago, not a wound was received or a vessel injured. At the expiration of three hours this little fleet was recalled, but during the period it was engaged it did much injury to both city and castle.

During the 26th, a heavy norther blew, and for the whole day the fire on both sides was suspended. The destructive effect of the American batteries, on the 25th, induced the people of the city to propose to General Morales to surrender both it and the castle into the hands of the Americans. Morales declared to them his intention never to surrender while it was possible to fire a gun; but, fearful of a repetition of the scenes of the 25th, they deposed Morales and elected Landero in his stead. On the morning of the 27th, Governor Landero sent a flag of truce with an offer to surrender the city by itself; to which General Scott replied, that he could take both city and castle, and would accept only the surrender of both. The flag returned to the city, but during the day negotiations were again opened by the enemy, which resulted in the surrender of both city and castle.

The following is a summary of the terms of capitulation agreed upon by Generals Worth and Pillow, and Colonel Totten, on the part of the Americans, and Villannuera, Herrera, and Robles, on the part of the Mexicans:

The whole garrison or garrisons to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Mexican officers to retain their arms and private effects, and to be allowed five days to retire to their respective homes on parole. The public property of every description to be delivered up to the United States, on condition that it would be restored to Mexico by a definite treaty of peace.

On the 29th, the Mexicans marched out of city and castle, and, halting between the American lines, stacked their arms,

laid down their colours and equipments, and then marched towards the interior, under the promise of not serving against the United States during the war.

On the same day, General Scott, with General Worth and his division, accompanied by the chief officers of the army and navy, entered and took possession of the city and castle. As the American flag was hoisted at the plaza, and over San Juan de Ulloa, salutes were fired simultaneously from the castle, the batteries of the city, and from the squadron. General Scott immediately took up his quarters in the palace, and invested General Worth with the command of the city, appointing him military governor, assigning, at the same time, the command of the castle to Colonel Belton; that of Fort Santiago, at the southern extremity of the city, to Major Scott.

The loss of the Americans during this siege was remarkably small. Their whole loss was seventeen killed and twenty-eight wounded. The loss of the Mexicans not rightly ascertained, but it many times exceeded that of the Americans. The loss among the non-combatants of the city was unfortunately very great. It was estimated that upwards of five hundred of the inhabitants of the city were killed during the engagement.

The amount of the spoils of war taken by the capture of Vera Cruz was immense. The enemy laid down over four thousand stand of arms, and one thousand more were found in the city. Four hundred pieces of ordnance and a large quantity of ordnance stores, including a vast amount of powder, balls, shells, and Paixhan shot, also fell into the hands of the Americans.

Commodore Perry, having superseded Commodore Conner in the command of the American squadron, ordered Lieutenant Hunter, of the United States steamer Scourge, to proceed with his vessel to the town of Alvarado, and blockade that port. These orders were obeyed. The vessel was put under way, and, as it approached the town, commenced a fire upon its defences. At the same time, a boat, containing two officers and men, was sent ashore, demanding the unconditional surrender



The American Fleet saluting the Castle after the Capture of Vera Cruz.

of the place, with but thirty minutes for doing it; all of which were instantly acceded to; and thus was taken, by one vessel of three guns, the town of Alvarado.

At two o'clock, the following morning, the steamer arrived at Tlacotalpam, fired a gun, and sent a boat, containing three officers and six men, ashore with a summons to surrender unconditionally—time allowed thirty minutes—which was instantly acceded to. The capture of these two places took place a few days subsequent to the capture of Vera Cruz and the castle. For this gallant action, Lieutenant Hunter was dismissed from the squadron by Commodore Perry, on a charge of having disobeyed orders. He ordered Lieutenant Hunter only to blockade the port of Alvarado, instead of which the gallant lieutenant took possession of the town, and also of Tlacotalpam, without losing a single man.

Santa Anna, after his inglorious defeat at Buena Vista, by a force less than one-fourth that of his own, immediately repaired to the capital, (Mexico,) and there organized a new army, and proceeded with it to the pass of the Sierra Gordo. This place he strongly fortified, rendering it, as he thought, impregnable. General Scott received intelligence of the movements of Santa Anna at the pass of the Sierra Gordo, pushed forward the main body of his army towards that place, and arrived in its immediate neighbourhood on the 16th of April. After taking a reconnoissance of the enemy's works, he determined to storm them. To any other than American soldiers it must have appeared impracticable to take them either by storm or strategy.

The road from Vera Cruz, as it passes the Plan del Rio, which is a wide rocky bed of a once large stream, is commanded by a series of high cliffs, rising one above the other, and extending for several miles. These were all well fortified. The road then turns to the right, and curving round the ridge, passes over a high cliff, which was completely enfiladed with forts and batteries. This ridge is the commencement of the Terra Temploda, the upper or mountainous country. The high and rocky ravine of the river protected the right flank of



Santa Anna.

the position, and a series of most abrupt and apparently impassable mountains and ridges covered their left. Between these points, running a distance of two or three miles, a succession of strongly fortified forts bristled at every turn, and seemed constructed so as to defy all power and skill. The Sierra Gordo commanded the road on a gentle declination, like a glacier, for nearly a mile; an approach in that direction, by the Americans, was therefore impossible. A front attack must have resulted in the total annihilation of the American army. Santa Anna expected such an attack, confiding in the desperate valour of the Americans, and believing it impossible for them to turn their position either to the right or to the left. General Scott, however, with his practised eye, perceived the trap set for him, and determined to avoid it. He, therefore, had a road





Battle of Cerro Gordo

cut through the chapparel to the right, so as to escape the fire in front, and turn his position on the left flank. This movement of General Scott's was made known to Santa Anna by a deserter from the American camp, and consequently a large increase of force, under General La Vega, was sent to the forts on the left.

On the morning of the 17th, General Scott, in order to cover his flank movements, ordered the division under General Twiggs to advance against the fort on the steep ascent in front, and a little to the left of the Sierra. This expedition was commanded by Colonel Harney, who, at the head of the rifles, and some detachments of infantry and artillery, carried the fort under a heavy fire of grape and musketry. General Scott, having secured this position in front and near the strongest of the enemy's fortifications, and having elevated one of his large guns to the top of the fort, prepared to follow up his advantages. A demonstration was made by the Americans from this position against another strong fort in the rear, and near the Sierra, but the Mexicans being in too strong force, the undertaking was abandoned.

On the morning of the 18th, General Twiggs was ordered forward from the position he had already captured, against the fort which commanded the Sierra. At the same time an attack (on the fortifications on the enemy's left) was to be made by Generals Shields and Worth's divisions, who moved in separate columns, whilst Pillow's division advanced against the strong forts and difficult ascents on the right of the enemy's position. General Santa Anna, fully aware of these intended movements of General Scott, had thrown large bodies of men into the various positions to be attacked.

The steep and rough character of the ground, the constant fire of the enemy in front, and the cross fire of the forts and batteries which enfiladed his lines, made the duty assigned to General Twiggs one of surpassing difficulty. His men sought no shelter, and, led on by Colonel Harney, and regardless alike of the steepness and difficulty of the ascent, and the deadly fire of the enemy, they stayed not in their course, until,

leaping over the rocky barriers and bayoneting their gunners, they drove the enemy pell-mell from the fort, delivering a deadly fire into their ranks from the guns, as they hastily retired. Thus did this division carry the main position of the enemy and occupy the fort which commanded the road. It was here the enemy received their heaviest loss, and one of their generals, Vasquez, was killed. Shortly after the capture of this position, General Worth, having, by great exertions, passed the steep and craggy heights on the enemy's left, summoned a strong fort in the rear of the Sierra to surrender. This fort was manned by a large force of Mexicans under General Pinzon, a mulatto officer of considerable ability and courage, who, seeing the Sierra carried, thought prudent to surrender, which he did, with all his force. General Shields was not so fortunate in the battery which he attacked, and which was commanded by General La Vega. A heavy fire was opened upon him, under which the fort was carried with some loss, by the Illinois and New York regiments. Among the first who fell under this fire was General Shields, who received a grape shot through his lungs, by which he was completely paralyzed.

On the right of the enemy's position, General Pillow commenced the attack against the strong forts near the river. The Tennessee regiment led the attack, and was followed by the other volunteer regiments. A heavy fire was opened upon this division from a masked battery, which told with such dreadful effect, that General Pillow withdrew his men, and while preparing for another attack, the attacks on the other points proving successful, the enemy were compelled to surrender. This ended the action for the day.

The victory of the Americans was complete. Five Mexican generals and nearly six thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The Mexican force engaged in this battle, as admitted by their own officers, was six thousand in the lines, and six thousand, including two thousand lancers, outside the intrenchments. The American force engaged amounted to about eight thousand men. The loss, on both sides, in killed and wounded, was about equal, amounting on either side to four

hundred or five hundred men. Among the articles captured were thirty pieces of beautiful brass cannon, of large calibre, and mostly manufactured at the royal foundery of Seville (Spain). A large quantity of fixed ammunition, of superior quality, was also taken. The private baggage and money chest of Santa Anna, containing about twenty thousand dollars, was also captured.

Immediately after the main fort of the Sierra had been carried by General Twiggs's division, Generals Santa Anna, Ampudia, and Canalizo, with about one-half of the Mexican army, left the field, and rapidly retreated towards the interior. When the Americans had carried the various positions of the enemy, and the road was clear, General Twiggs started in hot pursuit of the fugitives, and pressing closely upon their heels, pursued to within three miles of the city of Jalapa. A strong position, five miles west of Sierra Gordo, fortified and defended by a fine battery of brass cannon, was abandoned by the enemy, and occupied by the Americans.

After the victory at Sierra, the two American generals, Scott and Taylor, prepared their forces for a rapid march towards the capital; General Scott by the main road from Sierra Gordo, and General Taylor from Buena Vista, taking possession of and occupying the city of San Luis Potosi on his route.

General Scott afforded the Mexicans no respite, but pressed vigorously upon their retreating footsteps. The cities of Jalapa and Perote were occupied by the victorious Americans, in their onward march to the capital.

On the 18th of April, a portion of the American fleet, under the command of Commodore Perry, entered the harbor of Tuspan, attacked the town, and finally obtained possession of it, with the loss of only seventeen men in killed and wounded. The Americans, on entering the town, dismantled all its fortifications. This place being captured, placed the Gulf coast completely in the hands of the Americans.

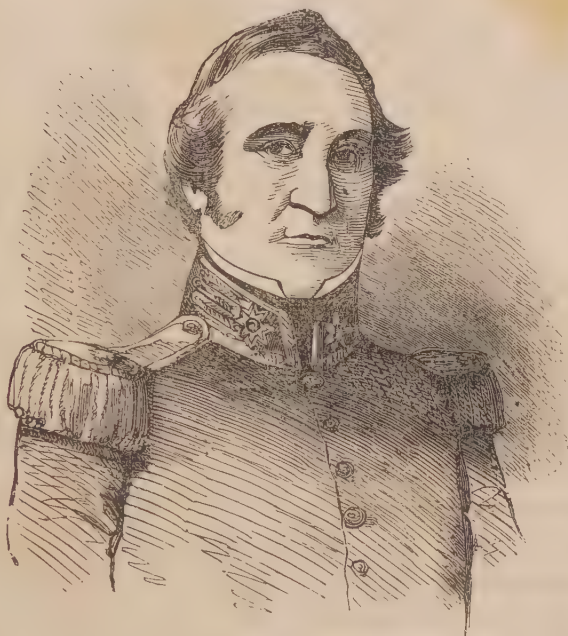
During these operations of the main army under Scott and Taylor, a force both land and marine had taken possession of

the northern Mexican provinces, known as New Mexico and California, a territory equal in extent to the thirteen original states of the American Union.

On the 18th of August, Brigadier-general Kearney, with about sixteen hundred men, arrived at Santa Fe, after a fatiguing march of eight hundred and seventy-three miles, and took formal possession of that capital and its country, the governor and military force having fled at his approach. From this place he set out with three hundred dragoons for California; but after advancing about one hundred and eighty miles, he received an express from Lieutenant-colonel Fremont, stating that that officer had already obtained possession of the territory. The general, however, still proceeded, though with a diminished force.

Early in the spring of 1846, Fremont had been despatched by the United States government, with about sixty men, on an exploring expedition of the countries on the Pacific. Soon after entering upon duty, he received intelligence that the Mexican General Castro was marching toward him with a large force. A convoy of fourteen men and two hundred horses, designed for Castro's camp, was captured by twelve of his men; and four days after, the military post of Sanoma, containing nine brass cannon, two hundred and fifty muskets, and some officers and men, was surprised and taken. This was followed by the retreat of General Castro, who was pursued by the combined forces of Fremont and Commodore Stockton, until they reached the "City of the Angels." This they entered without opposition, took possession of the whole country, as a part of the United States, and established a form of government, at the head of which was Captain Fremont.

Little resistance was made to these movements until the commencement of the year 1847, when the inhabitants seem to have aroused for one great effort to rid themselves of the invaders. On the 24th of January an engagement took place at La Canada, between two hundred and ninety Americans, and two thousand Mexicans and Indians. Notwithstanding the disparity in force, and advantageous posi-



Benton.

tion of the enemy, they were totally defeated, with the loss of thirty-six killed and forty-five wounded, while their antagonists remained perfectly unharmed.

At El Embudo a second engagement took place on the 29th, when a small force, under Captain Burgwin, routed a detachment of the enemy, killing twenty and wounding sixty, their own loss being one killed and one wounded.

On the 3d of February an affair occurred at the fortified station Puebla de Taos, which continued two days, and resulted in its surrender to the Americans. This closed the campaign in New Mexico.

Meanwhile, in Chihuahua the enemy had been carefully fortifying all their towns and the passes of the mountains. One of these, which commanded the road to the provincial capital,

and was defended by immense entrenchments and three thousand infantry and cavalry, was attacked by a far inferior force on the 28th of February. Both parties fought desperately, availing themselves of every advantage which skill, or the position of the mountain ridges supplied. The Americans at length rushed upon the entrenchments, pouring in a most destructive fire of musketry, and immediately charging hand to hand. This broke the ranks of the Mexicans, who fled on all sides, closely pursued by their antagonists, who captured all the artillery and military stores.

During the session of Congress, held while General Taylor was conquering Santa Anna, and General Scott was preparing to reduce Vera Cruz, a proposition was entertained by that body for terminating the Mexican war by appointing Mr. Benton, the Senator from Missouri, lieutenant-general of the American armies, and sending him to Mexico with full powers to fight or treat with the enemy, as circumstances might require. This project was defeated in the Senate. Mr. Benton subsequently received an appointment as major-general, under the bill for adding ten new regiments to the army, which was passed at this session; but on the President's declining to grant him extraordinary rank and unusual powers, he threw up his commission.

Terrible as was the defeat at Sierra Gordo to the prospects of Mexico, and the popularity of her president, she was still too haughty to acknowledge herself conquered by suing for peace. When news of the battle reached the capital, a proclamation was issued calling upon all citizens to unite for the national honor, and the defence of their homes and property. Plans of defending all the principal passes were drawn up, troops raised, and every means used to retrieve the late losses by a vigorous campaign.

On the 19th of May, Santa Anna arrived at the capital. He put himself at the head of the army, reorganized it, and commenced an extended line of fortifications. A body of troops took post at the Rio Frio pass, considered one of the



Commencement of the Guerilla Warfare.

strongest in the country, and proceeded to fortify it. At the same time he sent manifestoes throughout Mexico, calling on the inhabitants for men, money and stores.

Beside these measures for regular national resistance, the Mexican government established what is called a guerilla system of warfare. This was to be conducted by small squads of horsemen, principally, ranchoes and highwaymen, who were to carry on a partisan war, against detachments of the American army, and whose guiding motto was "no quarter." Numerous small parties were formed, and a system of predatory robberies commenced, some of which are unsurpassed in shocking barbarity by any events in the history of America.



Capture of Tusan.

At different times a number of these guerillas attacked individuals, upon the road from Monterey to Camargo, and butchered them in a horrible manner. Such depredations were not confined to the Americans, but extended to defenceless travellers among their own countrymen. Some time after, a party of Americans made a descent upon a rancho near Ceralvo, and hung more than forty Mexicans. Subsequently to this a young man named Oglesby, was murdered in returning on official business from Camargo. A party of Texans was despatched to arrest the murderers and bring them to justice; but having overtaken them, they slaughtered every Mexican.

In the meantime some important events were being transacted by the American main armies, and by the squadron in the gulf. On the 17th of April, Commodore Perry made preparations for an attack upon the town of Tusan, a small sea-port on the Tusan river. At daybreak on the following morning, the steamboats Spitfire, Vixen and Scourge, with three gun-boats, and all the cutters of the squadron, passed





Northern extremity of Puebla de los Angeles.

the bar of the river, and advanced toward the forts. When within long range, the enemy opened their fire, first with cannon, and afterwards with musketry and escopettes. In a little while the steamers replied with balls and Paixhan shot. The enemy were soon obliged to retire from the forts, with some loss; when Commodore Perry landed, and took possession of the town. The greater part of the Mexican army, and many of the inhabitants fled into the interior, leaving their arms, clothing and domestic utensils, at the mercy of the conquerors.

On the 19th, a division of General Twiggs' command, entered the town of Jalapa without opposition. It subsequently became a depot for a part of the American forces.

Upon receiving news of this disaster, the enemy withdrew all their troops from the castle of Perote, and marched with the greatest precipitancy for the interior. Colonel Velasquez was intrusted with full powers to negotiate with the advancing Americans, for the surrender of the town. At twelve o'clock on the 22d of April, General Worth entered and took possession of both it and the castle, without opposition.

Perote is one of the strongest places in Mexico. The fortress affords quarters for two thousand troops and their officers, with ample store-houses, hospitals, magazines, etc., and a supply of excellent water within the walls. The armament consisted of fifty-four guns and mortars of various calibres, and in good condition; eleven thousand and sixty-five cannon balls; fourteen thousand three hundred bombs and hand grenades, and five hundred muskets. Generals Landero and Morales, who had been confined in the castle since the fall of Vera Cruz, together with some American prisoners, were set at liberty.

On the 15th of May, General Worth approached the city of Puebla, which was understood to contain a large force of the enemy. A party of lancers, commanded as it was supposed by Santa Anna himself, issued from the city at the appearance of the Americans, and advanced toward them.

After much manœuvring, the Mexicans arrived within artillery range, and a skirmish ensued, in which several of them were killed. They then wheeled about and retired to a short distance; but continued to hover near the city until it was entered by the Americans. The latter experienced no further opposition; all the stores, magazines, ammunition, and public and private property were surrendered to them, together with some prisoners. General Worth established his head quarters in the city, while Santa Anna pushed toward the capital.

After this victory, no event of any importance seems to have taken place, until the 8th of June, when a small reconnoitring party and some citizens, in all about one hundred and fifty, left Puebla for Vera Cruz. Captain Bainbridge of the 3d artillery was commander. On leaving Jalapa, and approaching Sierra Gordo, they ascertained that some thousands of Mexicans were concealed in the pass, and a few officers who had gone to the rear of the train had already been fired at. Notwithstanding this, the party marched through unmolested, and arrived at the bridge that evening. While preparing to bivouac, they ascertained that a party were barricading the bridge; and although excessively fatigued, detached a guard below the bridge in order to prevent being surprised.

In the morning another detachment cleared the bridge without opposition, and the main body immediately passed over. An officer and a private soldier, were sent to bring the wagon train on the opposite side. Returning, they were fired upon by about twenty-five Mexicans, the wagon-master and four others killed, and the wagon captured. Captain Bainbridge then prepared for action, and a company of lancers appearing ready to charge, something serious was anticipated. The latter however retreated without coming to action, and the captain pursued his way unmolested until he arrived at the encampment of Colonel McIntosh. This officer had been previously attacked by the enemy, and was awaiting reinforcements. All night the Mexicans fired into his camp, approaching very near to the sentinels, and occasionally appearing



Captain Duperus' Dragoons charging the Guerillas.

ready for a charge. Captain Duperus' dragoons behaved very nobly in this affair, and the safety of the whole command was perhaps owing to them.

The next day Bainbridge set out for Vera Cruz, which he reached in safety. Meanwhile Captain Duperus' command, having a long return train to guard, and being threatened by a large body of lancers, halted at Santa Fe, where they were charged by a greatly superior force, which they repulsed, after killing a number of the enemy and suffering little loss themselves. A few of the wagons however were cut off, and the drivers taken prisoners. Captain Duperus arrived safely at Vera Cruz, having lost in all, three killed and three wounded.

On the same day that Bainbridge's party left Colonel McIntosh's camp, General Cadwalader arrived with eight hundred men, and two howitzers, and pushed on toward the National Bridge. Approaching it he occupied the heights from which the enemy had fired on the former party. Here he was attacked by a large Mexican force, posted on the ridges and in the chapparel, and a short but extremely obstinate struggle ensued, which resulted in the repulse of the enemy. About one

hundred of them were killed, General Cadwalader losing fifteen killed, and from thirty to forty wounded.

In this affair a company of newly raised volunteers under Lieutenant Blakely, with two howitzers, charged the Mexican barricades and swept them with a few discharges; but in passing through, the lieutenant received a heavy fire from a ridge commanding the road, by which he sustained a loss of one killed and four wounded, including himself, and of several horses. The heights were then charged on the right and left of the road, and successively carried. After passing the bridge, General Cadwalader was attacked by a large party of guerillas, who kept up a continual fire with little effect.

Previous to this battle, the loss of Colonel McIntosh, in his affair with the guerillas, was considerable. When attacked the party fell back, and the enemy, instead of pressing their advantage, seized upon the wagons, twenty-eight of which, with nearly two hundred pack mules, became their property. The whole loss amounted to about four thousand dollars.

About this time a considerable party in Mexico, openly advocated a change of rulers. After the terror and confusion attending the defeat of Sierra Gordo, had worn away, time was afforded, for a calm view of the character of that great battle; and the result of this was by no means favorable to the popularity of the commander-in-chief. Many were anxious for peace; and in order to obtain their object, they advocated the accession of ex-president Herrera, to supreme dignity. This officer was favored by the clergy, and a respectable minority in Congress; but opposed by the army, and perhaps a majority of the people. These divisions seriously retarded the raising of troops, and the general organization of the army. Anarchy in the higher departments of government ensued, and numbers of officers left the main army, in order to join the seemingly more profitable service of the guerillas.

At this stage of affairs, Santa Anna sent to Congress his resignation as president of Mexico, and chief commander of her armies. Whether this proceeding was prompted by

honest motives, or by a latent desire to arouse their old affection by the fear of losing him, is uncertain; but probably the latter was his real intention. If so, he was successful; Congress refused to accept his resignation, returning thanks for former services, and expressing their entire confidence in his merits and abilities. The movement had a beneficial effect; with but few exceptions the confidence of the disaffected revived, and the raising of troops became more active than before.

For a considerable time, the Mexicans turned their attention to the fortifying of the Rio Frio pass, a deep gorge, which takes its name from a small river adjacent. Here it was expected that a last stand would be made for the capital; and on account of the immense natural strength of the place, much anxiety was felt throughout the United States, lest General Scott should meet with unprecedented loss in attempting to force it.

These fears proved groundless. After a tedious stay at Puebla, the American army broke up its camp on the 4th of August, and marched for the metropolis. They reached the dreaded defile soon after, and passed through without experiencing any opposition. This is one more culpable neglect on the part of Mexico, which increases, if possible, her notoriety for feebleness and military insufficiency. With but a comparative handful of good troops, the gorge of the Rio Frio would prove a perfect Thermopylæ to any invading army.

It being the rainy season in Mexico, the American army was much delayed by almost impassable roads, as to be unable to reach Ayotla before the 15th. About four miles in advance of this place, is the strong fortification of Penon, which was munitioned and garrisoned in the most careful manner, and commanded a full sweep of the main road to the capital. After a careful reconnoissance, so much loss was anticipated, in case of passing this work, that an old concealed road was preferred to the direct one. Round this the whole army marched to the town of San Augustin. A detachment of ten thousand Mexicans endeavored to arrest this movement, but

were repelled with some loss by Captain Taylor's battery, and the division of General Twiggs. On the 18th General Worth's column moved down the road in the direction of San Antonio, from which place the enemy fired upon a squadron of dragoons, who had been advanced to protect the engineers in their reconnoissance of that fortress. The first discharge killed Captain Thornton and wounded the guide. This caused the dragoons to be withdrawn, and Colonel Duncan's battery with some sappers and miners, moved down the road to a position which would enable them to act in any direction, in case of emergency. Various other movements took place, Colonel Smith's light battalion was stationed on the left point, to hold the enemy's flank in check; Colonel Garland took a position on the right, and Colonel Clarke, with the Indiana brigade, moved down the road until the head of his column rested on the wing of Colonel Garland's. In this position they passed the night. General Worth with part of the first brigade, occupied the hacienda of St. Juan de Dios, which the enemy fired into about sundown, but without injury to the soldiers. The troops lay on the field all night, destitute of tents or blankets, and exposed to a drizzling rain, which about two in the morning became a perfect shower.

Early on the 19th General Pillow commenced his march for the fortifications of Contreras, accompanied by the forces of Lieutenants Smith and Callender. The general opened the road as he advanced, until he reached a high point from whence the enemy's fortifications were in view, and between one and two o'clock, the divisions of General Twiggs came up with the advance and moved forward—General Smith's brigade advancing to the left and Colonel Riley's to the right. The batteries moved with great difficulty, having to travel half a mile over a broken and confused mass of lava, apparently impassable even to footmen.

The enemy opened their heavy batteries from Contreras, and the advancing troops of General Smith's brigade hotly engaged their infantry, which extended across a deep ravine

and creek, in front of the fortifications. The artillery now poured forth heavy discharges, and for a little while the struggle was vigorous. The Mexicans were driven from their position with great loss, but afterwards concentrated their fire upon some howitzers and a battery, under Captain Magruder. For more than an hour, these were exposed to the fire of twenty-two pieces of artillery, when their loss became so severe, that General Smith ordered them to retreat.

While these movements were taking place, the battle was raging with fury in other parts of the field. General Pillow ordered Pierce's brigade to support Smith, and Cadwalader's to support Colonel Riley. About this time Santa Anna, with twelve thousand Mexicans, appeared to the left of Contreras, evidently with the design of attacking Riley and Cadwalader. In consequence of this movement, Pillow ordered Colonel Morgan with the 15th artillery, to support Cadwalader; and General Scott arriving about the same time, detached General Shields's volunteers for the same purpose. Magruder's battery and the howitzers being disabled, it became evident that the left was advancing on a route prepared for them by the enemy, the latter having cleared away all the brush and other obstacles that obstructed their view, thus exposing the American infantry to a most destructive fire as they approached. A feint attack was therefore made to divert the attention of the enemy, while General Smith moved with some artillery and rifles to the village of Enseldo.

This village is protected on one side by a deep ravine, and on the road between it and a neighboring stream, is a house and garden, surrounded by a high stone wall. The village is intersected by narrow lanes, between high dikes, enclosing gardens full of fruit trees and shrubbery, thus affording concealment and protection for the men.

General Smith with Cadwalader on the right, and Riley on the left, now determined to attack the large force on the Mexican right; but before the necessary movements could be completed, night set in, and the enemy's line could not be seen. General Cadwalader then resumed his position at the edge of the village; Riley's brigade was formed inside. the rifles were

on his left, and the 3d infantry in the churchyard. In these positions they remained all night without fire or shelter, although exposed to a drenching rain. The other divisions of the army including all the officers with General Scott himself, had in like manner no other covering than their usual uniform.

At 3 o'clock next morning the brigade of General Smith commenced their march for the enemy's main work. At this moment General Shields arrived, and although the superior officer, he generously declined commanding, and took post at Ensaldo, in order to prevent the enemy occupying it in their retreat. The other troops then moved onward, Colonel Riley being in advance, followed by Generals Cadwalader and Smith. Riley moved up the ravine bearing a little to the left, and as he marched over the bank fronted the rear of the enemy's work, but was protected from the severity of its fire by the favorable position of the ground. The enemy now opened a warm fire upon his flank, but turning to the troops he ordered them to charge. The front rushed down the hill with loud cheers, followed by the rear in a dense heavy column. Cadwalader hurried to support him, while General Smith ordered a brigade to face to the left and advance in line to attack the enemy's force in flank. The latter met the Mexicans outside the fort just as Colonel Riley rushed into it, charged them with the bayonet, and gained a complete victory. They fled on all sides. They were not allowed to move unmolested, for while passing in supposed security at some distance from Ensaldo, they received a galling fire from Shields's command, which was concealed for the purpose of annoying their flight. The general had lighted his fire in the village, in order to impress them with the belief that his troops were breakfasting there; and by this stratagem succeeded in deceiving the enemy and drawing them within point blank range of his rifles. When the Mexican main body had passed through a narrow defile, an officer drew up a number of lancers at the pass and surrendered. By this sagacious manœuvre the Americans were long enough detained in securing the prisoners, to allow the enemy to secure themselves.

At Contreras the Americans captured twenty-two pieces of



Battle of Contreras.

artillery, mostly of large size, a great number of pack mules, large quantities of ammunition and munitions of war, and upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners, including several officers of high rank. The enemy left seven hundred dead upon the field, and many more were buried by themselves. The commandant of the fort was General Valencia; the troops outside were led by Santa Anna. Two guns taken from General Taylor at Buena Vista were among the trophies.

The captured arms were secured, and a detachment left to protect the ordnance, ammunition and prisoners. The column then re-formed for the purpose of pursuing the enemy, who had been met by a force from San Angel. General Twiggs now arrived, and ordered an immediate march. The troops were instantly in motion, General Shields's brigade being in advance, General Twiggs in the centre, and General Pillow in the rear. They soon came up with the Mexicans, when a sort of running fight commenced; the enemy endeavoring to make a stand at every point of the road; while the unerring fire of the riflemen drove them from place to place, until they were obliged to take refuge in Cherubusco.

General Scott now arrived and took command of the whole division.

When the Mexicans perceived that Contreras was carried, they evacuated all their smaller fortifications, and with their artillery and whole force fell back on Cherubusco. This place was also reinforced by troops from Contreras and Mexico, and here they strengthened themselves for a final struggle.

Both nature and art had contributed to make these works strong. The ground was completely masked by a growth of high corn and an orchard, thus precluding a view of the fort, which afterwards proved to be one of great regularity although erected within the short space of thirty-eight hours. The church buildings formed a large square—a wall scaffolded for infantry composed the lower front at the north end; behind this was a higher building also covered with infantry, and in its rear the church with a high steeple on its left side, and both were filled with infantry. In front of the first wall was a curtain connecting two salient angles which flanked it, they

being continued back to the side walls of the church, all heavily garrisoned with soldiers, and mounting seven pieces of artillery.

This was the point at which General Smith's brigade opened the action, followed a little further to the left, by Colonel Riley's brigade—the two sections that formed the Sierra Gordo division of General Twiggs. Captain Taylor's battery of light artillery, also took position near this work, on the right of General Smith's brigade, and was soon greeted by a heavy fire from the fort. For an hour and a half he sustained this heavy attack in a manner that excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. Twenty-three of his company, and fifteen horses were killed, and a considerable number wounded.

At the opposite side of the fort, the breastwork extended across the road from the church, presenting a similar front, excepting the buildings of the church. The work on the road was also strengthened by a bridge over a creek, behind which was a body of infantry. The work mounted three or four guns. General Pillow with part of his division was sent round by General Scott to assault it; but after wading waist deep, through the mud and mire of the corn-fields, he met General Worth coming up from San Antonio with his division. The two commands advanced together against the work. At the same time the commander ordered General Shields with his own division, and part of another, under General Pierce, to attack the enemy's extreme left, where they were heavily entrenched. This movement was executed slowly; the troops having to pass through corn-fields of high growth, intersected by ditches running through them in every direction. The action now became general, and its severity has never been surpassed by any battle upon this continent. The enemy numbered three times their opponents, had the advantages of artillery and position, and were stimulated by the consciousness that this was their last stand for the capital. Such was the roar of muskets, and thundering of artillery, that it was impossible for the soldiers to hear the commands of their officers. The loss of the Americans was nearly one thousand men.

When the battle had raged uninterruptedly for two hours,



Battle of Churubis-a.



the Americans reached a position favorable to charging with the bayonet. This terrible weapon decided the day. Generals Pillows and Worth carried the work on the road, General Twiggs the one at the church, containing seven pieces of artillery, two stand of colours, one hundred and four officers, and eleven hundred men; while General Shields drove from its position the force with which he was engaged.

As soon as the last work (the *tete de pont*) was carried, the greater part of Worth's and Pillow's forces passed the bridge, in rapid pursuit of the enemy. These generals coming up with Brigadier-General Shields, the three united their forces, and pressed upon the fugitives to within a mile and a half of the capital. Here Colonel Harney, with a small portion of his brigade of cavalry, rapidly pressed to the front, and charged the enemy up to the nearest gate. Captain Kearny lost an arm, two other officers were wounded, and one killed.

Thus in one day eight thousand five hundred Americans fought five successive battles, defeated thirty-two thousand men, made nearly three thousand prisoners, including eight generals, (among them two ex-presidents,) and two hundred and five other officers; killed or wounded four thousand of all ranks, besides dispersing entire corps; and captured thirty-seven pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of small arms, and a full supply of every kind of ammunition. Their total loss was ten hundred and sixty-three, of whom seventy-six were officers.

At this time, perhaps, General Scott could have entered the Mexican capital sword in hand; but unwilling to urge the humiliated foe to desperation, and anxious to improve so favorable an opportunity of making peace, he humanely halted his troops before the gates. On the 21st, when about summoning the city to surrender, he was met by a commission, proposing a truce. Rejecting the offered terms, he despatched his contemplated note to Santa Anna, omitting the summons. Next day commissioners were appointed by both commanders, an armistice was signed on the 23d, and ratifications exchanged the 24th.

At the battle of Churubusco, Sergeant Riley, with seventy of his company, who had deserted the American standard,

and fought against it at Monterey and Sierra Gordo, were taken prisoners. They were tried by a court-martial during the armistice, and some of them being found guilty of high treason, were hung in the presence of both armies. The remainder, in consequence of having deserted before the commencement of the war, had their punishment remitted to branding, public whipping, and imprisonment during the continuation of hostilities.

During the armistice, Mr. Trist, the American commissioner, proposed that the dividing line between the two countries should commence in the gulf of Mexico, run through the middle of the Rio Grande to the Rio Gila, and thence through the gulf of California to the Pacific—the United States paying a certain sum for the territory thus acquired. This was rejected by the Mexicans, who refused to yield any portion of their territory west of the Nueces. Mr. Trist then presented his *ultimatum*—a digest of all that the American government was willing to yield or accept, which, after careful consideration, was rejected by the Mexican congress. The negotiations accordingly terminated.

On the 6th of September, General Scott wrote to Santa Anna, accusing him of violating the truce, by preventing transportation of supplies from the city to the American camp, and strengthening the military defences. The Mexican general replied in a similar strain, charging the Americans with obstructing the intercourse between the capital and the surrounding country, and intimating that hostilities might be recommenced whenever desired.

After a careful reconnoissance of the works around Chapultepec and Molino del Rey, General Worth was despatched on the 8th to storm the latter place, assisted by Cadwalader's brigade as a reserve. At three o'clock in the morning the columns advanced by different roads, and at daylight the assault began. The troops rushed forward unshaken by the galling shower of musketry and canister driving the Mexican infantry and artillery at the point of the bayonet. The field-battery was taken, and the guns of the fort trailed upon the retiring masses. In a moment, however, they rallied, and assisted by the infantry, who covered the house-tops,



The City of Mexico.

rushed upon the Americans, pouring in a volley of musketry, which struck down eleven out of the fourteen officers composing the command, and non-commissioned officers and men in proportion. The victors were for a moment staggered; but, recovering, they drove back the enemy, and pursued them toward Chapultepec.

Meanwhile the 2d brigade, under Colonel McIntosh, assaulted the Casa Mata, on the left. This was a strong citadel, surrounded by bastioned intrenchments and impassable ditches. From this the enemy poured a deadly fire, until the advancing troops reached the very slope of the parapet to the work surrounding the citadel. Here the action was so warm that the Americans were thrown into disorder, and fell back. At this critical moment a large cavalry and infantry force approached rapidly upon the American left, in order to reinforce the enemy's right. They were driven back in disorder by Duncan's battery, assisted by a portion of General Cadwalader's voltigeurs. A continued assault was then made upon the Casa Mata, which was carried at the point of the bayonet. In conformity with instructions it was blown up, together with most of the ammunition and cannon moulds found in Molino del Rey.

The force of the Americans in this battle was rather more than three thousand two hundred men, of whom they lost seven hundred and eighty-nine, including fifty-eight officers. The enemy numbered fourteen thousand, of whom three thousand were killed, wounded, and taken.

From this time until the 11th, careful reconnoissances were made of all the enemy's defences on the east side of the city. These convinced General Scott that it would be utterly impossible to enter by a direct attack in that quarter. The ground was net-worked with ditches, ravines, and causeways, and guarded by forts, citadels, aqueducts, and towers. There were also eight gates over arches, "each of which," says General Scott, "we found defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable."

To obviate this difficulty, General Scott moved the main part of his army to the western part of the city, still keeping



General Shields.

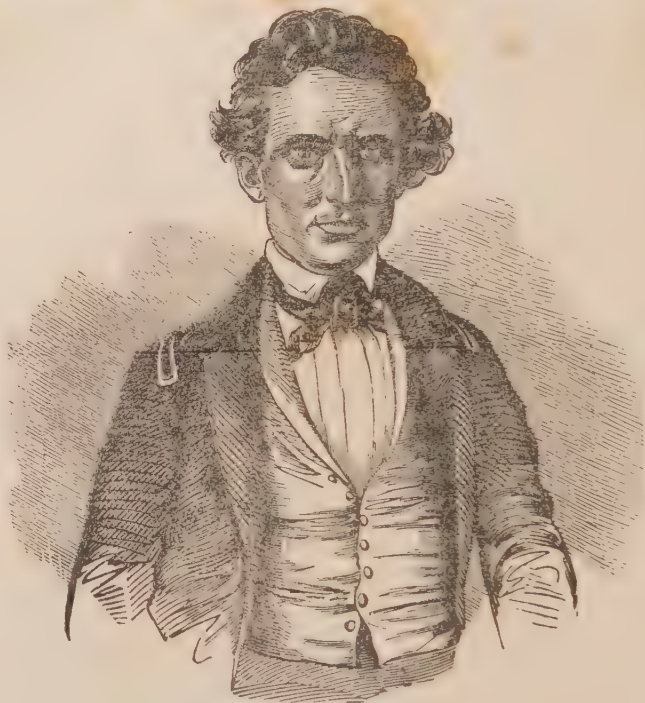
up the appearance of an attack on the east. This fine movement, accomplished on the night of the 10th, so completely deceived the enemy, that on observing it, they supposed it but a feint, and continued to strengthen their defences on the east. During the whole of the following day, Generals Quitman, Shields, Smith, and Cadwalader moved from point to point, driving the enemy from their small works, and preparing for the contemplated assault upon Chapultepec. Early on the morning of the 13th, this strong fortress was attacked by General Worth, assisted by General Cadwalader, on whom the command subsequently fell. The violence of the struggle was proportionate to the preparations of both armies, and the important issues of the victory. The Americans entered the works at the point of the bayonet, sweeping the enemy before them, and capturing an immense number of prisoners. At the same time, Generals Pillow, Quitman, Shields, and Smith carried the works near the fort, and

hurried on in united pursuit of the enemy. They advanced principally by two roads, the San Cosme and Tacubaya, and although opposed at every step, carried one work after another, until night found them before the gates of Mexico.

At about four o'clock on the morning of September 14th, a deputation of the city council waited upon General Scott, to report that the army and federal government had about midnight fled from the capital; in consequence of which they demanded terms of capitulation, in favor of the church, citizens, and municipal authorities. This the general refused, declaring his determination to enter the city and levy a moderate contribution for special purposes. Accordingly about daylight orders were issued to Generals Worth and Quitman to advance slowly and cautiously toward the heart of the city, and occupy its commanding points. The latter proceeded to the grand plaza, planted guards, and hoisted the colors of the United States on the national palace.—the famed Halls of Montezuma. He was soon afterwards followed by the remainder of the army, headed by General Scott and staff, in full uniform, preceded by bands of music playing patriotic airs.

Immediately after this public entrance, a fire was opened upon the Americans by about two thousand convicts, liberated for the purpose, aided by as many fugitive soldiers, stationed at windows, corners of streets, and on the roofs of houses. This unlawful war lasted twenty-four hours, and was the source of much annoyance. After its suppression, the American commander issued his proclamation, assuring all the peaceably disposed of his protection; in consequence of which, families who had fled the city returned, business was resumed, and every thing became tranquil. General Quitman was appointed military governor, and Captain Naylor superintendent of the national palace. On the return of the former to the United States, he was succeeded by General Smith.

On the same day that Chapultepec was carried, (September 13th,) the governor of Puebla, Colonel Childs, was fired upon in the castle of San Jose, from several of the streets of the city. The attack ceased on the 14th, but was renewed at night,



Captain Walker.

and continued without intermission for twenty-eight days. The enemy completely surrounded the city, cutting off all supplies, and endeavoring to change the course of the water stream. On the 22d, Santa Anna arrived with large reinforcements, who, on the 25th, summoned the garrison to surrender. On receiving a refusal, he added a heavy bombardment to the already large fire upon the fortress, and poured into it red hot shells, musketry, and cannon shot, until the 2d of October. On that day a sortie from the garrison destroyed a barricade of one hundred and fifty cotton bags; and soon after Santa Anna's plans were entirely deranged by a revolt of his troops. The siege, however, continued until October 12th, when General Lane joined the gallant Childs with large reinforcements.

This officer, in marching from Vera Cruz to Puebla, had overtaken a portion of Santa Anna's forces, in their retreat from the latter place. The first intimation of danger was

from a party of guerillas, who were attacked near the San Juan river, and defeated. A small cavalry force was afterwards routed, and pursued until Lane had arrived near Huamantla. Here he received information that Santa Anna was there with four thousand men and six pieces of artillery. Leaving his train packed at the hacienda of Tamaris, he pushed forward for the city, having Captain Walker's mounted riflemen in advance. On nearing the place, Walker was sent forward, and on observing a number of horsemen crossing his path in different directions, he ordered a gallop, and entered the city. Finding about five hundred of the enemy drawn up in the plaza, he ordered a charge, when a hand to hand conflict took place, which terminated in the defeat of the Mexicans. They lost two pieces of artillery, and were driven to a considerable distance; but during the struggle the gallant Walker was mortally wounded, and in a little time expired. The American infantry arriving soon after completed the victory.

After leaving a sufficient garrison at Puebla, General Lane pushed forward for Perote; and receiving information on the 18th, that General Rea was in command of a considerable force of the enemy at Atlisco, about thirty miles distant, he moved next morning for that place. When near Santa Isabella, he engaged a party of lancers, and a running fight commenced for four miles, when the main body of the enemy was observed on a side hill, behind thick chapparel. A fierce conflict then ensued, the men fighting on foot, hand to hand, until night. The Mexicans then retired to Atlisco.

Deeming it imprudent to enter an unknown city at night, in the face of the enemy, General Lane halted his men on a neighboring hill and commenced a bombardment. The moon was beaming in her fullest lustre, and every object was plainly visible in her softening light. A bombardment at such a time must have been a splendid sight. The Americans served their guns with the utmost rapidity; and with the sullen roar of artillery was mingled the crashing of walls and roofs when struck by the shells. The guns being pointed to the most thickly settled parts of the town, the sufferings of the population were great.

After firing three-quarters of an hour, all resistance on the part of the Mexicans ceased, and the commands of Colonel Brough and Major Lally advanced cautiously into the town. On entering, General Lane was waited upon by the city council, desiring that the place might be spared. Next morning the Americans disposed of what arms and ammunition they found, and returned to Puebla. Their loss was one killed, and one wounded; that of the enemy five hundred and nineteen, of whom two hundred and nineteen were killed.

On the 15th and 16th of October, the United States frigate Congress, and two other vessels, anchored off the port of Guaymas, in the State of Sonora, and demanded its surrender. This being repeatedly refused, the town was bombarded on the 20th, many houses burned or destroyed, and several Mexicans killed. A party then went ashore and planted the American flag on the hill called the Casa Blanca. Captain Eli A. T. Lavallette took possession of the town and province, and issued a proclamation requesting the municipal authorities to continue their functions, and declaring complete toleration to all religions.

About the same time another squadron of four ships, took possession of the town of Mazatlan.

On the 8th of February, Brigadier-General Price marched from New Mexico, where for some time he had been making civil and military arrangements for insuring tranquillity, and proceeded toward El Paso. After enduring great hardships upon the road, he reached this place on the 23d, and united himself with a reinforcement previously ordered there, for the purpose of enabling him to act against the state of Chihuahua. Here he received such information respecting the force and designs of the enemy, as induced him to abandon his original plan of operations, and by mounting his best troops upon horses, to advance by forced marches, and strike a blow at the enemy before they could be aware of it. Accordingly, on the night of the 26th, Major Walker was despatched with three companies, to occupy the town of Carrizal, ninety miles from El Paso, and commanding all the passes leading to Chihuahua. He took possession of the

place without meeting any of the enemy, and succeeded in intercepting all their communication.

On the night of the 6th, when within sixty miles of Chihuahua, a small party of the advance came unexpectedly upon one of the enemy's pickets, which after some unimportant manœuvering, succeeded in escaping. This caused the American general to push forward his advance, so that on the following morning he arrived within six miles of the Sacramento. Here he was met by a flag of truce from the Mexican general, who protested against the advance of the troops upon Chihuahua, on the ground, that instructions had been received from the Mexican government, suspending hostilities, as a treaty of peace had been concluded by commissioners of both governments. This information was subsequently confirmed, but disregarding it, General Price continued to advance upon the city of Chihuahua, which was soon after abandoned by the Mexican army.

Having anticipated this latter circumstance, Price had, on the previous day, detached Beall's dragoons, so that by a forced march over the mountains during the night, he might cut off the retreat. On the following morning, [March 8th,] he followed with a portion of his troops, and came up with the Mexicans, early on the following morning. They were strongly posted at the town of Santa Cruz de Rosales, sixty miles from Chihuahua. Here General Price received from the commandant, General Trias, positive assurance of the conclusion of a peace, of which the Mexican officer expected official notification in three days. Still the American general deemed it consistent with the honour of his nation to besiege the place, which he did for several days. On the morning of the 16th, he commenced a heavy bombardment, attended with heavy loss of life and property to the enemy, and followed by partial assaults upon the works. So great was the effect, that shortly after sundown General Trias surrendered. Besides forty-two officers, and about six hundred privates, eleven cannon, nine wall-pieces, and five hundred and seventy-seven stand of arms, fell into the hands of the Americans. Price's loss was one lieutenant, two corporals, and

one private killed, and nineteen privates wounded ; the Mexican loss was several hundred.

On the 2d of February, 1848, the following Treaty of Peace was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, between Nicholas P. Trist, commissioner on the part of the United States, and Senors Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Conto, Miguel Atristain, commissioners on the part of Mexico, which was immediately forwarded to Washington for ratification by the government of the United States.

TREATY.

IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD :

The United States of America and the United Mexican States, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two republics, and to establish upon a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits upon the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony, and mutual confidence, wherein the two people should live, as good neighbors, have for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries—that is to say, the President of the United States has appointed Nicholas P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican republic has appointed Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Conto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said republic, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have, under the protection of Almighty God, the author of peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following

TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, LIMITS, AND SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC.

ARTICLE I. There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns and people, without exception of places or persons.

ARTICLE II. Immediately upon the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place, and that, in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be re-established, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

ARTICLE III. Immediately upon the ratification of the present treaty by the government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter (provided this treaty shall then have been ratified by the government of the Mexican republic) immediately to desist from blockading any Mexican ports ; and requiring the former (under the same condition) to commence, at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all troops of the United States then in the interior of the Mexican republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the seaports not exceeding thirty leagues ; and such evacuation of the interior of the republic shall be completed with the least possible delay ; the Mexican government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in its power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. In like manner, orders shall be despatched to the persons in charge of the custom-houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the persons authorized by the Mexican government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidences of debt for duties

on importations and on exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports and on exports, collected at such custom-houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of ratification of this treaty by the government of the Mexican republic, and also an account of the cost of collection; and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican government, at the city of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

The evacuation of the capital of the Mexican republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after the orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the commander of said troops, or sooner if possible.

ARTICLE IV. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, all castles, forts, territories, places, and possessions, which have been taken or occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war, within the limits of the Mexican republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitively restored to the said republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this treaty shall be duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this treaty, orders shall be despatched to the American officers commanding such castles and forts, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, or other public property. The city of Mexico, within the inner line of intrenchments surrounding the said city, is comprehended in the above stipulations, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, &c.

The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican republic, by the forces of the United States, shall be completed in three months from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner, if possible: the Mexican government hereby engaging, as in the foregoing article, to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

If, however, the ratification of this treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the gulf of Mexico, in such case a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the general-in-chief of the said troops and the Mexican government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places, at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time here referred to as comprehending the sickly season, shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of ratifications of this treaty. It is also agreed that if any Mexicans should now be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives, and cause them to be restored to their country.

ARTICLE V. The boundary line between the two republics shall commence in the gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea: from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence westwardly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called *Paso*) to its western termination; thence northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the River Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same;) thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map entitled "*Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the congress of said republic, and constructed according to the*"

best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell." Of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned plenipotentiaries. And in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific ocean, distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, according to the plan of said port made in the year 1782, by Don Juan Pantoja, second sailing-master of the Spanish fleet, and published at Madrid in the year 1802, in the Atlas to the voyage of the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, of which plan a copy is herewith added, signed and sealed by the respective plenipotentiaries.

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, and also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics, and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the general government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.

ARTICLE VI. The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have a free and uninterrupted passage by the gulf of California, and by the river Colorado, below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line defined in the preceding article: it being understood that this passage is to be by navigating the gulf of California and the river Colorado, and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican government.

If, by the examinations which may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal or railway, which should in whole or in part run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the governments of both republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

ARTICLE VII. The River Gila, and the part of the Rio Bravo del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being agreeably to the fifth article, divided in the middle between the two republics, the navigation of the Gila and of the Bravo below said boundary shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right; not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title, be levied upon vessels, or persons navigating the same, or upon merchandise or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making the said rivers navigable, or for maintaining them in such state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both governments.

The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either republic within its established limits.

ARTICLE VIII. Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date

of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy, with respect to it, guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. In the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and the civil rights now vested in them according to the Mexican laws. With respect to political rights, their condition shall be on an equality with that of the inhabitants of the other territories of the United States, and at least equally good as that of the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas, when these provinces, by transfer from the French republic and the crown of Spain, became territories of the United States.

The same most ample guaranty shall be enjoyed by all ecclesiastics and religious corporations or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry as in the enjoyment of their property of every kind, whether individual or corporate. This guaranty shall embrace all temples, houses, and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship, as well as all property destined to its support, or to that of schools, hospitals, and other foundations for charitable or beneficent purposes. No property of this nature shall be considered as having become the property of the American government, or as subject to be by it disposed of, or diverted to other uses.

Finally, the relations and communication between the Catholics living in the territories aforesaid, and their respective ecclesiastical authorities, shall be open, free, and exempt from all hindrance whatever, even although such authorities should reside within the limits of the Mexican republic, as defined by this treaty; and this freedom shall continue, so long as a new demarkation of ecclesiastical districts shall not have been made, conformably with the laws of the Roman Catholic Church.

ARTICLE X. All grants of land made by the Mexican government, or by the competent authorities, in territories previously appertaining to Mexico, and remaining for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be respected as valid, to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the said territories had remained within the limits of Mexico. But the grantees of lands in Texas, put in possession thereof, who by reason of the circumstances of the country, since the beginning of the troubles between Texas and the Mexican government, may have been prevented from fulfilling all the conditions of their grants, shall be under the obligation to fulfil the said conditions within the periods limited in the same, respectively; such periods to be now counted from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; in default of which, the said grants shall not be obligatory upon the State of Texas, in virtue of the stipulations contained in this article.

The foregoing stipulation in regard to grantees of land in Texas is extended to all grantees of land in the territories aforesaid, elsewhere than in Texas, put in possession under such grants; and, in default of the fulfillment of the conditions of any such grant, within the new period, which, as is above stipulated, begins with the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, the same shall be null and void.

The Mexican government declares that no grant whatever of lands in Texas has been made since the second day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six; and that no grant whatever of lands, in any of the territories aforesaid, has been made since the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

ARTICLE XI. Considering that a great part of the territories which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the government of the United States whensoever this may be necessary; and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished

by the said government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted—all in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens.

It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two republics, nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind, stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians; nor to provide such Indians with fire-arms or ammunition, by sale or otherwise.

And in the event of any person or persons, captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the government of the latter engages and binds itself, in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the government of the United States notice of such captures; and its agent shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives; who, in the mean time, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities at the place where they may be. But if the government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence, through any other channel, of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said government when providing for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but on the contrary, special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

ARTICLE XII. In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars, in the one or the other of the two modes below specified. The Mexican government shall, at the time of ratifying this treaty, declare which of these two modes of payment it prefers; and the mode so elected by it shall be conformed to by that of the United States.

First mode of payment: Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. For the remaining twelve millions of dollars, the United States shall create a stock, bearing an interest of six per centum per annum, commencing on the day of the ratification of this treaty by the government of the Mexican republic, and payable annually at the city of Washington; the principal of said stock to be redeemable there, at the pleasure of the government of the United States, at any time after two years from the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; six months' public notice of the intention to redeem the same being previously given. Certificates of such stock, in proper form, for such sums as shall be specified by the Mexican government, and transferable by the said government, shall be delivered to the same by that of the United States.

Second mode of payment: Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place, and in the same coin, in annual instalments of three millions of dollars each, together with interest on the same at the rate of six per centum per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present treaty by the Mexican government, and the first of the instalments shall be paid at the expiration of one year from the same day. Together with each annual instalment, as it falls due, the whole interest accruing on such instalment from the beginning shall also be paid. Certificates in proper form, for the

said instalments, respectively, in such sums as shall be desired by the Mexican government, and transferable by it, shall be delivered to the said government by that of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican republic, under the conventions between the two republics severally concluded on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-three: so that the Mexican republic shall be absolutely exempt, for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

ARTICLE XIV. The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty; which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or be allowed by the board of commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

ARTICLE XV. The United States, exonerating Mexico from all demands on account of the claims of their citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever cancelled, whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding three and one quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a board of commissioners shall be established by the government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive: provided, that in deciding upon the validity of each claim, the board shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention, concluded at the city of Mexico on the twentieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; and in no case shall an award be made in favor of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners, or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents in the possession or power of the government of the Mexican republic, shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the commissioners or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, addressed to the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State of the United States; and the Mexican government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records, or documents, so specified, which shall be in their possession or power, (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same,) to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said board of commissioners: *Provided*, That no such application shall be made by, or at the instance of any claimant, until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records, or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

ARTICLE XVI. Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify, for its security.

ARTICLE XVII. The treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at the city of Mexico on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article, and except so far as the stipulations of the said treaty may be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

ARTICLE XVIII. All supplies whatever for troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at ports in the occupation of such troops previous to the final evacuation thereof, although subsequently to the restoration of the custom-houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the government of the United States hereby engaging and pledging its faith to establish, and vigilantly to enforce, all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, un-

der cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quantity, as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end, it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to denounce to the Mexican authorities at the respective ports any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation which they may know of or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto: and every such attempt, when duly proved and established by sentence of a competent tribunal, shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

ARTICLE XIX. With respect to all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, imported into ports of Mexico whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, whether by citizens of either republic, or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed: ●

1. All such merchandise, effects, and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the custom-houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican tariff.

2. The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property, imported subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses, and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican tariff at such ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation, subject to the payment of duties, as provided for in the said following article.

3. All merchandise, effects, and property described in the two rules foregoing shall, during their continuance at the place of importation, or upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax, or impost of every kind, under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subjected to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

4. All merchandise, effects, and property, described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior whilst such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall, during their continuance therein, be exempt from all tax upon the sale or consumption thereof, and from every kind of impost or contribution, under whatsoever title or denomination.

5. But if any merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules, shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States, they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which, under the Mexican laws, they would be required to pay in such cases if they had been imported in time of peace, through the maritime custom-houses, and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican tariff.

6. The owners of all merchandise, effects, or property described in the first and second rules, and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to re-ship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever.

With respect to the metals, or other property, exported from any Mexican port whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the custom-house at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or State, to pay any tax, duty, or contribution upon any such exportation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

ARTICLE XX. Through consideration for the interests of commerce generally, it is agreed, that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this treaty and the restoration of the custom-houses, conformably with the stipulation in the third article, in such case all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom-houses, and previously to the expiration of sixty days after the day of the signature of this treaty, shall be admitted to entry, and no other duties shall be levied thereon than the duties established by the tariff found in force at such custom-houses at the time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects, and property, the rules established by the preceding article shall apply.

ARTICLE XXI. If unhappily any disagreement should hereafter arise between the governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves; using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the other, until the government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborhood, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

ARTICLE XXII. If (which is not to be expected, and which God forbid!) war shall unhappily break out between the two republics, they do now, with a view to such calamity, solemnly pledge themselves to each other and to the world, to observe the following rules: absolutely, where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible.

1. The merchants of either republic then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months for those dwelling in the interior, and six months for those dwelling at the seaports, to collect their debts and settle their affairs; during which periods, they shall enjoy the same protection, and be on the same protection, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations; and, at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance: conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if the necessity arise to take any thing from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments, for charitable and beneficent purposes, shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same protected in the discharge of their duties, and the pursuit of their vocations.

2. In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated, all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement, or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places, shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships, or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound, or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their paroles, within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters; and the common soldier shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are for its own troops. But if any officer shall break his parole by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment, after they shall have been designated to him, such individual, officer, or other prisoner, shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if an officer so breaking his parole, or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterwards be found in arms, previously to his being regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles, as are allowed, either in kind or by commutation, to officers of equal rank in its own army; and all others shall be daily furnished with such ration as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service: the value of all which supplies shall, at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the

other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners; and such accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them be withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended. Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners, in possession of the others; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties or taxes, and to distribute whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends; and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letters to the party by whom he is employed.

And it is declared that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and during which, its stipulations are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

ARTICLE XXIII. This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Mexican republic, with the previous approbation of its general Congress: and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Washington, in four months from the date of the signature hereof, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement; and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST,	[L. s.]
LUIS G. CUEVAS,	[L. s.]
BERNARDO CONTO,	[L. s.]
MIG. ATRISTAIN.	[L. s.]

The treaty, as originally formed by the Commissioners, was received by our government, and submitted to the Senate by the President on the 23d day of February, 1848, and after sundry amendments not affecting the main points, was ratified (as above inserted,) on the 10th day of March, 1848, by a vote of thirty-eight to fourteen. Immediately after which, the treaty was returned to Mexico, and, on the 19th day of May, 1848, was ratified by the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, assembled at Queretaro, by a vote of fifty-one to thirty-five. The treaty was subsequently ratified by the Senate, and thus the war between the United States and Mexico was terminated.

In the mean time, a Court of Inquiry had been held in the city of Mexico by order of the President of the United States, the object of which appears to have been to reconcile certain misunderstandings between General Scott and Generals Pillow and Worth.



General Pillow.

The court, after remaining in session some time, without arriving at any satisfactory result, was adjourned to the United States. General Scott returned to the United States, leaving General Butler in command, who deputed General Persifor F. Smith to superintend the withdrawal and embarkation of the troops of the United States from the Mexican territory.

The general result of the war is a most brilliant display of the military spirit and ability of the American people, and the acquisition of an immense extent of territory.

Thus after a duration of two years, the war with Mexico was brought to a conclusion on terms dictated by the United States. Its events will be recorded in history as parallel to the deeds of Alexander and Hannibal of ancient days, and the

more recent ones of Cortes, Marlborough and Bonaparte. However parties in the United States may differ as to the policy of those acts which in a great measure caused it; whatever may be thought of its justice or injustice, abstractedly considered, all must combine in yielding their meed of praise to the gallant spirits who have carried it on. That it has placed the American soldier in the foremost rank for bravery, perseverance, and endurance of hardships, no one can for a moment doubt. Every battle in the Mexican war has been a prodigy of valour. It was well remarked by an officer, immediately after entering the capital, that when he looked around upon the Mexican defences, and remembered that they had been garrisoned by thirty thousand men, he knew not how he and his few comrades had got there. The bravery of our soldiers, many of them hurried into battle from the fireside, has astonished their nation and the world.

But the war has done more; not only has the daring of the soldier been developed, but in an equally conspicuous manner the skill and military genius of the officers. In the campaign of General Taylor is displayed all the ability necessary to seize upon circumstances as they present themselves, and work out success from accident; on the other hand, General Scott's operations are stamped with the impress of that keen, scientific glance, which at once detects and provides for every emergency before its occurrence; which maps out, even the minutest incidents, with a fidelity which strikes the less artistic genius, as bordering on the prophetic. All the officers of these two great leaders partake more or less of one or the other of these qualities; and it is these which have infused that soul into the American army, which in a few campaigns, produced results that startled the civilized world.

The developement, then, of our military abilities is the point at which history will direct its eulogiums while speaking of the Mexican war.

In the spring of 1846, the government of the United States sent out Captain John C. Fremont, with a force of sixty-two men, to explore Alta California and the country north of it. On entering the territory, Captain Fremont learned that a



Colonel Fremont.

large force, under General Castro, was advancing to attack him. He retired to a position, thirty miles from Monterey, where he intrenched himself. As no attack was made by them, he assumed the offensive, and on the 15th of June took possession of Sonoma, where some artillery and stores were deposited. From this place, on the 25th, he detached twenty men to attack seventy dragoons, whom they defeated, killing and wounding several of them. After this skirmish, Castro retired to Santa Clara. On the 12th of August, Fremont and Stockton, with a body of riflemen and marines, took possession of Puebla de los Angeles, the largest town in Upper California, without resistance.

In the mean time, the Pacific squadron, at first under command of Commodore Sloat, and then under Commodore Stockton, had taken possession of Monterey, San Francisco, San

Diego, and the other coast towns, and thus the whole territory was brought in subjection to the American flag. Colonel Fremont was appointed governor of the country. The Californians quietly submitted to the authority of the Americans, until they were fully aware of the smallness of the force which had taken possession of their country. They then began to think of insurrection. The plan was concerted, the Mexican governor invited back, and a large body of mounted troops assembled, under the command of General Flores. Captain Gillespie, with only thirty riflemen, held the "City of the Angels." This band was surrounded, and compelled to surrender. Lieutenant Talbot, with only nine men, was at Santa Barbara. He was surrounded by hundreds, but succeeded in cutting his way through them, without losing a man.

Commodore Stockton was at San Diego when he received intelligence of the insurrection. He landed the seamen and marines of the frigate *Savannah*, with several pieces of artillery, sent information to General Kearny, who, with a small party of dragoons, was approaching Upper California by the overland route, and prepared for vigorous operations against the insurgents. General Kearny attacked and defeated a superior force of the Californians, posted at San Pasqual. But such was his loss in killed and wounded, that when he arrived at San Diego, he could muster only forty dragoons. The whole force assembled under Stockton and Kearny's command was about six hundred men, the greater portion of whom were seamen, totally inexperienced in war's land operations.

The Americans marched from San Diego on the 4th of January, 1847, and reached the Rio San Gabriel on the 6th. The Californians were strongly posted on the opposite bank, and numbered about six hundred mounted men, with artillery. The Americans crossed the river and attacked the enemy vigorously. A severe conflict ensued. The Californians charged their enemies several times, but were repulsed each time, and after an action of about two hours, the Americans remained masters of the field. The Californians retreated, but were not pursued. Their loss was severe.

On the next day, the Americans pushed forward towards Puebla de los Angeles, and met with no opposition until they arrived at the plain of Mesa, about ten miles from the capital. There the Californians were drawn up in order of battle, determined to make one more effort to save their chief city. In their front were two pieces of artillery. The progress of the Americans was checked by the fire of the artillery; and while they were arranging for attack, the Californians made several vigorous charges upon their flanks. The cavalry were armed with lances, which inflicted terrible wounds when skilfully handled. The seamen received the charges with great firmness, and, with the aid of the riflemen under Captain Gillespie, succeeded in driving back the foe, with considerable loss. The skirmishing continued until the Californians, having again the worst of the contest, many of their number being killed or wounded, and seeing no hope of success, retreated. The loss of the Americans in both battles was very slight. The next day they entered the capital, without meeting any resistance.

The insurgents were now convinced that the struggle was useless, and began to disperse. General Castro, their commander, fled to Mexico, and the brother of the governor, with the remainder of the forces, capitulated to Colonel Fremont. Order and quiet was restored throughout the territory; and Commodore Stockton, by proclamation, promised the people security of life and property as long as they remained loyal to the United States authorities. General Kearny became military governor of the country; but he soon returned to the United States, leaving Colonel Fremont to exercise the duties of the office.

California remained in the peaceable possession of the Americans during the continuance of the Mexican war, and the general aspect of affairs was bettered by the change of masters. The inhabitants had never evinced a great respect for the government at Mexico, and had been rather disposed to form an independent government for themselves. Feeling secure in their possessions, they soon began to regard the Americans

as friends and fellow-countrymen. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Alta California was ceded to the United States, the commissioners making that an indispensable condition of peace. Thus, this vast tract of country, with all its resources—mineral, metallic, agricultural, and commercial—was for ever lost to Mexico. When the state of the territory under that government is considered, the cession of it to the United States should cause the Californians to rejoice.

The territory acquired by the treaty with Mexico soon became a source of wealth to the United States, and, it was evident, was worth a hundred-fold what had been paid for it. Some mines of different metals had long been known to exist in California, and it had been conjectured that much mineral and metallic wealth would be discovered among its mountains. But few had any idea of the immense amount of the precious metals which slumbered in the gulches and streams of the Sierra Nevada. At length, accident developed what had so long been hidden, and gave a new empire to the United States.

The territory, while in the possession of Mexico, was in a neglected and unprofitable condition. The missions established by the Jesuits were the principal settlements, and converted Indians its only civilized inhabitants. With a view of inducing Mexican citizens to emigrate to the territory, the government exerted itself to destroy the power of the missions, and granted a certain quantity of land to each emigrant. Captain Sutter, by birth an adventurer, who had served as a lieutenant in the Swiss corps of Charles X., emigrated to California, and received a grant of land sixty miles in length by sixteen in width. The whole of this vast estate was overgrown with tall rank grass and a few oaks or pines. It was situated on the borders of the Rio Americano, above the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joachin. Sutter conciliated the Indians, employed them to labour for him, built a strong fort, and, by extraordinary energy, made his estate into a principality.

By degrees were procured fourteen pieces of artillery to fortify his walls; but these became gradually without use,

except to fire a salute on days of rejoicing. With his wife and daughter and his Indian labourers, the captain lived very much like an independent chief among a barbarous tribe, and at length brought seventeen hundred acres of land under good culture. Ultimately, the discovery was made which at once gave a sudden impulse to his own fortune, and raised California from neglect to an almost universal attention. The story of it was at first painted in a variety of colours, and strange versions found belief among the Mexicans as well as the Indians. Some said the Mormons, directed by a miraculous revelation, had found the gold. Another tale was, that Sutter had presented to a friendly chief a certain rifle, with which the Indian hastened to lead an attack on the Pawnees among the Rocky Hills. On the way, he was trampled to death by a buffalo, and shortly afterwards his spirit appeared to the captain in a dream, directing him to dig in a certain spot, and buy with the proceeds a ship-load of rifles, to be distributed among the tribe thus deprived of its chief. From his account, we learn that in September, 1847, he erected a water-mill, in a spot more than a thousand feet above the level of the lower valley. His friend, Mr. Marshall, was engaged in superintending an alteration in it; and Captain Sutter was sitting one afternoon in his own room writing. Suddenly, Marshall rushed in, with such excitement in his face, that his friend confesses to have cast an anxious eye at his rifle. His sudden appearance was sufficiently curious; but Sutter thought him mad, when he cried out that he had made a discovery which would pour into their coffers millions and millions of dollars, with little labour. "I frankly own," he says, "that when I heard this, I thought something had touched Marshall's brain, when suddenly all my misgivings were put an end to, by his flinging on the table a handful of scales of pure, virgin gold. I was fairly thunderstruck." It was explained that, while widening the channel, that had been made too narrow to allow the mill-wheel to work properly, a mass of sand and gravel was thrown up by the excavators. Glittering in this, Mr. Marshall noticed what he thought to be an

opal—a clear, transparent stone, common in California. This was a scale of pure gold; and the first idea of the discoverer was, that some Indian tribe or ancient possessors of the land had buried a treasure. Examination, however, showed the whole soil to teem with the precious metal; and then mounting a horse, he rode down to carry the intelligence to his partner. To none but him did he tell the story of his discovery, and they two agreed to maintain secret the rich reward. Proceeding together to the spot, they picked up a quantity of the scales; and, with nothing but a small knife, Captain Sutter extracted from a little hollow in the rock a solid mass of gold, weighing an ounce and a half. But the attempt to conceal this valuable revelation was not successful. An artful Kentuckian labourer, observing the eager looks of the two searchers, followed and imitated them, picking up several flakes of gold. Gradually the report spread, and as the would-be monopolists returned towards the mill, a crowd met them, holding out flakes of gold, and shouting with joy. Mr. Marshall sought to laugh them out of the idea, and pretended the metal was of little value; but an Indian, who had long worked elsewhere in a mine of the costly metal, cried, “Oro! oro!” and “Gold! gold!” was shouted in a lively chorus, by the delighted multitude. This is the account we have from Captain Sutter himself.

The rumour was spread abroad, and the people of San Francisco began to leave the town and swarm to the “diggings.” A large body of Mormon emigrants had just entered Alta California, through the south pass of the Rocky Mountains; they immediately encamped near Sutter’s Mill, and, within a few days, more than twelve hundred men were at work, with buckets, baskets, shovels, spades, and sheets of canvas, seeking for gold in the sand of the south fork of the Rio des los Americanos. The first plan was to spread the sand on canvas, and blow away, with a reed, all but the gold. In the first impulse of a selfish heart, the discoverer sought to monopolize his knowledge; but as the dawn of every day revealed new stores of the metal, this feeling died away, for the wealth of

the region seemed so great, that the cupidity of the world could not exhaust it.

Perhaps, in no other country, at any period of its history, has so sudden and wonderful a revolution occurred as that which followed the discovery of the gold on the American fork of the Sacramento. The news reached the States, and immediately attracted several currents of emigration, as well over the Rocky Mountains as by the sea. Ceaseless arrivals from all quarters of the globe swelled the population. The few residents who remained in the coast towns made ample fortunes, by levying exorbitant sums for the entertainment and supply of travellers who came to the port. Vessels in the harbours were deserted; the harvest was at first unreaped; and the industry of the country suddenly stopped, as though struck by universal paralysis, while the flood of population poured into the valley of the Sacramento. It was ascertained that the gold region was about six hundred miles in length, and between one hundred and one hundred and fifty in width.

Along the borders of the rivers, and in the ravines of the wild hilly country, camps were formed, and tents, bowers, mud-huts, and rudely erected sheds multiplied and covered the ground. Still, hundreds slept in the open air, and these hundreds swelled to thousands as each mail carried to the United States more glowing accounts of the gold. It would be easy to present a scene of the most characteristic novelty, which would yet fall short of the reality—the vast scattered camps, the multitudes swarming in the river-bed among the ravines, the trains of wagons winding towards the scene, the tumult and confusion of day, and the bivouac-fires by night—all these and a thousand other elements might be blended in a living landscape of rare originality and interest.

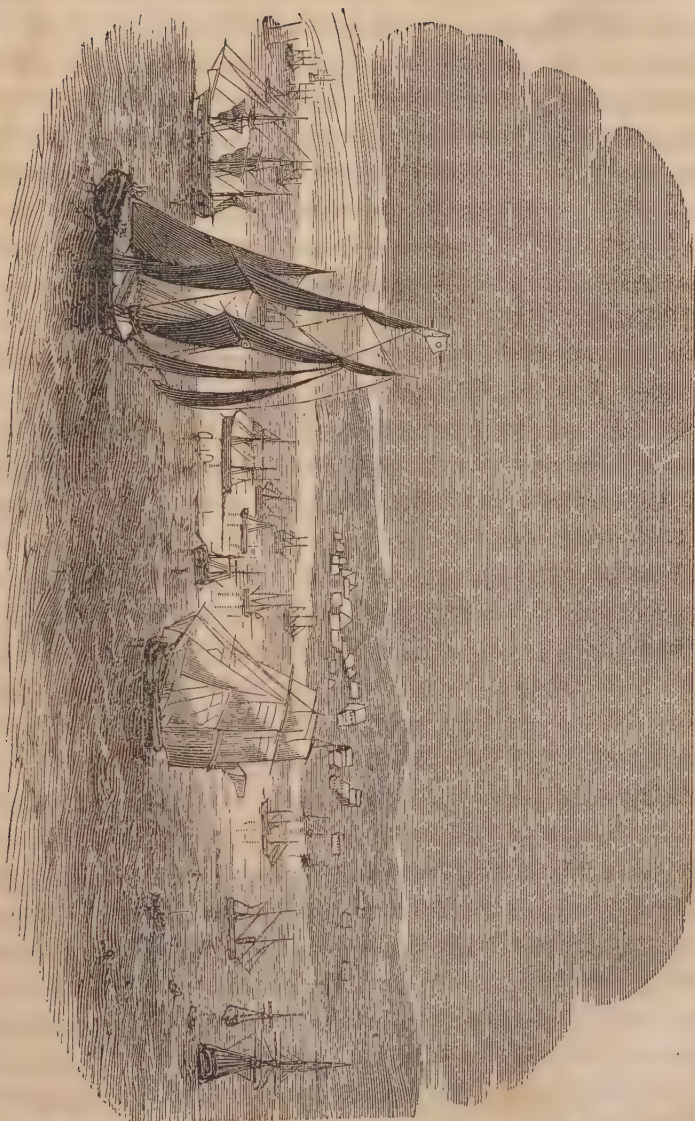
The waters lying between the coast of California and the Isthmus, and further round Cape Horn to New York, were never before converted into such a crowded highway. Vessels were constantly passing to and fro, and all of them were peopled either by sanguine adventurers, with the hot fever of desire upon them, or disappointed men, who were returning

remorsefully to their homes, moralizing in philosophic vein over the theory of the far-famed fable—that industry alone is the genius that possesses the power to turn all things to gold.

Within eighteen months, one hundred thousand men arrived in Alta California, from the United States, and many more from other parts of the world. The magnetic power of mammon was never so palpable. The towns on the coast were in a continual bustle. The population of San Francisco increased with a rapidity beyond all precedent. San Francisco was worthy to be the capital of a gold region. In the cafés, you might procure a small slice of ham, two eggs, and a cup of coffee, for twelve shillings, and all other provisions sold at equal rates. Powder was very costly, and yet intoxicated men rushed through the streets, discharging guns, pistols, and revolvers, through mere recklessness; while others, mounted on horses hired at several guineas a day, galloped wildly, without purpose, along the beach. The whole town was a Babel, and in its outskirts the scene was no less confused, and still more picturesque. A vast camp stretched around it, and along the shore, to a considerable distance on either side. Tents of all sizes, shapes, and colours crowded the mist-covered hills, and piles of merchandise obstructed the passages between. Immense fires burned in all directions, and uncouth groups were busy round them, engaged in the various processes of cooking, or preparing their clothes, arms, implements, or equipage for the journey to the valley of the Sacramento. A powerful impetus was given to all branches of industry, not only in California, but in the United States and Europe. Towns sprung up, as if by magic, in the vicinity of the mines. The whole territory was changed in aspect, and American activity and enterprise took the place of indolence and neglect.

The heterogenous society, suddenly formed in California, was in a state of confusion. Quarrels, outrages, and crimes became frequent, and Lynch law alone was found to act as a preventive. Certain rights of property were recognised among the miners, the necessity of them being evident to every one.

San Francisco in 1847.



The old Mexican laws were continued in force in the towns, where order was more generally preserved. To add to the attractions of the country, mines of silver, quicksilver, and various minerals, were discovered.

The necessity of a more regular and permanent form of government being given to the territory, became apparent to the authorities; and Governor Riley issued a proclamation, calling a convention of delegates to Monterey, to frame a State constitution. By one of the provisions of this instrument, slavery was for ever excluded from California, and this it was which created the difficulties attending the admission of the State into the Union.

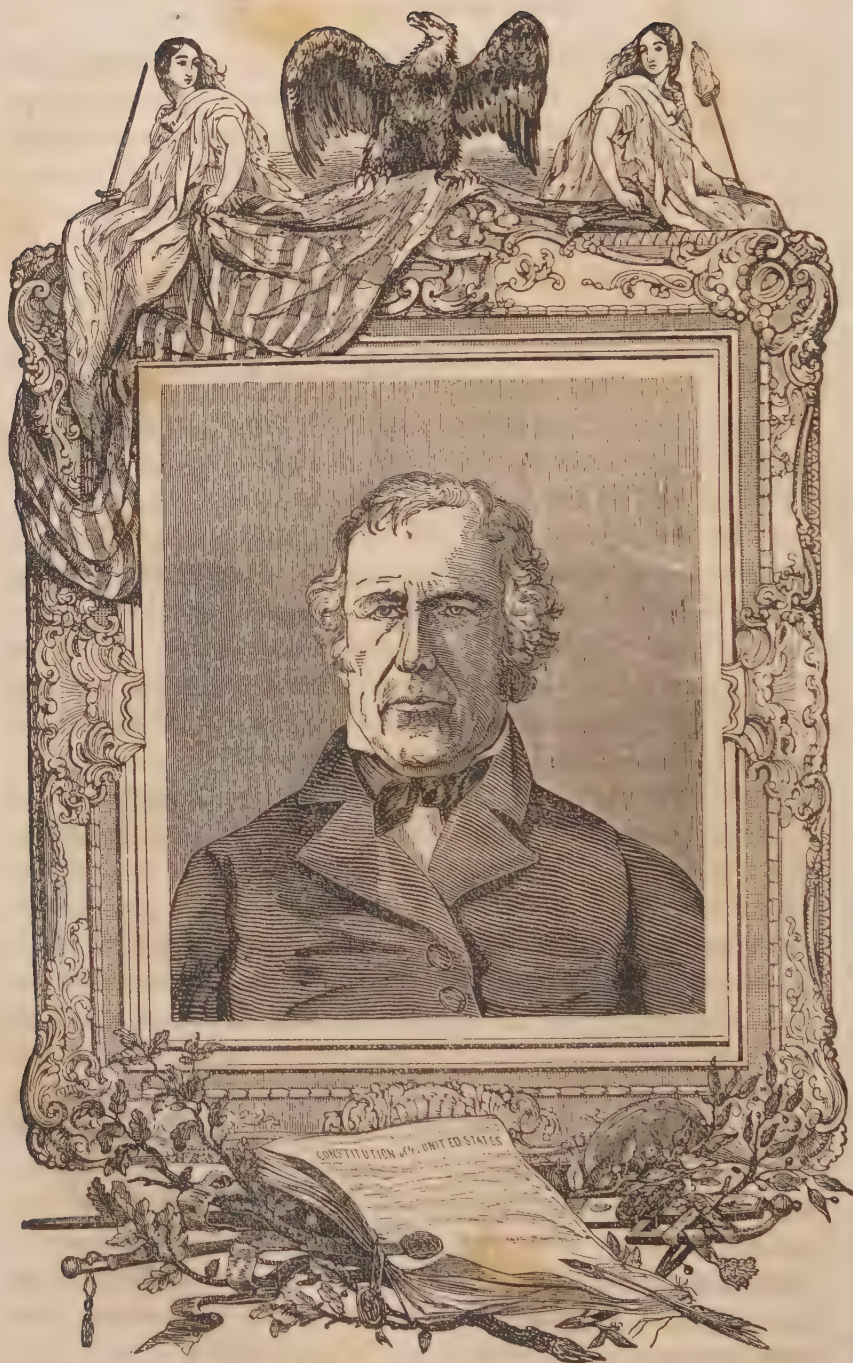
The quantity of gold which has already been obtained in California is enormous, yet the supply seems to be inexhaustible. The quicksilver mines are said to be equal to any in the world, and there is no doubt much metallic wealth to be developed. But the abundance of the precious metals is not the only attraction of California. A large portion of the State possesses a fertile soil and an agreeable climate. The vicinity of the Puebla de los Angeles is described as possessing a soil and climate rivalling those of Italy. The coast towns generally possess good harbours, but that of San Francisco is one of the most capacious and best sheltered in the world. The navies of all nations might there anchor with ease and safety. Several large towns have grown up since the discovery of the gold—the principal of which are Sacramento City, at the head of the navigation on the Sacramento, and Stockton, at the same point on the San Joachim. The first is the great terminus of the overland emigration from the States; the second is the dépôt for the southern mines.

The influence of the gold discovery upon Oregon and the neighbouring territory has been wonderful. The fertile soil of Oregon, its great rivers and fine harbours, have attracted the attention of emigrants, and such has been the influx, that several important towns have been established, and are now in a flourishing condition. The sudden rise of California has exercised an influence upon the vast region which lies between

the most western states and the Rocky Mountains. The territory of Utah, in the vicinity of the lake of the same name, contains the city of the persecuted Mormons, and will soon be in a condition for admission into the Union. The Mormon city serves as a stopping-place for the overland emigrants to California and Oregon.

The administration of Mr. Polk was, perhaps, the most eventful since the formation of the republic. A war was successfully prosecuted—defeat never once attending the efforts of the United States troops—a large tract of most valuable territory acquired, and the power and influence of the republic greatly increased. The duties of the different heads of departments had been arduous, yet they had been performed with ability and energy. The Secretaries of the State and Treasury department had particularly distinguished themselves by their extraordinary exertions to meet the demands of their situations. The national debt was, of necessity, much increased by the war; but it was expected by the administration party, that the acquired territory and the revenue tariff would replenish the national coffers.

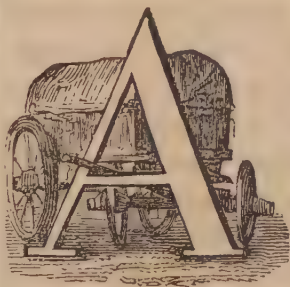
The measures of the democratic party were fully carried into operation. The tariff was reduced to a revenue standard; the independent treasury established; the annexation of Texas consummated, and the whole policy of the government made to conform to the standard which the democratic party supported. During the latter part of the existence of this administration, the opposition were in the majority in the House of Representatives, and much violent discussion occurred on the government measures. The majority adopted a resolution, declaring the war against Mexico to be unjust and to have been made in an unconstitutional manner, and this opinion was supported by Messrs. Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and other able and experienced statesmen. But supplies were voted, when necessity demanded, and the administration was enabled to carry out its policy. The attempts of the opposition to amend the tariff so as to give protection to the manufacturing interest were ineffectual.





CHAPTER LXVI.

TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.



THE presidential election held in the fall of 1848, the candidates of the whig party—General Zachary Taylor, and Millard Fillmore—were chosen to fill the office of President and Vice President, and were inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1849.

General Taylor's cabinet was composed of men who had never been distinguished as ultra partisans, yet whose abilities were sufficient for the administration of affairs. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, was placed at its head, as Secretary of State. Congress, at its previous session, had created a new department, called the Department of the Interior, which greatly lightened the duties of the Secretaries of the State and Treasury departments. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, was appointed to discharge the duties of the new office.

The inaugural address of General Taylor was brief, but eloquent, and clearly indicated the moderate course he intended to pursue.

Congress assembled on the first Monday in December. In

the Senate, the democrats had a decided majority. In the House, parties were equally balanced ; and several members, who had been elected as independent "free soil men," held the balance of power. An exciting contest occurred upon the balloting for the speakership. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, and Robert E. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, were the principal candidates. On the sixty-third trial, Mr. Cobb was chosen, receiving one hundred and two votes. Much difficulty was experienced in choosing a clerk and sergeant-at-arms, and the election of a door-keeper and postmaster was postponed until the 1st of March, 1851.

The agitation of the question whether slavery should be extended into territory then free had continued during the interval between the adjournment of the preceding Congress and the assembling of the new one ; and in the Northern States, a "free soil ticket" for President and Vice President received over three hundred thousand votes. It soon became evident that very little business could be transacted in Congress until the exciting question was settled.

On the 19th of April, on motion of Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, a select committee of thirteen, known as the Compromise Committee, was elected by ballot in the Senate, Mr. Clay being chosen chairman. On the 6th of May, the committee reported the Omnibus Bill to the Senate. This bill provided for the settlement of the slavery question, by uniting measures calculated to satisfy the Southern people with those which the Northern people demanded. California was to be admitted as a State ; territorial governments were to be given to Utah and New Mexico ; the claim of Texas upon the territory of New Mexico was to be adjusted by the payment to that State of ten millions of dollars, in consideration of the relinquishment of the claim ; provision was made for the more effectual execution of the clause of the constitution regarding the restitution of fugitive slaves, and for the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

In May, an expedition, which had been for some time preparing at the Southern ports, with the object of revolutionizing

Cuba, arrived off the coast of Yucatan. Six hundred and nine men were on board of the steamer Creole, under the command of General Lopez. On the 19th of May, the Creole reached Cardenas; the men were disembarked, skirmishing ensued, and the town surrendered. In the evening, after another slight skirmish, the invaders went on board the Creole and sailed from the town. The loss of the invaders was between thirty and forty, killed and wounded. That of the Cubans was much greater. This expedition, so piratical in its nature, was generally condemned by the people of the United States. The government had by proclamation declared its intention to maintain its neutral laws; and on the 21st of May, the Creole was seized by the United States revenue officers at Key West. General Lopez was arrested at Savannah, Georgia, but discharged for want of evidence. Several distinguished personages were charged with abetting the expedition, but nothing has yet been elicited to sustain the accusation.

The debate upon the Compromise Bill called forth the eloquence of the ablest men in the Senate. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster were the principal supporters of the bill, and advocated its passage in speeches which did full justice to their powers. The opposition, however, was quite as ably supported, and by some of the oldest and most distinguished senators. Successive amendments reduced the bill to the single measure of providing a Territorial government for Utah, and in this state it passed the Senate, on the 31st of July.

Before the exciting question was settled, the nation was thrown into mourning for its chief magistrate. President Taylor died on the 9th of July, after an illness of five days. He had been in office about fifteen months. His last words expressed the character of his life—“*I have endeavoured to do my duty.*” Few men have been more universally lamented. Men will differ as to his abilities and the wisdom of his policy; but all will agree that a more honest and well-meaning man can scarcely be found in history.



CHAPTER LXVII.

FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.



THE Vice President, Millard Fillmore, constitutionally succeeded to the Presidential chair. The members of the cabinet immediately tendered their resignation, and they were accepted. After some delay, a new cabinet was framed, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, being appointed Secretary of State, and the heads of the other departments being selected from among the most distinguished members of the Whig party, in various parts of the Union. Mr. Fillmore had long been a member of the Whig party, and the policy of his administration could not be doubted. He was known to be decidedly in favour of the compromise measures then under discussion in the Senate, and this gave them a new impetus. Many senators, who had strenuously opposed the Omnibus Bill, were in favour of two or three of its provisions, and these were readily passed when separated. The bill for the admission of California into the Union passed Congress in the early part of August, and the other compromise measures, with some amendments, were adopted without



much difficulty. The friends of the Union were in high spirits. All danger of dissolution seemed to be averted, and the statesmen who had proposed and advocated the system of measures were everywhere regarded as true patriots. The people of the free States had gained a point for which they had long been contending, namely, the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Besides, California was admitted as a free State! The Southern people were gratified by the settlement of the Texas boundary, the act providing for the recapture of fugitive slaves, and the withdrawal of the measure proposed by some Northern statesmen, prohibiting the extension of slavery into territory then free.

At the opening of the session, in December, a more conciliatory feeling prevailed than at the previous session, and the representatives of the people proceeded quietly to transact the business which the country demanded. The President's message was a brief, but lucid and comprehensive document, and was well received by all parties. The most important of its recommendations was a modification of the existing tariff, substituting specific for ad valorem duties, in order to prevent frauds upon the revenue, and to place the home market upon an equal footing with the foreign.

The foreign relations of the government had occupied a great share of the attention of the administration of General Taylor. Difficulties had occurred with the English, French, and Spanish ministers, all of which, however, had been brought to a peaceable settlement. M. Poussin, the French minister, had been dismissed for disrespect to the government. But his place was immediately filled by M. Bois le Compte. A difficulty occurred with the Portuguese government, concerning a claim preferred by the government of the United States for indemnity for the destruction of the General Armstrong, a privateer brig, in a Portuguese port, during the late war with Great Britain. After considerable delay and discussion, a show of force prevailed, and the claim was acknowledged. During the Hungarian struggle for independence, the government despatched an agent to ascertain the exact

state of things in that country, preparatory to a recognition of the Hungarian republic. The triumph of Austria, however, rendered the latter step unnecessary. A racy correspondence concerning this agency occurred between Secretary Webster and the Chevalier Hulsemann, the Austrian Minister. The reply of the Secretary to the letter of the Minister was a noble vindication of the conduct of the government and the progressive character of the age. By a treaty with Great Britain, the government obtained security for an American company engaged in opening a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, by a canal through Nicaragua. This matter threatened, for a time, to cause a serious difficulty between the two nations, and its amicable settlement was hailed with satisfaction throughout the country.

A second expedition for the purpose of revolutionizing Cuba was prepared and organized under the orders of General Lopez, in the Southern ports, during the summer of 1851. President Fillmore, learning that such an expedition was contemplated, issued a proclamation declaring it a violation of the neutral laws of the United States. Lopez, with four hundred and sixty-five men, succeeded in eluding the officials of the general government, and sailed for Cuba. The forces were landed on the western coast of the island. The Cuban government had a greatly superior force of regulars in readiness, and sharp actions occurred immediately after the landing of the invaders, who, for some time, had the advantage. But General Lopez had vainly calculated upon large numbers of the Cubans joining his forces. It was apparent that a constant struggle would have to be maintained against armies much superior in numbers to attain the object of the expedition. Leaving Colonel Crittenden, with fifty-two men, to guard the boats, Lopez led the main body farther into the country, where the troops were compelled to disperse. The general and most of his men were made prisoners and carried to Havana. Colonel Crittenden, with his detachment, sought to escape, by putting out to sea in open boats. They were found by the Spanish frigate Pizarro, captured, and taken to Havana, where they were very summarily shot by order of General Concha. They met their fate with a fortitude worthy of a better cause. Lopez was put to

death by the garotte, the common instrument of execution among the Spaniards. The other prisoners were sent to Spain. The Queen was induced to pardon them, and they were then conveyed to the United States. Thus disastrously ended another ill-advised attempt to revolutionize Cuba.

The excitement upon the subject of the unfortunate expedition to Cuba had scarcely subsided, when a difficulty occurred in regard to the fisheries on the coast of British America. The governments of the coast provinces, putting a new construction upon a treaty of many years' standing, ordered fishing-vessels of the United States to be seized if they came within less than three miles of the coast. Accordingly, several vessels were captured. Considerable excitement was occasioned in the States; but peaceful overtures being made on both sides, this was soon at an end.

During this administration death carried away three men, who, by the splendour and magnitude of their genius, had attained a vast influence among their countrymen. These were John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. Mr. Calhoun died before the compromise question, in which he was deeply interested, was settled. Henry Clay, the leader in the compromise movement, died on the 29th of June, 1852. Lastly, Daniel Webster, esteemed one of the greatest orators of any age, died on the 25th of October, 1852. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, was appointed to fill the post of Secretary of State, vacated by the death of Daniel Webster.

In June, 1852, the great national parties held their conventions in the city of Baltimore to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and William R. King, of Alabama, were the nominees of the Democratic party; and General Winfield Scott, of New Jersey, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, were the nominees of the Whigs. Both conventions adopted resolutions sanctioning the compromise measures. In August, a Free-soil convention, held at Pittsburgh, put forward the names of John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, as candidates for the great national offices. The election was held on the

2d of November, and the result was an overwhelming triumph for the Democratic candidates, Franklin Pierce and William R. King. Only four States—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee—gave majorities for the Whig candidates. The Free-soil vote was not sufficient to carry a single State.

Soon after being nominated for the Vice-Presidency, William A. Graham, who had held the office of Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore, resigned his post, and was succeeded by John P. Kennedy, a distinguished Whig of Maryland.

One of the first acts of Mr. Everett, as Secretary of State, was a noble diplomatic reply to an invitation from the ministers of Great Britain and France to enter into a tripartite treaty, securing Spain in the possession of Cuba. The Secretary declined the invitation, in a lengthy letter, in which much sagacity as well as American feeling was displayed. This letter was generally considered one of the ablest papers that ever emanated from the State Department. To ask the United States to guaranty to a European power the perpetual possession of an island so commanding as Cuba, even should the people of the island declare their independence, was worthy of governments habituated to such unscrupulous diplomacy; and the refusal was equally worthy of a government which is the creation of an independent and sovereign people. All parties will admit the sagacity of the following paragraph in Mr. Everett's letter:—

“M. de Turgot and Lord Malmesbury put forward as the reason for entering into such a compact, the attacks which have lately been made on the Island of Cuba by lawless bands of adventurers from the United States, with the avowed design of taking possession of that island. The President is convinced that the conclusion of such a treaty, instead of putting a stop to these lawless proceedings, would give a new and powerful impulse to them, and would strike a death-blow to the conservative policy hitherto pursued in this country toward Cuba. No administration of this government, however strong in the public confidence in other respects, could stand a day under the odium of having stipulated with the great powers of Europe, that, in no future time, under no change of circumstances, by no amicable arrangement with Spain, by no

act of lawful war, (should that calamity unfortunately occur,) by no consent of the inhabitants of the island, should they, like the possessions of Spain on the American continent, succeed in rendering themselves independent—in fine, by an overruling necessity of self-preservation—should the United States ever make the acquisition of Cuba.”

Portugal continuing to murmur in regard to the Armstrong claim, it was agreed to submit the subject to the arbitration of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the ruler of France. He gave the award in favour of Portugal; and thus was a question settled, which had been mooted and discussed from the year 1815. The award was unsatisfactory to many distinguished Americans, as the asserted fact, upon which it was based, was disputed. However, there was no appeal from the arbitration.

An expedition for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with Japan was prepared under this administration, but its departure was delayed on account of the want of seamen.

In the mean time, Louis Kossuth, the distinguished orator and statesman of Hungary, with many exiles from the down-trodden kingdoms of Europe, had arrived in the United States. They were received with all that generous enthusiasm characteristic of the American republicans, and conveyed through the States in triumph. The honours denied them in their own countries were freely yielded to these distinguished personages in the United States.

Mr. Fillmore retired from his high office, carrying with him the good wishes of a large majority of his countrymen. He had held the helm of state with a firm hand during a fearful storm, and many praised his patriotism who did not approve his partisan principles.

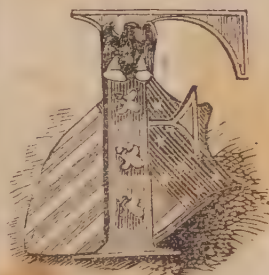






CHAPTER LXVIII.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.



RANKLIN PIERCE was inaugurated President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1853. His address was high-toned, conciliatory, and finely expressed. He said that involuntary servitude, as it existed in the Southern States, was, in his opinion, recognised by the constitution of the confederacy, and should be sustained; he thought the doctrine of Monroe, excluding European monarchies from colonizing in America, sound and wise; he believed that the government was bound to extend its protection to citizens of the United States in every part of the globe. The political sentiments of the address gave general satisfaction. By Congressional order, the oath of office was administered to the Vice-President elect, William R. King, at Havana, whither he had gone to recruit his health, much impaired by a pulmonary affection.

The following distinguished members of the Democratic party were selected by President Pierce to constitute his cabinet:—William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of State; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury;

Robert McLelland, of Michigan, Secretary of the Interior; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney General; James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster General. The ablest men of the Democratic party were selected for the different foreign missions, and the leading men of the various localities for the different home offices. Considerable liberality was displayed by the President in retaining good officers appointed by Mr. Fillmore.

During the extra session of the Senate, convened for executive purposes, a protracted discussion occurred in regard to a treaty concluded by Mr. Clayton, President Taylor's Secretary of State, and Sir Henry Bulwer, the British minister, providing for the construction of a canal through Central America, under the joint protection of the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Clayton defended his policy at great length, and was ably supported. Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, was his principal opponent in the debate. The Senate confirmed most of the appointments made by President Pierce without hesitation.

During the latter part of the previous session of Congress, the salaries of the principal ministers to foreign countries had been more than doubled, and these posts were, therefore, the objects of more competition than ever. At the same time the salaries of the cabinet officers had been increased, in order to render the offices more desirable for competent men. All the indications were now in favour of a vigorous and prosperous administration—domestically conservative, and externally progressive.





Street View in San Francisco.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECT. II. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one; Connecticut five; New York six; New Jersey four; Pennsylvania eight; Delaware one; Maryland six; Virginia ten; North Carolina five; South Carolina five; and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. The senate of the United States shall be composed of

two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class, shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside ; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States ; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECT. IV. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state, by the legislature thereof ; but the congress may, at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The congress shall assemble at least once in every year ; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications, of its own members ; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment,

require secrecy: and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time: and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned, by the president, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on the question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. VIII. The congress shall have power—

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the

United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

To establish post-offices and post-roads:

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court: To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use, shall be for a longer term than two years:

To provide and maintain a navy:

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress:

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings:—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. IX. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended,

unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States ; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. X. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts ; or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports and exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress ; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[Annulled. See Amendments, art. 12.]

The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes ; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United

States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president ; and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive, for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected ; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“I do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.”

SECT. II. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States ; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices ; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present, concur ; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. III. He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall

think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors, and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed ; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECT. IV. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive, for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. II. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more states, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

SECT. III. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason ; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECT. I. Full faith and credit shall be given, in each state, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in

which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. II. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECT. III. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECT. IV. The United States shall guaranty to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article: and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be

made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby ; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state, to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath, or affirmation, to support this constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE,	JOHN LANGDON,	NICHOLAS GILMAN.
MASSACHUSETTS,	NATHANIEL GORHAM,	RUFUS KING.
CONNECTICUT,	WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,	ROGER SHERMAN.
NEW YORK,	ALEXANDER HAMILTON.	
NEW JERSEY,	{ WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,	WILLIAM PATERSON,
	{ DAVID BREARLEY,	JONATHAN DAYTON.
PENNSYLVANIA,	{ BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,	THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
	{ THOMAS MIFFLIN,	JARED INGERSOLL,
	{ ROBERT MORRIS,	JAMES WILSON,
	{ GEORGE CLYMER,	GOVERNEUR MORRIS.
DELAWARE,	{ GEORGE READ,	RICHARD BASSETT,
	{ GUNNING BEDFORD, JUN.	JACOB BROOM.
	{ JOHN DICKINSON,	
MARYLAND,	{ JAMES M ^H ENRY,	DANIEL CARROLL,
	{ DANIEL OF ST. THO. JENIFER,	
VIRGINIA,	JOHN BLAIR,	JAMES MADISON, JR.
NORTH CAROLINA,	{ WILLIAM BLOUNT,	HUGH WILLIAMSON.
	{ RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,	
SOUTH CAROLINA,	{ JOHN RUTLEDGE,	CHARLES PINCKNEY,
	{ CHAS. COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,	PIERCE BUTLER.
GEORGIA,	WILLIAM FEW,	ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest :

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES,

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT
TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. No soldier shall in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause; supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. The judiciary power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president; and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted: the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death, or other constitutional disability, of the president.

The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.



